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William Pynchon

WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS
A HISTORY
1636-1925

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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

INTO the preparation of this "Western Massachusetts—A History" has gone a vast amount of study, research, and earnest thought. As in all such works, its importance and magnitude increased as the significance, from historical, patriotic, and social viewpoints, of the various movements and periods treated, was borne in upon the writers. Thus a subject that originally it had seemed possible to present adequately in two pages grew to four pages, a chapter developed into a section, while the value of the history as a source of reference mounted steadily during its compilation. Particularly enlightening is the material bearing upon William Pynchon, much of which has never been presented to the public in any form. The work of Dr. Lockwood and Mr. Bagg in the history as a whole, and of the local editors in connection with their particular districts, has been painstaking, thorough, and enthusiastic, while contributions such as those from Judge Francis Nims Thompson, Miss Elizabeth L. Adams, Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Roberts, and others, have constituted distinctive features that accentuate the general excellence of the whole.

When any human endeavor extends over many months it is almost invariably influenced by the . . . thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to . . . In this instance it was the death of Edward Boltwood that brought sadness to his associates. Although his interested thought and wise counsel had played their part in the planning and early work of the history, the loss of continued association with him was a deprivation keenly felt.

To the advisory committee sincere appreciation is due for loyal support whenever assistance was needed, and this opportunity is taken to extend thanks for such service to Ralph P. Alden, vice-president Springfield National Bank; George Clarence Gardner, president Springfield Planning Board; Henry A. Booth, secretary Connecticut Valley Historical Society; Eleanor W. Hale, principal of the Ames Family School and county representative of the Wakefield Memorial Association; Arthur Ryan, managing editor of the Holyoke "Transcript"; David Clark, medical director First Brigade, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia; Harry Andrews Wright, antiquarian; Herbert E. Fuller, journalist; Rev. J. C. Ivers, pastor Church of the Holy Name, Holyoke; Edward A. Hall, Rev. Neil McPherson, Lieutenant-Colonel George A. Roberts, Rev. Thomas F. Davies, D. D., and David L. Bodfist.

So finally, through concerted and diligent effort, the new history of the Western Massachusetts region is ready for the public whose interest and co-operation have made its production possible. We are confident that, with all due allowance for human imperfections, it creditably meets a definite need.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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PART I

GENERAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS

"As it was in the beginning", Western Massachusetts, was one section of a wild country filled with known and imagined animate and inanimate terrors trackless save for the trails of savage men and animals, and a sealed book to those who dared not venture out of sound of the ocean ceaselessly dashing against the "stern and rockbound coast." It was the great problem of the world six centuries and more ago to find the sea-passage to Asian "harbor of Cathay." When the earliest voyagers, Biorne, 986 A. D., Lief Ericson, 1000, Thorwald, 1003, Thorfinn, 1005, Christopher Columbus, 1492, the Cabots—father and son—of 1497, and others, who were anxious to add to the possessions of their respective sovereigns, reached the "land towards the setting sun" there were indeterminate leagues of virgin and mysterious forests stretching north, south, and ever westward, far beyond the range of their puny vision, into nothingness yet to be explored.

The first settlers hugged the sea-coasts reached by their storm tossed ships, having risked and dared much to go as far as that. Colonists, seeking peace and liberty rather than ways to reach the East Indies by ocean, settled here and there, as birds, wearied by a long flight, fold their wings in the first convenient resting place. From the English colonists, who landed (at Plymouth in 1620), at Boston with Governor Winthrop in 1630, came the brave pioneers of the Connecticut Valley in Western Massachusetts. Dawn was beginning to throw little shafts of light across the trackless wastes of "darkest America", including the few points known as the most remote western outposts of "the Massachusetts Bay Patent." As soon as they arrived, those who came to colonize New England began to look for desirable places to plant settlements in the vicinity. William Pynchon, whose name is indelibly associated with the penetration of the "unknown west" had first settled in Roxbury, becoming that town's founder. He with his second wife, Mrs. Sanford-Pynchon (described as "a grave matron of the church of Dorchester"), his son John (later the foremost magistrate of Western Massachusetts), his daughter Anna (later Mrs. Henry Smith), and another daughter, were much interested in the accounts furnished Governor Winthrop by the Indian sachem Wahginnicut, of the fertile regions due west. They, with several others, felt the

desire to move to newer and perhaps better plantation-sites inland. Cambridge colonists had migrated to Hartford, Dorchester settlers to Windsor, and Watertown folk to Wethersfield, when Pynchon's family decided to send two explorers to verify earlier reports of the richness and fertility of the Connecticut Valley, as a desirable place of residence. Two Johns, Cable and Woodcock, confirmed by their testimony the glowing accounts that Pynchon made after having himself visited the valley, September 1635. This was the "vital business" which caused Pynchon's absence (as one of Governor John Winthrop's eighteen "Assistants"), at the sessions of the Massachusetts Bay Company's regularly-called "General Assembly" September 3d in that year. He thus became the more convinced that the Indian "Wahginnicut" before mentioned, had told the literal truth, as America's original land-developer, about the advantages of the region for the beaver-trade and for farming. Thus it was that the place known as "Agawam" which for many years included all the region of Springfield, was the one place in the Colony attracting the attention of Pynchon and his followers from Roxbury.

Two ministers from Cambridge, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, with their parishioner John Haynes (later a governor), had come down the long "Bay Path", and found the lower "Quinnecticot" river-valley much to their liking; and the Pynchons felt they were not so entirely alone in the wilderness. And all these first settlers of Western Massachusetts were acting under the grant of land obtained by John Endicott and his five associates (1628), of that vast and vague territory "South of the Merrimack River, extending from sea to sea."

The explorers Cable and Woodcock proved their faith in "the new land" by building in the spring of 1635 the first house in Western Massachusetts. This was just across the Agawam River from the west end of the Eastern States Exposition grounds, and a half mile above the point where the Agawam enters the Connecticut River. The house was built at "common charge of the planters", and four years later became the subject of the first court-action over real-estate occupancy ever brought into the Colonial courts of this region. It was the judgment of William Pynchon, his son-in-law Henry Smith, and one Jehu Burr, when the trio visited the West Springfield meadow-lands in 1634, that the "housemeadow lot" (as the spot was long thereafter called) was the best possible location for the Cable-Woodstock house. It had been cultivated in primitive fashion by the Indians, and the ground there seemed best suited

to immediate farming operations. This "first house", costing six pounds, lawful money, was abandoned the same autumn for general reasons of prudence. The growing demands of the Indians for "a grate some to bye their right in the sayde lands", (Pynchon *et al,* May 14, 1636), and differences arising as to pasturage and damage caused by stray farm-animals caused this sudden change of base, and quick removal to the eastern and safer side of the river. The higher ground of the present Springfield, directly opposite the territory frequently referred to by early settlers as the "west planting-ground", thus became their second choice of residence. The Indian name "Aguwom", (so spelled in Underhill's "Newes From America" (London, 1639), according to H. W. Wright's careful study of the red-man's place-names, literally means "land overflowed." The location, "where the English did first build a house", is so described in Hampden County records, (Book A-B, Fol. 18).

With William Pynchon and his immediate relations came members of other families, bringing into that first settlement of Western Massachusetts the names of Wood, Blake, Parsons, Smith, Burr, Ufford, Butterfield, Mitchell, Reader. At that time and for some time later they supposed they had come into the jurisdiction of Connecticut Colony. The earliest actual white visitor to the valley of whom there is record was the John Oldham, whose overland journey with three companions had been made in the summer of 1633. His "log" of that wilderness-trip, dated September 12th, declares that the "sachems along the way treated us kindly, and gave us beaver"; that they lodged at Indian wigwams, here and there; that they "brought off hemp which grows there in great abundance and is better than the English (hemp), "and that they" took with them some black lead whereof the Indians told them there was a whole rock." Oldham accounted the distance as "about 160 miles", proving that the explorers had undoubtedly pursued a winding rather than a direct course. They brought back some of the enthusiastic accounts which induced the at-first skeptical followers of Pynchon to establish themselves farther inland. The Roxbury emigrants in the spring of 1636 sent their "goods" around by water, and up the Connecticut in "The Blessing Of The Bay", which sailed from Boston April 26th. The Governor of Massachusetts, John Winthrop, wrote to his son of the same name, who was then governor of the Connecticut Colony; "'The Blessing,' arrived here on the 14th, and is to return to you with Mr. Pinchon's goods so soon as she can be laden.....I think the bark goeth away in the morning", Western Massachusetts' commonly accepted birth-

day, May 14, 1636, is the date of the first known meeting of the planters, and the drawing up of the historic "Agreement." In shrewd fashion they safe-guarded every statement made, to provide for all possible future emergencies:

"We whose names this 14th of May are underwritten, being by God's providence ingaged together to make a plantation, at and over against 'Agaam' on Conecticot do mutually agree to certayne articles and orders to be observed and kept by us and our successors, except wee and every of us for ourselves and in oure persons, shall meet upon better reasons to alter our present resolutions." They go on to take thought of procuring a "Godly and faithfull minister"; to limit the number of families to between "fourty and fifty", and to determine that each settler should have "as wee shall see meete for everyone's quality and estate", his proportion of space for "a house lott," cow-pasturage in the north end of the village, a share in both the woodland and the so-called "hasseky marsh over against this lott", and a generous slice of the "meddow or planting-ground, over against him as nigh as maybe on the 'Agaam' side." The document arranged for the assessment of "rates"or taxes, and recorded the Colonist's recognition of the labors of William Pynchon, Henry Smith, and Jehu Burr in the allottment of an extra twenty acres of meadow land "under the hill at End brook", to the first named, also ten acres to the second, and ten to the third.

William Pynchon was a man of wealth, education, piety and prominence. Governor Winthrop had appointed him "magistrate and assistant" in 1629. The year following, his name was attached to the English colonial charter as a "patentee." He was considered a man of unusual influence and executive ability; and it had been with real reluctance that the Council granted liberty to him and to the other, "Rocksbury settlers", to remove themselves to any place they may make choice of provided they still remain under this government." (Mass. Col. Record, Vol I, p. 146).

No record was kept of the long and toilsome hundred-mile journey westward along the "Old Bay Path" through the fragrant spring woods; but records of pioneer doings after they reached Springfield are quite complete. The famous deed of the site of the capital of Western Massachusetts was drawn July 15, 1636, and includes, title to the regions called "Usquaiok" (Mill River section), "Quana" or the meadow above (west of) "House-meadow", where the first house had been built; "Massacksick" (Long-meadow), and "Nayasset", "the three-corner meadow and land adjoining north to Chicopee river", literally the plain land extending

from the vicinity of Round Hill to Rockrimmon, and its equivalent on the west side of the river, at the present Ashleyville. The deed calls for varying (small) amounts of "wampum, coates, howes, hatchets and knifes" in return for land on both sides of the river, of great modern value. It is signed by thirteen Indians, including "Commucke and Matanchan, ancient Indians of Agaam" and on the part of the whites by Joseph Parsons, John Allen, Richard Everet, John Cownes, Thomas Horton, Faithful Thayeler, and "Ahaughton," the Indian interpreter. None of these names were on the original "agreement" of May 14th; and they must have been part of the accession of population made in the weeks immediately following the arrival of Pynchon.

Five days later, the Pequot war was precipitated by the Indian murder of the same John Oldham who had been the first white man in these parts. Oldham and two boys were killed in a vessel near Block Island. Four months later William Pynchon, still in the belief that his adopted village belonged to Connecticut colony, attended court in Hartford where the troubles with the Pequots, looming large in the minds of the people, were anxiously discussed. Every time John Matthews beat the drum for divine service held at first at Pynchon's House, the settlers took their weapons, not knowing when the village might suffer attack. It was common knowledge that the Indian fighting force then numbered at least three thousand; and that it haunted the shores of Long Island Sound within easy march of the mouth of the Connecticut River. There were known to be less than three hundred white men capable of bearing arms nearer than Boston; and when May, 1637, arrived, Springfield was unable to spare a single fighting man (in response to Connecticut's call for seven), to embark on the expedition against the Pequots. The hostiles had been subjected by autumn; and Rev. George Moxon, aged thirty-five, small, stout, and fairly well educated, conducted, October 12th and later, fervent services of thanksgiving for deliverance "from the Inimy."

First Families of Springfield—It is a curious fact that not one of the twelve original settlers of the Connecticut Valley at Springfield (thirteen, if the restless John Woodcock, second of the two occupants of the original "first house" at Agawam be included), remained in Springfield until their death.

With William Pynchon and his own family came representatives of a dozen other families. On the first page of the first book of the records of the new town, are the names of William Pynchon, Henry

Smith, (Pynchon's son-in-law) John Cable, Jehu Burr, Nathaniel Mitchell, Thomas Ufford, William Blake and Edmund Wood, signed to the original "Agreement" of the "first adventurers and undertakers for this new Plantation", under date of May 14, 1636. In the first allotment of lands agreed upon a few days after the "Agreement" was signed appear the additional names of Thomas Woodford, Samuel Butterfield, James Wood, and John Reader. The addition of Woodcock's name, would make thirteen in the original group of pioneers of Springfield. The chief of these, Pynchon, as a recompense for extraordinary efforts to promote the new colonization, was given the largest allotment of land. His son-in-law, Henry Smith, and his co-worker, Jehu Burr, were also specially rewarded but in lesser degree. In addition to the ten-acre "house-lot" of each of the dozen "first families", there was given to Pynchon an extra twenty acres, and to Smith and Burr was awarded an extra ten acres apiece.

Springfield was named for Mr. Pynchon's own country seat in Essex County, near Chelmsford, England, in April 1640. By that time the first minister in Western Massachusetts, Rev. George Moxon, was established in a new parsonage, 15 x 35 feet with porch and study, just built for him near the head of Vernon Street, where the approach is now made to the Hampden County Memorial Bridge across the Connecticut River. The minister had a strip of land fourteen rods wide running from what is now Spring Street to the river, and directly across the river a long strip of "planting grounds" of equal width. He was accounted the "Godly and faithfull minister" for whom the Colonists had been seeking. He had received his education at Sidney College, Cambridge, England, taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1823, and then becoming an ordained Episcopal minister. In 1637 he had been made a "freeman" in Boston, and had been appointed to serve as a "deputy", with Pynchon, Smith, and Burr, to attend the "General Court at Hartford, while Connecticut was still supposed to lie within the Massachusetts jurisdiction. In January, 1638, provision was made for "forty rods for a place for a meeting house, allowed out of goodman Gregory's lott"; but this first church was not built until seven years later.

The same John Woodcock who had shared with Cable the honor of being the first householder on the west side of the river, accused Mr. Moxon of making a false oath against him. The minister made a counter-charge of slander against Woodcock, with the result that the layman was found guilty and was obliged to pay six pounds,

thirteen shillings damages. That this Woodcock was an arrant trouble-maker the short time he stayed in Springfield was amply proven. The very first case which Magistrate Pynchon was called upon to decide was that of Woodcock vs. Cable concerning their joint interest in that first meadow-lot house on the Agawam river. Woodcock was also involved in contentions before the court with Henry Gregory, Robert Ashley, and others. In all these causes. evidence was submitted to the six-man jury, according to the earliest court records; this first jury consisted of Henry Smith, Henry Gregory, Samuel Hubbard, J. Leonard, J. Searle, and Deacon Samuel Wright.

Nearest White Neighbors—The Dutch had settled on the Connecticut River, which they then called the "Fresh Water", soon after their two Hudson River forts had been established, one on the island of Manhattan and the other near Albany, in 1615. But the Dutch made no attempts to plant a colony on the Connecticut until about the time of the Oldham visit, before mentioned, in 1633. During the summer of that year the Dutch sailed up the Connecticut, landing about where Hartford now stands, and threw up rough embattlements, mounting small cannon to defend them. These "Dutch Point" belligerents made no protest worth considering, when in October of that year some emigrants from Plymouth Colony built the first actual dwelling-house erected by white men in Western New England, at Windsor, Connecticut, near where the ancient Loomis house now stands. The chief trader, Holmes, passed the frowning Dutch guns of Hartford, not a shot being fired on either side. He immediately enclosed his house with a stockade, and set up a friendly trade with the Indians. The following summer, 1634, the Dutch menaced the little garrison at Windsor, but retired without accomplishing anything. That same year the people of "Newtowne" (Cambridge), presented their petition to the General Court to "look out for removal"; and in September their avowed purpose of going to Connecticut was made clear. Not until May, 1635, was this Cambridge party granted permission to withdraw "to any place they shall think meet to make choice of, provided they shall continue under this government."

In the meantime, without waiting for the decision of the General Court, during the summer of 1635 a party from Dorchester went to what is now Windsor, to the spot where the Plymouth Colony had planted two years before, and another party from Watertown established themselves at the place that is now Wethersfield. It

was also in the year 1635, as late as October, that another party of sixty persons—men, women, and children—set out overland, driving their cattle before them, to the infant settlements on the Connecticut. The winter set in early, and they had little time to prepare for it. In six weeks from the date of their departure twelve of the number struggled back to Boston, suffering untold hardships on the way.

Thus the settlement of the lower Connecticut Valley followed close upon the establishment of the Bay townships. No intelligent history of Western Massachusetts can be given without allusion to their nearest pioneer neighbors, so bound together were all the people of the Valley in the solving of mutual problems of defense and achievement. The age was one of intense religious fervor. It was, therefore, but natural that the people who came should accept the leadership of men prominent in religious thought. Leaders of the Connecticut Colony were the ministers, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, with their parishioner, John Haynes, of Cambridge, accompanied by the leading lay-citizen of Dorchester, Roger Ludlow.

Forts Built and Courts Opened—Parson Hooker had come from preaching in Chelmsford, Essex, near the English home of Pynchon; and his friendship for the latter had much to do with their association in this new colonization project. Haynes became governor and Ludlow deputy governor of Connecticut in four years. With these came the other "stalwarts of the lower Valley," John Steele, William Swaine, William Westwood, Andrew Ward, and William Phelps, all names "among those present" at the new Court held in Hartford in April, 1636. In the winter of 1636-37 the name "Hartford" was adopted for the settlement of the Newtowne colonists in honor of the English home of Rev. Mr. Stone.

John Winthrop, son of the Governor of Massachusetts, had arrived from England in 1635, bearing with him a commission from Lord Say-and-Sele and Lord Brooke as governor of Connecticut. These two distinguished proprietors of the "Connecticut patent", whose interest in colonization in America gave the name to the town of Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut River, provided the young governor with the armament of a fort at that point, and 2,000 pounds sterling to house it. Here occurred the Indian troubles which culminated in the short-lived Pequot war and it was towards the little garrison at the entrance to Long Island Sound that the shrewd and daring Sassacus and his warriors directed first

Know all men by these presents, That whereas Mr Henry
Smith late of Springfield was by a Bargayne of Sale under
the hand of Mr William Pynchon late of Springfield aforesaid bearing date the 17th of
April 1651, possessed of One third parte of the Mill, wch
was the said Mr William Pynchons, scituate lyinge & beinge
in Springfield aforesaid, and of One third parte of the lott
wch is laid out to it, conteyning Seaventeen Acres more
or less lying between the said Mill & the great River
As also of One third pte of an Allottmt of ten acres more or
less, lying in ye peece of [illegible] comonly called the Neck
on ye West side of the said great River: And whereas when
the said Mr Henry Smith went into England he made
his wife Mrs Anna Smith his true & lawfull Atturney, to
sell or any way dispose of any his Lands houses or goods, as
by a deed under his hand bearinge date the 17th Oct 1652.
doth more at large appeare: Therefore these presents
testify, that the said Anna Smith ~~doth~~ for & in the
name & on the behalfe of the said Mr Henry Smith her
husband & for & in Consideration of the summ of Five
& Twenty pounds to her in hand paid before the ensealing hereof
hath given granted bargayned & sold & by these presents
doth fully clearly & absolutely give graunt bargayne &
sell unto Mr John Pynchon of Springfield All that
her said Husbands third parte in the said Mill and
all her third parte in the severall Allotments above
mencioned to her or to her said husband belonging or in
any wise appertayninge: To have and to hold the
said third parte of the said Mill & allotments of land
above mencioned to the said Mr John Pynchon his heires
and assignes for ever: And the said Mrs Smyth doth
hereby Covenante & promise to & with the said Mr John
Pynchon that the said demised premises are free from
all formr bargaynes & incumbrances: And in witness to
these presents the said Mrs Smith hath sett her hand
and Seale: the 18th of Ayust 1654.

Sealed Subscribed & delivered
in the presence of

John Allyn:
Eli Holyoke
Benaiah Smith

Anna Smith

DEED OF WILLIAM PYNCHON'S DAUGHTER, ANNA SMITH, AUGUST 18, 1654, TO MAGISTRATE JOHN PYNCHON, HER BROTHER, (ELWELL COLLECTION)

attention. The western boundary of what was then known as the Pequot country was only thirty miles east of Saybrook; and the latter was in a particularly exposed location.

At the "Corte" held at Hartford, November 1, 1836, appeared the first Springfield name, that of William Pynchon, who had been too busy getting settled to attend either of the first four sessions of the court, held the previous April, June, September, and October respectively,—two in Hartford and one each in Windsor and Wethersfield. All these early settlers believed themselves at first under the Connecticut jurisdiction.

Dissension and Complaint—Mr. Pynchon had furnished to the Connecticut people quantities of Indian corn, upon contract with the General Court. Out of this trade in corn, and other matters arising between Mr. Pynchon and the Connecticut people, arose the sudden withdrawal of Mr. Pynchon and his company of settlers at Agawam, now Springfield, from the jurisdiction of Connecticut into that of Massachusetts.

At a General Court held at Hartford on the 5th day of April, 1638, among others, Mr. Pynchon, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Moxon of Agawam, were all present.

At this General Court the following resolution in reference to the difficulty with Mr. Pynchon about the corn was adopted:

> **Whereas,** There was some complaint made against Mr. William Pynchon, of Agawam, for that as was conceived and upon proof appeared, he was not so careful to promote the public good in the trade of corn as he was bound to do. It is ordered the said Mr. Pynchon shall, with all convenient speede, pay as a fine for his so failing, 40 bushels of Indian corn for the publick and the said corn to be delivered to the treasurer to be disposed of as shall be thought meete.

This was the last appearance of any of the Springfield people at the Connecticut General Court. It will be seen by the following documents, that shortly after this the inhabitants of Agawam set up a provisional government for themselves. It must also be considered that the Agawam people had satisfied themselves in the meantime that Agawam did in reality lie to the north of the Connecticut line, and was actually within the bounds of the territory under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts.

Mr. Pynchon was, however, a magistrate of Connecticut, and not of Massachusetts; and in the absence of any authority from the General Court at Boston, the inhabitants of the little hamlet of Agawam, in the February following, adopted a form of govern-

ment of their own in the following compact, which is unparalleled in the history of this country, save the compact entered into by the Pilgrim Fathers, on the "Mayflower", before landing at Plymouth Rock. By this compact they made Mr. Pynchon their magistrate. His authority was derived from the people themselves,—now, but not then, recognized as the highest of all authority. Their compact was as follows:

February the 14th, 1638-9.—We the Inhabitants of Agaam, upper Quinnetticot, takinge into consideration the manifould inconveniences that may fall uppon us for want of some fir magistracy amonge us; Being now by Godes providence fallen into the line of the Massachusetts jurisdiction; & it being farr off to repayer thither in such cases as may often fall out amonge us, doe therefore thinke it meete by a generall consent & vote to ordaine (till we receive further directions from the Generall Courte in the Massachusetts Bay) Mr. William Pynchon to execute the office of a magistrate in this our plantation of Agaam, viz:

To give, oathes to constables or military officers, to direct warrantes, both process, executions, & attachments, to heare and examine misdemeanours, to depose witnesses, & uppon proofe of misdemeanour to inflict corporal punishment, as whipping, stockinge, byndinge to the peace or good behaviour, & in some cases to require sureties, & if the offense require to commit to prison, and in default of a common prison to commit delinquents to the charge of some fit person or persons till justice be satisfyed; also in the Tryall of actions for debt or trespasse, to give oathes, direct juries, depose witnesses, take verdicts & keepe Records of verdictes, judgments, executions, & whatever else may tend to the keepinge peace and the manifestation of our fidelity to the Bay Jurisdiction & the restraininge of any that shall violate Godes lawes; or lastely whatsoever else may fall within the power of an assistant in the Massachusett.

It is also agreed uppon by a mutual consent, that in case any action of debt or trespasse, he to be tryed seeinge a jury of 12 fit persons cannot be had at present amonge us, that six persons shall be esteemed & held a sufficient Jury to try any action under the some of Ten pounds till we shall see to ye contrary, & by common consent shall alter the number of Jurors, or shall be otherwise directed from the generall court of Massachusetts.

A Shifting of Authority—Boldly seceding from the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and, going back to first principles, they adopted a Constitution of their own, until they could find safety under the sheltering wing of the General Court at the Massachusetts Bay. Out of this abrupt separation of Mr. Pynchon and his Agawam colony there grew up between the Connecticut people and the people of Agawam and the Massachusetts Bay a bitter controversy, which lasted for several years, and interfered even with the union formed by the colonies, known as the United Colonies.

A letter of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, to Governor

Winthrop, written in 1638, in speaking of the proposition of the aforesaid union of the colonies, says: "The negotiation was interrupted in consequence of the claim preferred by Massachusetts to the jurisdiction of Agawam (Springfield), which had been hitherto conceded to belong to Connecticut."

Governor Winthrop, in his reply to this letter of Mr. Hooker, under date of August 28, 1638, complained of three things; the third matter complained of related to the controversy about Agawam:

> 3d. That they (the people of Connecticut) still exercise jurisdiction at Agawam, though one of their commissioners disclaim to intermeddle in our line, and thereupon we challenged our right, and it was agreed so; and I had wrote to desire them to forbear untill that Mr. Pynchon had small encouragement to be under them, that if his relation were true, I could not see the justice of their proceeding against him.

To this letter of Governor Winthrop, of August 1638, Mr. Hooker replied in the autumn of that year, in part as follows:

> The act of jurisdiction which hath been exercised since your letter, it was this: there was an inhabitant in Agaam apprehended in some misdemeanor; the town sent the delinquent to the court to desire justice, which they answerably did; and why they might not do it, nay, how they could avoid it, according to rule, it is beyond all my skill to conceive. For at tne time of our electon* the committees from the town of Agaam came in with other towns, and chose their magistrates, installed them into their government, took oath of them for the execution of justice according to God, and engaged themselves to submit to their government and the execution of justice by their means, and dispensed by the authority which they put upon them by choice.
>
> Now when these men demand justice from magistrates so chosen and engaged, how, in a faithfulness and according to their oath, they could deny it without sin, the covenant continuing firm on both parts, and renounced at this time by neither, it is beyond my compass to comprehend, and, under favor, I do think beyond the skill of any man by sound reason to evince.
>
> The magistrates who are lawfully called, and stand bound by oath to execute justice unto a people, to deny the execution of justice when it is demanded by such, is a grievous sin. But the magistrates were thus called, thus by oath bound, and justice was in this manner demanded. Therefore had they then refused it they had grievously sinned. Yea, taking it for granted that it is in each inhabitant's liberty in Agawam to choose his jurisdiction (which is to me beyond question), if I was there as an inhabitant, I should judge myself bound in conscience to submit to the jurisdiction of the river, and do believe I should make a breach of the eighth command if I should otherwise; because in so doing I should steal from mine estate, in that I should rush myself into needless and endless inconveniences: namely, to cast myself into that condition that for a matter of five shillings (as the case may fall out) I should put myself to unreasonable charges and trouble to seek for justice a hundred miles off in the wilderness. If Mr. Pyncheon can devise ways to

make his oath bind him when he will, and loosen him when he list; if he can tell how, in faithfulness, to engage himself in a civil covenant and combination (for that he did, by his committees in their act) and yet can cas it away at his pleasure, before he give in sufficient warrant, more than his own word and will, he must find a law in Agaam for it; for it is written in no law or gospel that I ever read. The want of his help troubles not me nor any man else I can hear of, I do assure you; we know him from the bottom to the brim, and follow him in all his proceedings, and trace him in his privy footsteps; only we would have him and all the world to understand he doth not walk in the dark to us. By this it is evident what the jurisdiction was which was exercised since your letter.

The Controversy Waxes Warm—The Rev. Mr. Moxon, the first minister of Springfield, addressed the following letter to Governor Winthrop, in relation to the Agawam matter. It was first published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is as follows:

To ye Worll his much-respected friende, Mr, Winthroppe, at his house in Boston.

Worthy Sr.—Salutation in Ct. Jesus. Sr, I make bold to trouble you with these few lynes, in thus intreating your helpe to cleare this poynt, whether we of Agawam were dismissed out of the Bay with this proviso to continue of the Bay's jurisdiction. If there be any order of court touchinge that matter it may give light. Ye grounde of my request is thus much: I have heard that some of or neighbors in the River are doubtful whether we lye not in sin (not in falling from their government but) in falling disorderly from them without first orderly debatinge ye matter, and our grievances if we had any. I would therefore gladly have such grounds as may be convincing to any that shall desire a reason of us if any shall hereafter speake of it to any of us. I conceive some objection may be grounded on this, that they were possesst of us at that tyme. Through God's mercy we (are) all well in or plantation, only Mr. Pynchon lately lost a boy who tendinge cowes near our river too ventuously went into a birchen canowe, wch overturned and he was drowned. Remember myne and my wfe's truest love to yor selfe and Mrs. Winthrop.

The Lord sanctifye ye passages of His providence to you and bear up your spirits in close walkeing with Him. Soe playes yor lovinge frinde to use in the service of ye Gospell.

G. Moxon.

In a resolution of the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay, adopted on the 2d of June, 1641, Massachusetts asserted her right of jurisdiction over the town of Agawam, which until the year before had been named Springfield, and organized a government, with Mr. Pynchon at the head.

The Resolution contains the following paragraphs:

The Petition being reade in open Court and the records and other writings perused and referred a committee to bee further examined, upon their report, the matter was again considered by the whole Court, and agreed that answers

should bee given thereunto as followeth, vid.: whereas the said petitionrs do certify as that some of their neighbors and friends upon Conectecott have taken offense at them for adhereing to or government and wthdrawing from that upon the river, supposing that they had formerly dismissed from their jurisdiction, and that wee had bound ourselves (by or own act) from claiming any jurisdiction or interest in Agawam, now Springfield, and for proofe hearof they alleadge some passabes in a commission granted by this Court in the first m.

In 1635, to the said Mr. Pynchon and others, for the government of the said inhabitants upon the said ryver, and some passages also in certeine articles supposed to have been propounded to them by the authority of this Court. It is hereby declared,

1st, That the said passages in the said commission (as they are expressed in the petition) are mis-recited, so as the true scope and intention is thereby altered; as 1st, Whereas the words in the commission are, they are resolved to transplant themselves; in the recital it is, to plant themselves. 2nd, In the commission it is said that those noble personages have interest in the ryver, and by vertue of their patent do require jurisdiction; in the recitall it is, that wee confesse it belongeth to their jurisdiction. 3d, In the commission it is provided this may not bee any prejudice to the interest of those noble, &c,; in the recitall it is, that nothing should bee done or intended to the prejudice of the lords or their intendments.

2nd. That the said commission was not granted upon any intent either to dismise the persons from us, or to determine any thing about the limits of jurisdictions, the interest of the lands, and or owne limits being as then unknowne; therefore it was granted onely for one yeare; and it may rather appeare, by or granting such a commission, and then accepting of it, as also that clause, viz,; Till some other course were taken, by mutuall consent, &c., that wee intended to reserve an interest then upon the ryver, and that themselves also intended to stand to the condition of the first licence of departure given to the most of them, wch was, that they should remaine still of or body.

3d. For those argumts wch they draw from those articles certified in the petition, wee answer, that they were propounded and drawen out onely by some of the magistrats of each party wthout any order or alowance of this Court; and therefore (whatsoever those magistrats might intend thereby) the intent of the Court cannot be gathered from any thing therein; but in those articles whch were agitated and brought to some issue in or Genrall Court at Cambridge, in the 4th mo. 1638, when their commissioners were present, Springfield, then called Agawam, was claymed by the Court (though by occasion of some private speach, &c.) to belong to us; and it was then agred by the Court, and yeilded unto by their commissioners, that so much of the cyver of Conectecot as should fall wthin the line of or patent should continew within our jurisdiction (and it was then taken for granted that Springfield would fall to us without-question); and those articles had then beene fully agreed on betweene the Court and their Commissionrs, had there not beene some question about them granting us free passage up the river, in regard to the lords' interest (as the alleaged).

Its Now Hearby Ordered, that Willi: Pinchen, gent, for this years shall hearby have full power and authority to governe the inhabitants at Spring-

field, and to heare and determine all couses and offenses, both civill and criminall, that reach not to life, limbs, or banishment, according to the lawes heare established; provided, that in matters of weight or difficulty, it shall bee lawfull for any party to appeal unto the Court of Assistants, at Boston, so as they prosecute the same according to the order of this Court; provided, also, that these tryalls bee by the oathes of 6 men, untill they shall have a greater number of inhabitants for that service.

The order which concludes the above record organizes a government at Springfield, and is in reality the act incorporating the town. It may, therefore, be considered that the town of Springfield was incorporated by the General Court on the 2d day of June, 1641.

At the River's Mouth—The Earl of Warwick obtained title to lands "from the Narragansett to the Pacific Ocean, "including the lower valley of the Connecticut", in 1631. When John Winthrop came as governor in 1635, associated with Lord Say-and-Sele, and Lord Brooke, there were the famous John Hampden, Lord Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, John Pym, and several other men of birth and distinction. These "patentees" exacted from Governor Winthrop the condition that he would "build a fort within the bounds of which would be houses for men of quality"; and he was directed to reserve about twelve hundred acres of land for maintenance of the fort and garrison.

The arrival of Winthrop's vessel with twenty men in October, 1635, prevented the Dutch, already established at Hartford, from carrying out their intention of building their own fort at the river's mouth. The English took possession, and started carrying out the elaborate plans of their "proprietors." These plans called for the housing of three hundred men, who were expected to arrive from England immediately, two hundred of these to garrison the fortification, fifty to build houses of various kinds, and fifty to till the soil.

Lieutenant Lion Gardiner, a skilled English engineer, was sent to take charge of the building of the fort and the laying out of a town. His son, David Gardiner, born November 6, 1636, was the first white child born in the territory now the State of Connecticut. He had charge of the garrison during the Pequot war, of which later mention will be made.

In 1639, the official "agent" of the "proprietors", George Fenwick, the only one of the latter to see the river-mouth settlement, returned from England to the fort, with his wife, the former Lady Boteler. She was known as "Lady Fenwick", and her tomb in old Saybrook Cemetery is annually visited by thousands.

Mr. Fenwick was a sterling and pious gentleman who had been a Gray's Inn barrister; and he took upon himself the leadership at Saybrook, with almost the authority of a governor. Fenwick, in the year 1644, sold out his interest in the settlement at Saybrook to the upper towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. The conditions of the sale were that Mr. Fenwick, during the period of ten years, should receive the avails of certain duties to be collected from all vessels passing out of the river, and of certain taxes on the domestic trade in beaver and live stock.

The purchase and maintenance of the fort were deemed necessary by the Connecticut people for the protection of all the towns on the river, including Agawam, to pay this debt to Mr. Fenwick and to raise money sufficient to maintain the fort. It was, therefore, resolved to impose a duty upon all exports which should pass out of the river. To effect this object, officers were appointed at Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, to give clearances to vessels outward bound, and the fort at Saybrook was authorized to "make stays" of vessels which did not produce such clearances.

The traders from Springfield, the other river town, refused to pay this duty, on the ground that, as they belonged to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, Connecticut had no right to impose the same upon them, and they promptly laid the matter before the General Court of Massachusetts, at Boston. This duty was imposed on the 5th day of February, 1645.

On the 18th day of June of that year the Massachusetts General Court adopted this resolution, viz:

> Itt is ye minde of this House yt none of ours should pay any import to any of Connecticut jurisdiction, with relation to ye passing through any parte of Connecticut River.

Westfield's Beginnings—The region westward from Springfield, now Westfield, was called "Woronoak", sometimes "Worrinoke" and "Woronock." Wright's studies in Indian nomenclature, fix the meaning of the word (from an Algonquin root), as "the circular way", or "the winding land." Trumbull's "History of Connecticut", and other early authorities say that in 1640 the exclusive right to trade there with the Indians was granted to deputy governor Hopkins of Connecticut, under the assumption that it was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut; and that he erected a trading house there. Disputes immediately arose as to the boundary line between the Agawam and Hartford settlements, Woronoak being claimed by both Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay jurisdictions.

The matter was brought up in the General courts of both colonies, and March 4, 1641, a letter concerning the Westfield controversy was addressed to the Hartford tribunal which contained the following:

It is grievous to meete wth any occation that might cause difference to arise between yr people and us, standing in so near relation of friendship, neighborhood and Christianity, especially; therefore or study is (when any such arise,) to labor the removeing of them upon the first appearance. Now so it is that wee have been certified that you have given leave to some of 203 youres to set up a trading house at Waronoch, which is known to bee wthin or patents, lying as much (or more) to the north than Springfield. Wee heare also that you have granted to Mr. Robert Saltonstall a great quantity of land, not far beneath Springfield, which we conceive also belongs to us. Wee desire you to consider of it that which we apprehend to bee an injury to us and do us such right in redresse hereof as you would expect fro us in like case. Wee suppose wee shall not need to use other Argumts; wee known to whom wee wright.

We have thought meete upon these occations to intimate farther unto you that wee intend (by God's help) to know the certainty of or limits, to the end that wee may neither intrench upon the right of any of or neighbors, nor suffer orselves and or posterity to bee deprived of what rightly belongeth unto us, wch wee hope will bee wthout offense to any. And upon this wee may have some ground of proceeding in or further treaty with you..... about such things as may concerne the welfare of us all. These things wee leave to yr consideration and shall expect yor answer. In the meantime wee rest....."

After being referred to the Board of Commissioners for the United Colonies, an order in September, 1644, awarded Woronoak to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. To the credit of Deputy Governor Edward Hopkins, George Fenwick of Saybrook, and others, who tried to clear their titles to Woronoak, it should be said that they acquiesced gracefully when shown that they were in error. By a vote of the General Court, 1647, it was "Ordered by this Court that Woronoke upon Connecticut River within this jurisdiction, shall be a part of ye towne of Springfield and liable to all charges, there as other pts of the same towne; untill erecting some other plantation more convenient, it shall be thought fitt by ye Court to annex it to such new plantation."

That this settlement of the qestion was understood by the authorities is shown by their later votes. For example, in town meeting January 7, 1655, it was voted to appoint "John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke, Thomas Cooper, Benjamin Cooley, and George Colton, a commission to dispose of ye land at Woronoco to such men as they saw fit, & what quantity they should give to any pson whomsoever it should be esteemed their ppriety & ye act of ye

Towne...." In June 1656 this commission made a report to the town of their stewardship, and showed how it had been divided into four parts "and so distributed to four severall psons." The same date it was also voted "for the incorridgement of such as will appeare to live so remote", that for the ensuing six years ratable estate "shall be rated but half so much as other land in Springfield."

CHAPTER II

THE RED MAN AND THE WHITE

What the First Settlers Found and How They Were Received— Journeying from the then-unknown interior, a friendly Connecticut Valley sagamore, Wahginnicut, on April 4, 1631, visited the Colonial headquarters of Winthrop at the Bay, as described in the Governors' official records, telling eloquently of the wonderful territory "a few days march" (having in mind the slower gait of the whites!) to westward, and pressing a request upon the English to come at once as planters and hunters to his region of the great "Fresh Water" or "Quonenek-ta cutt" River. His glowing accounts of the resources of the Connecticut Valley particularly impressed Governor Winslow at Plymouth. He accepted the sachem's offer of "seed corn, and eighty skins of beaver, yearly", and sent men to explore the country. They found the river-valley region all that the Indians had represented, "a capacious stream of pure water, bordered by extensive bottoms, partially cleared, upon which quantities of corn and other esculents were cultivated by the natives." They also found fish in great abundance, and much game, including wolves, bear, fox, moose, beaver, otter.

In August, 1633, a trading bark arrived from Boston at the mouth of the Connecticut River. At the same time, Oldham with three companions was making his overland journey to lower waters of the stream. Then came William Holmes, whose ideas on dealing with the natives were similar to those of William Penn; for he inspired confidence by bravely sailing up the river, despite the menace of the Dutch fort at Hartford, as already noted, landed at Windsor, bought his chosen building-spot of the Indian possessors of the land, and set up a trading post. He enclosed his house with a stockade; for the Indian neighbors, belonging to the Algonquin family advised preparedness against the periodical incursions of their traditional enemies, the Five Nations, to whom the Connecticut Valley savages paid annual though reluctant tribute. The building material had been brought on their small ship; and when the house had been erected, fortified and provisioned, it was left with a few defenders while the rest went safely down the river and around to Boston. At this time it was estimated that more than five thousand warrior-natives were within easy marching distance of the river's mouth, while only about three hundred and

fifty white men were capable of intensive fighting in the whole Connecticut Valley.

Mislaid Woronoco Land Title—An essential part of the history of earliest Westfield is the question which came up in 1684 and later, in the form of an admission of Captain John Pynchon that the original deed to the Westfield lands which he had purchased in 1663 from Paupsunnick had been "mislaid," "not to be found at present." This statement of Captain Pynchon is included in the records of the county, is found in the Wright book of "Indian Deeds" (1905), and is referred to by the late Charles Barrows in his invaluable book of "Indian Place Names," as "lost for more than two centuries, albeit in Springfield the whole time."

The recorded paper of 1684 making special reference to the lately-found deed of 1663 is in part as follows:

These presents testifie that I, John Pynchon of Springfield, Several yeeres since made a purchase of the Lands at Westfield of the Indians..... of Paupsunnick the wife of Panesan, to whom the right..... did belong..... I did truly pay for the same about Fifty pounds, whc sum I have received from the Inhabitants of Westfield according to Each man's. Proportion on whose behalfe I acted.....

The Deed whereof from the Indians (whether dlrd up to Westfield inhabitants or mislaid) not to be found at present, I doe engage it shall come to hand to dlr it up to the present Inhabitants of Westfield to Whom of Right the Land belongs, according as Each Man's proportion is or hath been Laid out to Him: And in the meantime I doe hereby declare & Testify that I acted in the premises for the Township of Westfield and Inhabitants or Proprietors thereof in General And Doe for me my heirs & Assigns resign up al my Genll Right Title & Interest in Said Lands on the South Side of the River at Westfield, then called Woronoake, Reserveing only what particular Grant or Right I have therein, this only excepted to me, my heires & Assigns for Ever. All the Rest of the sd Lands there Now and Henceforth to belong and be to the severall Inhabitants & Proprietors thereof, according as Each man's. Proportion is at present Laid out to Him, or shal herefter be granted & distributed to Him, Them or their heires & assignes; by the town of Westfield aforesd; And by these presents Doe for myselfe my heires executors, Administrators & Assignes Relinquish al Right & Title to said Lands, except as before Excepted, Ratifying & confirming the aforementioned Lands unto the Town of Westfield. That is to Say to the present Inhabitants or Proprietors Thereof, according to Each Man's Proportion therein, either alreadie divided or as may hereafter be further distributed to them for the use & benfite of sd Inhabitants & Proprietors, themselves their Heires & Assignes for ever. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seale this IIth day of Febrary, 1684.

John Pynchon, (with his Seale affixt)

Signed Sealed & delided
in ye presence of

Samuel Marshfield Jonathan Burt Sen John Holyoke
April 22d. 1685. Entered this Deed to the Inhabitants of Westfield, by me John Holyoke, Recorder.

In all other histories ante-dating Lockwood's "Westfield and its Historic Influences", without the knowledge of the lost deed above referred to, doubt has been recorded as to the real date when the land which is now Westfield was purchased of the Indians. Long years after the original deed "mislaid" and "not being to be found at present" by John Pynchon, came to light in research by the author of this history, in the William Smith Elwell collection of manuscripts from which a wealth of material now published has been obtained.

The important re-discovered Paupsunnick deed to John Pynchon for Westfield lands, May 4, 1663, is as follows:

Be it knowne to all men by these psents that Paupsunnick the wife of Panneasun of Woronoco on the one party Doth give grant Bargain & sell unto John Pynchon of Springfield on the other pty to him his heires assignes for ever & associates viz Robert Ashly and Geo. Colton yt to ye & theire heires forever viz All ye Grounds, woods, Trees Ponds water stoones meddows and uplands Lying & being on the Noreast side of Woronoco River, namely from ye Piece of ground called Potoowak downe southward along by Woronoco River side to a brooke called Tawtumsquassick being about or rather above halfe way from Woronoake to Springfield..... & from Woronoak River Norward. 3. or 4 Miles toward Quinetticot River and sa tract of Land called Yeumsk Minhansick Petaw Maunchaugsick Tammiskseach Pauckkatuck Ashkanuncksit & Tawtumsquassick withwhat ever other names it is or may be called being bounded by Potowwak on ye west or souwest & northeast by ye hills & swamps halfe way fro Woronoak River to Quinetticot River the said Paupsunnick wife of Panneasun doth clearly & absolutely Grant & sell it to John Pynchon of Springfield aforesd & to his heires & assinges for ever & that for & in consideration of 150 fodam of wampum & some coates, other things ye Receite wheroff I doe by these prsents acknowledge & for other good causes & considerations me thereunto moving Doe grant & sell & have given granted & sold all ye aforesd tract of Land to John Pynchon of Springfeild his heires & assignes for ever free from and Incumbrance & molestation of any Indians & I ye sd Paupsunnick will unto ye sd Pynchon warrant ye premises agt all claimes whatsoever. In testymony wherrof I doe hereunto set my hand this 4th day of May 1663.
wittnesses hereunto are
The mark (mark) of Paupsunnick
John Holyoke
Abell Wright
The mark (mark) of Lowontock an Indian witness.

The mark of the grantor is apparently the figure of an animal

but the paper between the outlines has fallen out. The deed is "backed" as follows:

Deed fro Paupsunnick for Land at Westfield on this side Woronoak River (Where Tho Noble dwelt) & So Pacatuck & Askkanuncksit &c I Purchased of her. Also:

The Purchase of the Land on this side of Woronoak River of Paupsunnick.

The John Holyoke, referred to in both deeds as witness, was the same of whom Westfield's first minister, Rev. Edward Taylor, wrote in 1679, when he had served but eight of his fifty-eight years; "Westfield, then Worronoake, coming to be an English Plantation, had first Mr. John Holyoake, son to that Godly Capt. Elizur Holyoake of Springfield, to dispense ye word of Life amongs them Ano Dni; 1667 about a year; but in ye beginning of winter following he as finding ye ministerial work too heavie for him desisted from which time till ye beginning of winter they had no minister." One of this man's descendants was the Rev. Edward Holyoke of Marblehead, chosen 10th president of Harvard College, in 1737, at a salary of six hundred pounds per annum.

The Abell Wright, who is a witness to the Paupsunnick deed, is the brave Indian fighter, born in England in 1631, who in 1656 was granted twenty acres of land "lying in ye great plain over ye river called Chickuppy." "Lieutenant" Abel Wright's direct descendant, Mrs. John G. King, of Hyde Park, has supplied interesting points concerning the activities of this sterling citizen. His three-acre "home-lot" was near "ye Round Hill", close to where Memorial Church now stands; and his pew was number eight in the earliest church, where heads of families were seated according to rank. His own wife, Martha (Kitcherel) was later scalped by savage Indian raiders, and the wife of Henry, one of his thirteen children, was carried away into Indian captivity, and never afterwards heard of. Samuel Marshfield, also a witness before mentioned, sat in pew number three. He was a measurer and appraiser of lands, a hunter and trader in furs of beaver, moose, and other animals, and was selectman (with George Colton and John Pynchon) in 1666. Robert Ashley was one of the witnesses, (as well as one of the jury), in the Moxon slander case in 1640. He was licensed to "keep an ordinary for common entertaynement" in 1646, and was a selectman in 1653 and later, George Colton was one of the original board chosen to allot the lands in the year when the famous Westfield deed was drawn. He and Robert Ashley were con-

sidered of sufficient prominence in the year in which this deed was drawn, to be seated together in pew number one in the church. In that same year, October 29, 1663, the founder of Springfield, William Pynchon, "exiled" to England, died at Wraysbury-on-Thames, Buckinghamshire, aged seventy-two, the news being brought to Springfield two months later. The words, "Land where Tho. Noble dwelt" on this side Woronoak river", in the handwriting of Captain John Pynchon on the back of this land-title, refers, according to the antiquarium, Mr. Wright, to the outskirts of present-day Westfield, nearest West Springfield, where the State Sanitarium now stands.

Dealings with the Indian Proprietors—The white colonist found the land he intended to conquer already occupied by the red Indian. From time immemorial the American aboriginal and so-called savage tribes had held possession, rightfully inherited, of the unincumbered soil of New England and the unknown continent beyond, under straight, clear title from father to son; and the English emigrants were themselves "hostiles" (to the true owners), invaders, encroachers, and trespassers before they became purchasers. It was natural that many of the Connecticut Valley Indians at the first quite friendly, should become suspicious, after some of the "bargaining" had been completed.

The first settlers from England found the land possessed by two great Indian families between the Atlantic Ocean and the Great Lakes, named by the French, Iroquois and Algonquins, the latter the larger. The Iroquois were most numerous in and around Central New York State, a shrewd, fierce, savage race, warring on their neighbors in a spirit of conquest, and breathing continual vengeance on all outsiders. The Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga, Onondaga and Mohawk, sub-divisions of the Iroquois people, had habits, customs, and dialects of their own, though acknowledging their allegiance to an Iroquois government. Of these, the Mohawk Indians, bordering on the western banks of the Hudson River, but claiming by right of conquest all the eastern country between the Hudson and the Connecticut rivers, collected annual but unwilling tribute in wampum, furs and produce, of the Woronoaks, the Agawams, the Nonotucks, the Pacomptucks, the Squawkeags, and Nipmucks, members of the milder Algonquin people living in or near the Connecticut Valley. Two of the older Mohawk chiefs would be chosen annually to cross the Hudson in their birch-bark conoes, carry the latter over streams and mountains to the head-waters of the Agaw-

am (Westfield) River, and, descending to the Connecticut at Springfield, collect the revenue, which the Western Massachusetts Indians know better than to refuse to "pay".

Just before the arrival of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, a fatal distemper had carried off great number of the Indians of New England, including many of the members of the Connecticut valley tribes just mentioned. Previous to that it is estimated that there may have been as many as 40,000 included in these southern New England tribes.

"Pretended Right" Of Inheritance—In February, 1629, the wise old head of the "New England Company for Massachusetts Bay Plantation", Mathew Cradock, writing to the deputized governors, laid down the humane proposition that it was the earnest desire of "our whole Company that you have a diligent and watchful eye over our own people that they may live unblamable and without reproof, and demean themselves justly and courteously towards the Indians." Wright's "Indian Deeds", contains another bit of official instruction, transmitted through the Company's field headquarters, dated at Gravesend, April 17, 1629. In it are the words, "If any of the Salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the land granted in our Pattent, we pray you to endeavor to purchase their Tytle, that wee maye avoide the least scruple of intrusion!" In March, 1633-34, at the General Court held in Boston, it was ordered that "noe person whatsoever shall buy any land of any Indian without leave of the Courte." Later it was ordered that every town should keep a record book of ownership and transfers of all lands, and furnish the Court with a transcript of the same. And it was also provided that every county, in which there was located lands bought, sold or transferred, should make its own or "County Records", instead of the separate towns.

Mention just made of the remarkable book of "Indian Deeds", to which this volume refers freely, is because from it are secured accurate facts in earliest Massachusetts history not to be had from any other source. Harry Andrew Wright, in his introduction to this scholarly and exhaustive work, refers to the chief reason for his not copyrighting the wealth of material he has "sought out and set in order." This is that "it may be used to the fullest extent by the historian and the student of the Indian",—and to "provide a working basis" in research work which shall be more correct than any hitherto supplied. In connection with what we have just said about the most important early recording of land-transactions, Mr.

Wright interestingly says that "From these small beginnings came the modern system of land-registration not copied from the laws of the mother-country, but originated to meet new and imperative needs." Grateful acknowledgment is made for the frequent references here made to Mr. Wright's patient and invaluable work.

"In the Indian language every name described the locality to which it was affixed. The same name might be given to more than one place, but these were never so near together that a mistake in identity could be occasioned by the repetition. Some of these are impossible to translate today on account of the transformations which they have gone through. It is only by securing earliest spelling that convincing proof can be obtained. The earlier forms, being more correct than the modern, corrupted forms, assist materially in securing the correct meaning." "The language spoken in the Connecticut valley was a dialect of the Algonquin. This was the language spoken throughout nearly all the Atlantic seaboard, all New England and the greater part of Canada. There are today in Canada many pure blood Indians who speak almost the identical dialect used here hundreds of years ago."

The Valley Indians—The "father of the Connecticut Valley settlements", William Pynchon, and his fellow-adventurers, found Western Mascachusetts apparently owned by a few straggling bands of Indians, each controlled by its own petty sachem or sagamore. There was a humane and genuine disposition on Pynchon's part to secure from the first owners the title to these lands. In some cases the Indian deeds well illustrate the land greed of the early settlters. As a rule the Indians readily agreed to the wampum, hatchets, hoes, knives, and other articles of trade and barter. reserving only that which was of value to them,—the right to hunt and fish on some part of the premises. "As soon as they sold one of their properties, they simply moved back to new territory, which in turn they sold and moved yet further on."

That the pioneer white settlers desired to be just in all their dealings with their Indian fellow-citizens is frequently apparent in the New England Court records. For example, in the spring of 1650 Thomas Miller was ordered to be given fifteen lashes because he "struck an aged Indian with the butt of his gun;" a penalty which he escaped suffering only through paying the complainant "a goodly sum in wampum." Further evidence that the authorities held to their purpose on being fair to the natives, is found in William Pynchon's own handwriting in the notes appended to a

remarkable deed endorsed "Purchase of Land of Chickuppy up to Wallamansock scape; and of Sheepmuck and the land adjoining with Fathers' deed of Gift of it" (this endorsement in the writing of William's son John). This deed dated April 20, 1641, gives the release of the land mentioned, in quaint spelling, particularly interesting to modern residents of "Willimansett", in consideration of much wampum, "double shagg bayes, one how, seaven knifes, seaven payer of sessars and seaven aules, with certaine fishhooks and other small things given at their request". It seems that one squaw "caled Secousk, widow of Kenix," was given "12 handes of wampum and a knife", at the time of the first sale. The Pynchon note, written three years and two months later, June 1644, refers to this payment to Secousk as coming again to Mr. Pynchon and complaining "that she had not a full coat as some others had. Theruppon I gave her a childe coate of Redd Cotton which came to 8 hande more of wampum and a glasse," "in the presence of Janandua, her present husband....and she was fully satisfied." It is interesting to note in passing that Mr Wright estimates the money value of the commodities given at the time of this "Chickuppy" sale to have been about fourteen pounds and seven shillings, for the tract, practically three miles square!

The Algonquin Family—Surrounding the few tribes of the Iroquois on every hand dwelt the much more numerous tribes of the Algonquin family, to which belonged all the New England tribes, as well as the New York Indians who dwelt east of the Hudson.

Northward of the Iroquois were the Nipissings, La Petite Nation, and La Nation de l'Isle, and other tribes in the valley of the Ottawa River. Along the valley of the St. Lawrence dwelt the Algonquins proper, the Abenaguis, the Montagnais, and other roving bands below the mouth of the Saguenay.

The Algonquins and Montagnais, and the other wild rovers of the country of the Saguenay, who subsisted mostly by the chase, were often during the long Canadian winters, when game grew scarce, driven by hunger to subsist for many weeks together upon the buds and bark, and sometimes upon the young wood, of forest-trees. Hence their hereditary enemies, the more favored Mohawks, called them in mockery of their condition "Adirondaks," that is to say tree-eaters. This name, thus borne in derision, was given by Prof. Emmons to the principal mountain chain of Northern New York, and has since been applied to its whole wilderness region, now so famous for summer resorts.

The New England tribes of the Algonquin family dwelt mostly along the sea-coast, and on the banks of larger streams. In Maine, the Etetchemins dwelt farthest east at the mouth of the St. Croix River. The Abenaquis, with their kindred tribe the Taratines, had their hunting-grounds in the valley of the Penobscot, and as far west as the river Saco and the Piscataqua. In the southeast corner of New Hampshire, and over the Massachusetts border, dwelt the Pennacook or Pawtucket tribe. The Massachusetts nation had their home along the bay of that name and the contiguous islands. It was a tradition of this tribe that they formerly dwelt farther to the southwest, near the Blue Mountains, and hence their name "Massadchusit", or "near the great mountains".

The Wampanoags or Pokanokets dwelt along the easterly shore of Narragansett Bay, in Southeastern Rhode Island, and in the contiguous part of Massachusetts adjoining these, being near neighbors of the Plymouth Pilgrims. The Nansets along Cape Cod were a family of the Wampanoags, and paid them tribute. Next in line were the Narragansetts, and their sister tribe the Nyantics, along the westerly shore of Narragansett Bay, in Western Rhode Island. Between the Narragansetts and the river Thames in Southeastern Connecticut, then called the Pequot River, dwelt the Pequot nation; and between the Pequots and the east bank of the Connecticut River was the home of Uncas and his Mohicans.

On the west side of the Connecticut, the territory of the Mohawks was supposed to begin; and in Western Massachusetts, and in what is now the State of Vermont, no Indian tribes had permanent homes. This large territory was a beaver-hunting country of the Iroquois.

The Indians of the Valley—The valley of the Connecticut in Massachusetts was occupied by several tribes, or remnants of tribes, all of which seemed to owe some sort of fealty to the Nipmucks or Nipnets of Central Massachusetts, if not to the more powerful Pequots, Wampanoags, and Narragansetts.

In the vicinity of what is now the city of Springfield dwelt the Agawams. They claimed all the territory lying on both sides of the Connecticut, between the Enfield Falls below and the South Hadley Falls above. The principal village of the Agawams was situated on the Pecowsic Brook, which heads in the eastern part of Longmeadow and discharges into the Connecticut nearly on the town line between Springfield and Longmeadow; another on the bank of the Agawam River, and probably others in various parts of the country.

On a peculiarly-shaped bluff, about a mile and a half south of the center of Springfield and some fifty rods southeasterly of the east end of the new bridge crossing to Agawam and on what is called "Long Hill," they had a strong palisaded work overlooking the valley and virtually impregnable to Indian attack. It was protected on all sides excepting a narrow neck, fifty yards in width, which connected it with the mainland by steep banks descending to two steep ravines on the north and south, and to the bottom-lands bordering the Connecticut on the west. Water was convenient immediately under the wall of the fortress on the south, and the whole area, occupying from one to two acres, was admirably adapted to such use.

The Pequot Uprising 1636-1637—The first great tragedy of the early settlement of the Connecticut Valley was the "Pequot War" in which the whites destroyed the Pequot Indian nation in 1636 and 1637.

This war occurred soon after the first settlers arrived at Springfield, and they were then so few in number that they took but little if any part in it, but its results were of the utmost importance to them. The Pequots were the most powerful tribe living in the vicinity of the Connecticut Valley, and their destruction was a great relief to the infant settlements.

The situation of the settlements on the Connecticut River at the time was perilous in the extreme. In all the towns from Springfield to New Haven in the year 1636, there were scarcely two hundred and fifty men capable of bearing arms. The savage tribes of the wilderness surrounding them, whose hunting-grounds reached from the Hudson River on the west to the Narragansett Bay on the east, could, if united, have fallen upon them with a force of four or five thousand warriors. The three most powerful nations were the Pequots, near by, the Narragansetts, farther east, and the Mohicans, on the west. Their near neighbors, the Pequots, endeavored to unite their sister tribes in a war of extermination against the whites, not only of the Connecticut Valley, but of all New England; but failing to do this, the Pequots entered the contest alone. The result was the total destruction of them as a nation. They were all slain or scattered as slaves to the English or the surrounding savage tribes.

This decisive blow doubtless saved the colonies of New England from annihilation. It struck such terror into the surrounding nations that it was forty years before another generation of war-

riors, under King Philip, again threatened the destruction of the New England people.

The Pequot country was in the southeasterly part of what is now the State of Connecticut, bordering on Long Island Sound, and running northward between the river Pawcatuck, now the western boundary of Rhode Island, and the river then bearing their name, but now called the Thames. It will be seen that the western boundary of the Pequot country was not more than thirty miles distant from the nearest infant settlement on the Connecticut River.

The Pequots had overawed the Narragansetts, whose hunting grounds lay to the east of theirs, but had not yet subjected them; while the Mohicans, their near neighbors to the east, had long paid them unwilling tribute, but were now ready for rebellion.

The chief sachem of the Pequots, whose name was Sassacus, had twenty-six subordinate sachems, with their people, under his sway.

Sassacus had become discontented at what he considered to be the encroachments of the English people upon his hunting-grounds in the valley of the Connecticut, and resolved to drive them away.

To effect his purpose, he attempted to unite the neighboring tribes in a war of extermination against the English. He made overtures to his hereditary enemies, the Narragansetts, for a union against the English and had he succeeded in conciliating them, he would doubtless have enlisted the Mohicans in the scheme. But Roger Williams, at the risk of his life, visited the Narragansett country, and through his influence the ancient hostility of the Narragansetts was too much for the insidious diplomacy of Sassacus, and the Pequots were obliged to enter the contest alone. Through the influence of Williams, some of the Narragansett chiefs even went to Boston in the autumn of 1636, and concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the English.

Stone, Norton and Oldham—Sassacus was the prototype of King Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh, and had he succeeded in forming his union of the tribes, the days of the New England people would have been numbered before they had scarcely begun their settlements in the New World.

The Pequot War had virtually begun four years before, in 1633, when some Indians belonging to the tribe of Sassacus murdered two English traders, with their whole company, who had gone up

the Connecticut River to trade with the Dutch. These traders were named Stone and Norton.

In going up the river with their crew of six persons they admitted twelve of the natives on board their vessel, and engaged others to pilot two of their men farther up the stream. These two men were murdered by their guides, and the twelve Indians on board the vessel the same night rose upon her company, while all were asleep, and put them to death. The wily Sassacus, in October of the year following, fearing attacks, both from the Narragansetts and the Dutch, sent messengers to Boston to make overtures of peace.

His envoys agreed to surrender the only two murderers of Stone then surviving, and pay "smart-money" in the form of wampum and furs; but the Pequots soon grew arrogant and violated their treaty.

The murder of Stone was followed by the murder of John Oldham, on the 20th of July, 1636. Oldham, with two boys on board his vessel, was on a trip to the Connecticut River, with whose people he had opened commercial relations. While near Block Island, he was surprised and killed by the Indians. When the intelligence of the death of Oldham reached Boston it occasioned great uneasiness, and Governor Vane dispatched ninety men, under the command of John Endicott, of Salem, in three small vessels, to Long Island Sound, to chastise the arrogant Pequots.

It seems that Endicott did not acquit himself of this trust in a very satisfactory manner. He killed and wounded some of the Block Islanders, destroyed their canoes, burned their houses, and cut down their corn. He then sailed for the Pequot country and demanded of Sassacus surrender of the murderers of Stone, the delivery of hostages for further good conduct, and the payment of a thousand fathoms of wampum. The Pequots, before this conference was ended, discharged their arrows at his men and fled to their forts. After burning some of their wigwams and canoes, and collecting some corn, Endicott returned to Boston without loss of any men.

The Narragansetts afterward reported that Endicott killed thirteen and wounded forty Pequots. His movements only served to irritate the warlike Pequots, and Sassacus, without delay, attempted the union of the tribes already spoken of. Failing in this, and resolving to carry on the war alone, Sassacus took immediate measures to spread consternation among, and to provoke the resentment of, the whites and their allies.

In October, 1636, they murdered Butterfield near Gardiner's fort, at the mouth of the river, and a few days later took two white men out of a boat and tortured them to death with ingenious barbarity. During the winter they constantly kept a marauding-party near the fort, burning out-buildings and killing cattle. In the spring, Gardiner went out with ten men to do some farm work. His party was waylaid by Pequots, and three of them slain.

Soon after, two men while sailing down the river were taken out of their canoe, their bodies cut in two, lengthwise, and the parts hung up by the river's bank as a warning to strange boatmen and trespassers.

A man who had been carried off by the Indians from Wethersfield was roasted alive, and soon after, that place was attacked by a hundred Pequots who killed seven men, a woman, and a child, and carried away two girls into captivity.

The War Begun—The Pequots had now put to death no less than thirty of the English, and the infant settlements on the Connecticut River had become thoroughly aroused to a sense of the impending danger.

The time had come when the question must be settled, once for all, which should hold the land, the white man or the Indian,—but the two hundred and fifty men proved equal to the emergency.

The Pequots numbered no less than a thousand warriors, and had they succeeded in uniting with them the Narragansetts and the Mohicans, the combination could have sent into the field five thousand warriors. As there was still danger of such a union of the tribes, no time was to be lost.

Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies were both solicited for aid. Massachusetts made a levy of a hundred and sixty pounds in money, and "ordered that the war, having been undertaken on just grounds, should be seriously prosecuted;" but such was the emergency that the Connecticut people could not wait till these troops should come up, and a force of ninety men, under the command of Captain John Mason—forty-two of whom were furnished by Hartford, thirty by Windsor, and eighteen by Wethersfield—was on the 1st of May dispatched against the Pequot country.

Captain Mason had seen service in the Netherlands under Sir Thomas Fairfax, who then formed so high an opinion of his merits that he afterward urged him to return to England and help the patriotic cause.

Captain Mason first settled at the Bay, and, while there, was a

member of a committee to direct fortification at Boston, Dorchester, and Castle Island. Before he came with his fellow-townsmen to the Connecticut Valley, he had served two years as a deputy from Dorchester to the General Court.

Mason was first sent down the river, with twenty men, to reinforce the garrison at its mouth; but meeting Underhill there, with an equal force from Massachusetts, he left Underhill at the fort and returned to Hartford.

The Destruction of the Pequots—On the 10th of May, 1637, Mason set out with his whole levy, besides seventy friendly Indians, for the Pequot country. They embarked in three small vessels. The Rev. Mr, Stone, of Hartford, was chaplain of the expedition, while Uncas, sachem of the Mohicans, led the Indian warriors.

Upon arriving at Gardiner's Fort, at the mouth of the river, Mason added to his forces Underhill and his company of twenty men, and sent back twenty of his own men for the better security of the settlements up the river.

Before proceeding farther, a council of officers was held. Mason had been ordered to land at the mouth of Pequot River (now the Thames), and attack the enemy on their western frontier, but knowing that Sassacus, expecting to be invaded from that quarter, had strengthened himself accordingly, Mason desired to approach him from the east, and surprise the enemy's rear. But this would require several days' additional time, and his officers opposed leaving their homes so long, and shrank from disobeying their positive instructions. Mason, left alone, proposed that the conference should be adjourned until the morning, and that during the night their chaplain, Mr. Stone, should seek divine guidance in prayer. Early in the morning Mr. Stone went on shore, declaring that the captain's plan was the proper one. The council immediately determined unanimously, upon the advice of the chaplain, to adopt it.

The little squadron at once set sail from the fort, and on the following evening (that being the 20th of May) arrived near the entrance of Narragansett Bay, at the foot of what is now Tower Hill, which overlooks Point Judith.

The next day was the Sabbath, which they kept quietly on shipboard, and a storm prevented them from landing till Tuesday evening.

While here, Mason received a message from Providence, from Captain Patrick, who had arrived there with a Massachusetts

William the Third by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith &c. To our Trusty and Weldeloved John Pynchon, Samuel Partrigg, Joseph Hawley and Joseph Parson Esqr. Greeting:

Whereas the Great and General Court or Assembly of our Province of ye Massachusetts Bay in New England in America have lately revived the Act for Establishing of Judicatories and Courts of Justice within Our sd. Province except such paragraphs, articles, clauses and sentences thereof as have been heretofore repealed, altered or otherwise provided for by the General Assembly and with such further alterations and amendments as Wee have signified Our Royal pleasure to be necessary upon Our disallowance of the sd. Act. To continue and abide in full force until the end of the first Session of the General Assembly of Our sd. Province, to be begun and held upon the last Wednesday in May next anno 1697. and no longer. Wee have assigned And Do hereby constitute and appoint you Our Justices of Our Inferiour Court of Common Pleas within Our County of Hampshire during the continuance of the sd. Act. And you or any three of you to hear, try and determine all Causes and matters Civil by Law cognizeable in sd. Court. With authority to use and exercise all powers and Jurisdictions belonging to the same And to award Execution, and to do that which to Justice doth appertain according to Law.

In Testimony whereof Wee have caused the publick Seal of Our Province of the Massachusetts Bay aforesd. to be hereunto affixed. Witness William Stoughton Esqr. Our Lieutenant Governour and Commander in chief in and over Our sd. Province, at Boston the Sixteenth day of October 1696. In the Eighth years of Our Reign.

By Order of the Lieutenant Governour and Council.

Wm Stoughton

Jno Addington Secry.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM STOUGHTON'S COMMISSION NAMING HAMPSHIRE COUNTY JUDGES JOHN PYNCHON, SAMUEL PARTRIGG, JOSEPH HAWLEY, JOSEPH PARSON, OCTOBER 16, 1696, (ELWELL COLLECTION)

party, requesting him to wait until it could come up. Mason, deeming that a rapid movement was of more consequence than a larger force, concluded not to wait for Captain Patrick, and with his sixty Mohican allies, and four hundred more Indian warriors, furnished by the friendly sachems of the Narragansetts, on the 24th of May marched twenty miles westward to the Pequot country.

At night the party stopped at a fort, which, being occupied by some suspected neutrals, they invested until morning. On Thursday they marched fifteen miles farther west, and encamped at a place lying five miles to the northwest of the present village of Stonington.

They were now within two miles of the principal Indian fort, at which it was evident that no alarm had been given, for the sentinels could hear the noisy reveling within the place until long after midnight.

Sassacus had seen the little fleet pass to the eastward along the sound and supposed the English had abandoned their hostile intentions.

The encampment of Captain Mason was at a place that is now known as "Porter's Rocks," at the head of Mystic River.

The site of the Indian fort was two or three miles farther down the river, on its western side toward Mystic village. It was a palisaded fort, inclosing a circular area of an acre or two of ground. Along two streets were some seventy wigwams, covered with matting and thatch. At points opposite each other were two gateways leading into the fort, and it was resolved that Mason and Underhill, each at the head of half the Englishmen, should force an entrance through these openings from opposite directions, while the Indians that were left should invest the fort in a circle, to arrest the fugitives, should the attack prove successful.

The little band of Englishmen, wearied by their long march, slept soundly, until awakened in the morning, two hours before dawn.

Before breaking up their camp they took time to join in prayer, and under a bright moonlight set out toward the fort. The surprise was complete. Mason had come within a few feet of the sally-port which he was seeking, when a dog barked, and the cry of "O-wan-ux! O-wan-ux!"—meaning Englishman! Englishman!—was heard within. At the head of sixteen men Mason pushed into the inclosure, while Underhill did the same on the opposite side.

The awakened savages rushed out of their wigwams in terror,

but were soon driven back by the English broadswords and fire-arms. Again rushing forth, the contest became general, and there was danger that the English would be overpowered by numbers.

In this emergency Mason snatched a live firebrand from a wigwam and threw it on a matted roof, and Underhill set a fire with a train of powder in his quarter. The straw village was soon in flames. The scene within now beggars description. The Indians who escaped the fire were shot down by the muskets of the English, and those who escaped from the fort fell into the hands of the surrounding circle of Indian allies, who slaughtered them without mercy. Underhill, in his account, says:

> It is reported by themselves that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five persons escaped out of our hands.

Says another old chronicler:

> The number they destroyed was considered to be above four hundred. At this time it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the blood quenching the flame; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave praise thereof to God who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to inclose their enemies in their hands, and give them so speedy victory over so proud, insulting, and blasphemous an enemy!"

It was a scene distressing to humanity, yet the exigencies of the hour demanded the sacrifice. At the most urgent reasons for public safety less than a hundred determined men had taken their lives into their hands and marched into the enemy's country. Had they failed the result would have been utter annihilation not only of themselves but of the homes and kindred left behind.

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CHAPTER III

KING PHILIP'S WAR

Causes Leading To The Disturbance—Following the quelling of the Pequots in 1637, for a number of years the white settlers were at comparative peace with their Indian neighbors. That sanguinary struggle had, however, left rancor and distrustfulness here and there. Various happenings tended to keep bitterness aglow. Differences were bound to be fanned into serious flame. Shrewed observers soon began to realize, with dismay, that the gathering internecine troubles were bound to break out with fresh fury as time passed. The Narragansett Indians, allies of the English during the short-lived Pequot War, occupied the land which is principally in the limits of what is now Rhode Island. The friendliness of this tribe for the emigrants became strained. Their chief men saw, with much alarm, one ship-load after another arrive with new quotas of hardy adventurers. The natives became uneasy over the constant encroachments and apparently insatiate greed of the new-comers for more and more of the Indian territory,—inherited from their fathers, and, naturally by them regarded as their very own.

Miantonomo, chief of the Narragansetts, first became jealous over the marked intimacy and good will manifested in many ways between the Mohican sachem, Uncas, and the English, and particularly towards the newest white arrivals from overseas. He was especially offended over the distribution of conquered Pequots among the other tribes without his being consulted.

He had supposed this important part of matters connected with a settlement of the incipient war would be left to him; and his pride was deeply touched. The result was increasing friction, and frequent threatenings of serious outbreaks of the old troubles between these two ancient tribes, covering a period of many years. Miantonomo was constantly plotting to destroy Uncas; and and the English always taking the latter's part whenever trouble arose, he began to plot against them also. In 1642, his conspiracy to cut off all the English in the country was nipped in the bud. The wily chief appeared before the authorities at Boston, and after vehement protestations and smooth professions, signed a treaty in which he yielded all that was asked. The next year, 1643, he made the sad mistake of going on the war-path against Uncas.

The Mohicans defeated him, took him prisoner, and that was the last of Miantonomo. That very year the union of the four colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven and Connecticut was formed, for reciprocal protection against the Indians as well as against the increasing encroachments of the Dutch and French settlers, who were beginning to assert themselves. The famous coalition of the "United Colonies of New England" lasted over forty years. In 1645 the Narragansetts under new chieftainship, became so insolent that the colonies were obliged to over-awe the Indians to keep the peace; and the clash which seemed inevitable was for the time being avoided.

Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, highest in authority among numerous petty chieftains, is immortalized in American history for having kept faith, originally pledged to the settlers at Plymouth in 1621, for forty one years, or to the time of his death, 1662. His principal headquarters was at Mount Hope, near Bristol, Rhode Island. He had two sons, Alexander and Philip. The former died in the same year in which he succeeded to his father's dignities as head of the tribe, and the younger son became sachem. In almost every particular, Philip was the direct opposite of the wise old chief, Massasoit. Jealous, aggressive, calculating, indomitable, and possessing uncommon sagacity, he was the strongest possible contrast to the mild-mannered, faithful old chieftain who, shortly before his death, took both his sons before the English, expressing his earnest desire that between them and the English there might never be other than relations of amity. For nine years after the accession of Philip to the chieftainship, little is heard of him, save in business transactions with the English, involving the transfer of his lands. During this time, however, and in those very transactions, he saw with prophetic forecast, the scepter departing from his hand, and his lands occupied by strangers. Then too, his power had been increased by the acquisition of English arms, and by the confirmation of friendly relations with the Narragansetts, established before the death of Massasoit. The Narragansetts were powerful, and now hated the English, a fact most favorable to any schemes which Philip might devise against the latter. And these schemes did not long slumber. Skilled beyond savage diplomacy, possessing a mental power that, among the various tribes, carried with it great influence, brave even to ferocity, madly jealous of the English, and ambitious in proportion to the strength of his intellect, it is not strange that, trampling upon treaties, he should conceive the design of annihilating the English settlements in New

England. In 1670, his Indians were engaged in many suspicious movements. They frequently held assemblies, and were engaged in repairing their arms, and grinding their hatchets. There was evidently a nursing of ill blood towards the English among them, which found vent in occasional insults. The Plymouth Colony demanded of them the cause of such proceedings, and at the same time informed Massachusetts of the step they had taken. The latter dispatched three messengers who, with the Governor and two other gentlemen of Plymouth, met at Taunton. After considerable difficulty, they succeeded in bringing Philip to negotiations. After every possible equivocation, he confessed his designs upon the English. Owing, doubtless, to the imperfection of his plans, he consented to deliver up his English arms, numbering some seventy muskets, and signed an acknowledgment of his breach of faith and a renewed promise of fidelity. Once out of this troublesome presence, he forgot all his promises, and refused to come to Plymouth when sent for. The policy of Plymouth, all this time, was to go to war with Philip, but it was held in check by the more moderate counsels of Massachusetts Colony. Philip took advantage of the evident distaste of Massachusetts for war and "happening to come to Boston" on the very day an impatient message came from Plymouth, he appeared before the Governor, and represented affairs so favorably, and with such apparent fairness, that the Governor and Council wrote back to Plymouth, urging that Government to refer the matter between it and Philip for amicable settlement. Philip, while at Boston, promised not to enter into war with Plymouth without the approval of Massachusetts. Very soon after this, he was driven into another agreement, in which he pleged fidelity to the Plymouth government, and promised specific reparation of wrongs. From this time until 1674, Philip was busy with his schemes for uniting all the various tribes for the purpose of absolutely exterminating the English. The Nonotucks acknowledged the existence of such a plot. Suspicion was abroad, and this, by producing caution in furnishing the Indians with arms, made the sachem's preparations slow and difficult. Still the conspiracy progressed, and reached and affected the most friendly tribes, the Mohicans, who had been befriended by the English in their troubles with the Narragansetts, alone remaining true to their pledges. This latter tribe was, of course, ripe and ready for a scheme which would so revenge them upon the whites, and they agreed to furnish 4,000 men. The entire preparations were not to be perfected before 1676, but the storm broke prematurely.

The Praying Indian and the Rebel—For many years the "Indian Apostle", John Eliot, at first a Roxbury teacher, courageously and devotedly traveled as a missionary among the native tribes of Massachusetts and Connecticut. He converted many Indians to Christianity, preaching the gospel with eloquence and enthusiasm, and bringing thousands under its influence. One of these was the "praying Indian", John Sausaman, who, converted at Natick, had fled to Philip on the commission of some misdemeanor, and for some years was the king's counsellor and confidant. He was then prevailed upon to return to Natick. Subsequently, in an interview with some of Philip's Indians, he discovered their plots, and gave information of them. For this he was murdered by Philip's command, and the authorities at Plymouth arrested the murderers and hung them. This infuriated the restive chief. Forgetting prudence in revenge, he precipitated the war for which his allies were not yet prepared. After considerable angry bluster, and by mustering and marching his men endeavoring to provoke an attack, he entered Swansey, killed the settlers' cattle, and rifled some of their houses. On the 24th of June, 1675, his Indians fired on a citizen of Rehoboth. On the same day they entered Swanzey again, and murdered several more whites. This started out the Massachusetts forces. On the 26th, a foot and a horse company set off from Boston, toward Mount Hope, and they were soon overtaken by a volunteer company of one hundred and ten men under Captain Samuel Mosely, an old Jamaica pirate. They met a Plymouth company at Swanzey, where a brush with the Indians immediately occurred, in which one of the soldiers and half a dozen Indians were killed. In consequence of this, Philip was obliged to leave Mount Hope in haste, with all his forces. After some further unimportant skirmishes, orders came from Massachusetts for its companies to pass into the Narragansett country, and make a treaty with that tribe. They made their treaty (an easy thing to do with Indians unwilling or unready to fight) and, during their absence, the Plymouth forces, or a portion of them, went to Pocasset on a similar errand. Here they found themselves engaged in a different business, and one which cost the Indians a number of lives. The Massachusetts forces having concluded their treaty, returned to Taunton on the 17th, where they were joined by those of Plymouth in an attempt to dislodge Philip from a swamp at Pocasset. This expedition was disastrous, fifteen of the troops being killed, and Philip taking courage from their ill success.

This sudden onset of war surprised the Indians in every direction. They were not ready for it. Their hearts were in it, but their hands were not prepared. Some hesitated between adherence to peace with the English, and keeping faith with Philip, while others professed friendship, to gain time for watching the current of events. But the war spirit spread, and hostilities were commenced against the English in other quarters. On the 14th of July, the Nipmucks, occupying central Massachusetts, killed four or five people at Mendon. These Indians were in acknowledged subjection to those of Mount Hope, and their co-operation with them was not only natural, but had been anticipated and feared. Messengers were sent to them from Massachusetts authorities, to ascertain their state of feeling, and they were found surly and insolent.

The Death of Hutchinson—On the 28th of July, the Governor and Council sent Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler, with twenty horsemen, for the purpose of making some arrangement with these Indians. They were to meet them at Brookfield, with whose people the Indians had promised to make a treaty on the 2nd of August. On this promise the people of that lonely settlement implicitly relied, suspecting no danger.

This company reached Brookfield without trouble, and without seeing any Indians; and then, with a number of the settlers, and three Christian Indians, set out for the treaty-ground agreed upon. They reached the spot designated, but not an Indian was to be seen. Passing carelessly on, the Brookfield men being unarmed, they proceeded some five or six miles in the direction of the chief town of the tribe.

Arriving at a narrow passage between a hill and a heavy swamp, in the vicinity of Wickaboag Pond, they came suddenly into an ambuscade. From two to three hundred Indians poured upon them a deadly fire. Eight of the company fell dead, and three more received mortal wounds, among whom was Capt. Hutchinson. The names of those killed were Zachariah Phillips, of Boston, Timothy Farley, of Billerica, Edward Colburn, of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedley, of Concord, Sydrach Hapgood, of Sudbury, and Capt. Ayres, John Coye, and Joseph Pritchard, of Brookfield. Captain Wheeler was one of those badly wounded, his horse being shot under him. His son jumped from his own horse, and though his own arm was shattered, succeeded in placing his father in the saddle. Seizing for himself one of the riderless horses, the two managed to gallop away and escape together.

The survivors were several miles away from the settlement. Taking by-paths, pointed out by friendly Indians, they at last reached Brookfield, though hotly pursued, without further mishap. The town had become alarmed before they arrived, from hearing the firing. The chief dwellings in the town-center were at once deserted. One house was hurriedly fortified, and into it fled about seventy of the excited inhabitants; though it was poorly equipped or prepared for Indian attack. The remnant of the ill-fated Hutchinson party rushed into this house just in time, for they were hardly inside when the concentrated fire began pouring in from all directions. From every loop-hole of the fort came a well-aimed gun-fire. The crackling of flames from the burning of the deserted buildings of the town, the rushing of frightened and bellowing cattle from the blazing barns and the yells of the now furious Indians combined to distress and terrorize the whole settlement. The attacking party, soon reinforced, redoubled their efforts to destroy the English, falling upon the house with new determination to wipe it out. Keeping as far out of range of the settlers' guns as possible, they used arrows carrying blazing pine-knots, and long poles to which torches were tied with leather tongs. Then they tried carts filled with burning straw, and pushed these "fire-wagons" near the house with long spliced poles. Then, providentially, as it seemed, torrents of rain began to fall; and the moving bon-fires did no damage.

Night falling, quantities of combustibles were piled around the the house, and set afire. This drove out some of the whites to the near-by well. Though exposed to a hot fire, the water-carriers put out the fires and escaped without loss of a man. Morning came, August 4th, and while it was still dark, came seventy-year-old Major Simon Willard, with a troop of fifty horsemen from Lancaster, in hot haste to the relief of Brookfield. As they swept past the Indian sentinels, the stampeded cattle, driven out of the village by the fire and battle, fell in behind Major Willard's troopers. In the dusk the Indians thought there were much larger reinforcements than was actually the case, and they let the soldiers and cattle enter the village without firing a shot.

The soldiers got safely into the garrison, and the Indians, with daylight, renewed the attack. Several of the horses were killed, and the few remaining houses destroyed by fire. Eighty of the savages were killed, while only one of the fighters in the block-house lost his life. News of the battle in some unknown way

reached Springfield and a company from there under Lieutenant Thomas Cooper, including also thirty men from Hartford, for whom Major Pynchon had sent, and some friendly Indians—in all eighty men,—immediately set out for the relief of that settlement. They arrived after the danger was past, and some days afterwards returned home.

Companies under the command of Captains Lathrop and Beers, from the eastern part of the colony, also arrived, but too late to render any service. In the meantime, Philip, after remaining in the swamp at Pocasset and engaging in several skirmishes, left those quarters, the last days of July, and found his way into the Nipmuck country unpursued.

A Peck of Unstrung Wampum—It appears form the narrative of a Christian Indian, George, who was taken prisoner at the surprise of Captain Hutchinson's party on the 2d of August, that, on the 5th of that month, which must have been within a few hours of the time when the Indians retreated from Brookfield, Philip, at the head of forty men and a much larger number of women and children made his appearance in a swamp to which the besiegers had retired. But thirty of his men had muskets, and ten of them were wounded. The hunted chief was immediately a gratified listener to the story of the massacre and the siege, and, to signify his approbation, he distributed, with royal munificence, a peck of unstrung wampum beads each, to three of the Nipmuck sagamores. He started from Mount Hope with two hundred and fifty men. Some had left him, others were killed, and at that time only forty of his men remained with him. Philip acknowledged that if the English had followed him a day or two longer in the swamp, or even if he had been efficiently pursued when he left it, he must have been taken, as his ammunition was nearly exhausted.

Major Willard and his force still remained at Brookfield and had, in company with the auxiliaries from Springfield and the East, scoured the forests around without finding the enemy. The latter had fled westward, towards the Connecticuit. In consequence of this movement probably, rather than from any specific suspicion of the intentions of the Indians about Hadley, Captain Beers and Lathrop pushed on to that town, and there had, under their command, one hundred and eighty men. At last they became suspicious that the Hadley Indians were only waiting for an opportunity to join in the schemes of Philip, of whose arrival among the Pocom-

tuck Indians at Deerfield the event proved they were aware. These suspicions were based on the facts that they asked for no lands on which to plant corn as usual; that one of them had said there would be war that year; that they had withdrawn all their goods from the possession of the settlers, with whom they had been intrusted; that "they gave eleven triumphant shouts after the burning of Brookfield, as their manner was;" that two of Philip's Indians had been admitted into their fort, and various other equally suggestive circumstances. Hubbard says that these Indians first professed enmity to Philip, and offered to assist in fighting him, and that their duplicity was discovered by some friendly Mohican Indians, allies of the English. Accordingly, they were ordered to deliver their arms. Intimating their readiness to do this, though after considerable manifest hesitation, they deferred the matter until night. Then, it being the 25th of August, they secretly left their fort, and fled up the river.

Next day, Beers and Lathrop pursued them. Overtaking the fugitives near the base of Sugarloaf Mountain, in what is now known as South Deerfield, the whites opened fire, and a hot engagement followed. The Indians lost twenty-six killed and the English ten. The rest of the Indian party fled again, making good their escape to Philip; while Lathrop and Beers returned to Hadley headquarters. Nine of the soldiers killed were William Cluff, Azariah Dickinson, James Leven, Richard Fellows, Samuel Mason, John Plumer, Mathew Scales, Joseph Person, and Mark Pitman.

The New Western English Headquarters—Hadley, being centrally located in the settlements, and from its being on the neck of a peninsula, because it was less exposed than neighboring places to sudden attacks by the common enemy, became the English headquarters for all the white forces in the river campaign. The contingent from the Mohican tribe attached to the Hadley base formed part of the re-inforcements sent to the spot by both Massachusetts and Connecticut. Detachments from these new troops were stationed in garrison at Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield, and Northfield. Preparations had been made for the worse, and and the worse was expected. Deerfield was in the very midst of the hostile forces, and the exasperated Philip was on the spot. The Squakheags, at Northfield, were one with the Pocomtucks in intention and policy, and were doubtless in daily communication with Philip, as he was with them. These facts were apparent to

Major Treat of Connecticut, then commanding at Hadley. Even while he was deliberating and determining, the Indians had commenced their cruel work. A week had elapsed after the action in southern Deerfield, when they fell upon the settlers at Deerfield, killed one of them, and burnt the most of the village. This was the first of September, and but two or three days passed thereafter when they attacked Northfield, and killed nine men; the remaining settlers barely escaped destruction by flying to their fort. Before these disasters became known to Major Treat, he dispatched Captain Beers, with thirty-six mounted men, to Northfield, to convoy provisions to the garrison and settlers. His path was a long and tedious one, through unbroken forest, for about thirty miles. He passed up through the territory now occupied by the towns of Sunderland, Montague and Erving, going through many dangerous places without seeing an Indian. At last, his company dismounted, left their horses, and, retarded by the difficult progress of their baggage wagon, continued the march on foot. The company arrived within two miles of its destination, and were dreaming that its toils and dangers were over, when, in crossing a swampy ravine, they fell into an ambuscade. The ravine opened up upon their right for some distance, and here, and in front of the approaching victims, the savages lay concealed. As soon as Captain Beers and his men walked unsuspectingly into the snare, they received a murderous fire from the front and right, and many of them fell dead upon the spot. The remainder scattered in wild confusion, the Indians, yelling like demons, in full pursuit. Gaining the brow of a high hill, and a distance of three-quarters of a mile from the scene of slaughter, Captain Beers rallied some of his men, bravely maintaining his ground against overwhelming odds, till he fell fatally wounded. Because he made such a gallant fight, the hill where he fell and the plain over which he retreated, to this day appropriately bear his name. When his men saw him fall, leaving their dead and wounded, they became panic-stricken. Only sixteen of the thirty-seven men who engaged in the expedition returned to tell the tale at Hadley. Included among the slain were John Gatchell, Benjamin Crackburn, Ephraim Child, John Wilson, George Dickens, Robert Pepper, Thomas Cornish, Jeremiah Morrill, John Genery, Elisha Woodward, William Markham, and James Miller or Mullard.

As soon as the fight was over, the savages gave themselves to the commission of revolting barbarities. They cut off the heads

of some and stuck them on poles as warnings alongside the traveled paths. Others were tortured while still alive, and one of these had a chain-hook fastened behind the lower jaw, and by this fixture was drawn up to be suspended from the limb of a tree. All this Major Treat and a hundred of his men, coming up two days afterwards discovered. In spite of these appalling sights, intended in part to intimidate the soldiers, they pressed on to Northfield, bringing back from that remote settlement both garrison and inhabitants. While returning, Major Treat and his convoy met Captain Appleton with another force. The latter was anxious to keep advancing up the river. But Major Treat being of higher rank, prevailed upon the Appleton company to go back with him to Hadley. Only a little while after Major Treat had withdrawn the garrison and people of Northfield, the Indians applied the torch to the houses, barns, fort, and all the property of that place.

At this time Captain Moseley, who had distinguished himself in the campaign around Boston, commanded the garrison at Deerfield. Reinforcements of the troops at Hadley had taxed that and adjoining towns far beyond their capacity for supplies. But around Deerfield was a large amount of stacked wheat, which Hubbard states to have been some thousands of bushels. It was the nearest and most available food-resource in the extreme need of the settlers, an extremity the more apparent because of winter's approach. This wheat was especially valuable since it was within the power of the enemy to destroy it. Accordingly Captain Thomas Lathrop, of Salem, was detached from the Hadley garrison with eighty young men and several wagons with teamsters. All these men were from the eastern part of the State, and the historian Hubbard calls them "the flower of the county of Essex." Arrived safely at Deerfield, the grain was threshed and the baggage-wagons were loaded. On the 18th of September, without anxiety, since no Indians had been seen, and serene in their fancied security, the supply train started out for Hadley.

But their march, mission and determination were known to concealed watchers on every hand. Arriving nearly opposite Sugarloaf Mountain, not far from the scene of the fight with the fugitive Hadley Indians, their path lay across what was then known as "Muddy Brook," which was overshadowed with good-sized trees over which the wild grape vines, well loaded with fruit, had clambered. This brook-side thicket, like that of the successful Indian ambuscade at Northfield, made the best possible shield for the In-

dians, over seven hundred of them being concealed by it. Part of Lathrop's company marched across the stream, and halted to watch the passage of the heavily-loaded wagons. Without knowing they were in the very jaws of death, a good many of the soldiers climbed the trees and began feasting themselves on the wild fruit.

The Fatal Mistake—It was a fatal mistake of the whites. They were completely off their guard. It is believed that King Philip himself was with the assailants, and that his was the signal gun which brought a murderous fire from every brake, bush, and sheltering tree on the unprepared young men of Essex County. Many of these fell dead at the first fire. The troopers, panic-stricken by the death of their comrades, scattered in all directions. The professed tactics of Captain Lathrop—to fight the enemy after their own way—even after he fell mortally wounded, were followed by the fast thinning ranks of his men. Each soldier took a tree and resolved to sell his life at the highest possible price. One after another of the Indians fell; and one after another of the white men too, each man the aim of a dozen Indian sharp-shooters. The wounded whites were promptly butchered. When ninety white men lay dead, the massacre ceased because the remainder, less than a dozen of the English, made good their escape.

The garrison at Deerfield heard the firing of guns, and Captain Moseley hurried to the rescue. When he reached Bloody Brook, the Essex troop had been annihilated, and the unsuspecting savages were busy in one compact group, stripping the dead. Moseley's men cut their way with furious slaughter through several hundred Indians, charging back and forth in close order. This time the Indians fled. Rallying repeatedly from the near-by swamps, and repeatedly repulsed and pursued, the ammunition of the red men at last became exhausted, and the English had won the desperate battle which had lasted several hours.

The timely arrival of Major Treat from Hadley, with a hundred fresh troopers, toward the end of Captain Moseley's onslaught, probably prevented the complete slaughter of the Deerfield company also, putting fierce finishing touches on the Indian retreat. Nearly one hundred Indians were slain, many of them by Captain Moseley's men, who only lost two,—John Oates and Peter Barron. It was a brilliant exploit; and a revengeful encounter which undoubtedly had a wholesome effect upon other tribes who contemplated repelling the English invasion. Treat and Moseley took their men back to the Deerfield garrison where they spent a sorrowful

night. Going back in the morning, they found a few Indians whom they scattered, and establishing sentries, proceeded to bury the dead. While so doing they were amazed to see one desperately wounded soldier, Robert Dutcher, of Ipswich, rise up from among the dead and speak to his comrade-at-arms. They gave him clothes, and took him back with them to the Deerfield garrison, and he survived his supposed death, reported the previous night, by several years.

That Captain Lathrop was careless is not to be disputed, for his men were not prepared for battle. Moseley's greater success was due to the fact that his men were alert and ready, making their attack with military efficiency. The enemy, in its turn, was wholly unprepared, and was occupied in the customary pillage of the conquered, when his attack fell upon them, with a severity leaving no doubt of the probable outcome. In later years some of the old warriors would refer to it as one onslaught which found the natives completely off their guard.

For years there was nothing to mark the spot where the famous massacre occurred. The first rude monument had long crumbled away when, in 1835, the natives of several of the surrounding towns located the spot where the victims of the Indian ferocity had been thrown into a single grave. Not all the names of these heroes have been preserved, but that they met their deaths like true soldiers, there is every evidence.

The folly, often exampled in modern times, of a commission acting at a great distance and giving orders for people who are at the scene of actual operations is shown in the manner the Commission of the United Colonies, at Boston, treated the Indian problem in the Connecticut Valley. This is evident from the letters to the governor by the officers in command, which show how little was left to the discretion of those officers. The latter being on the ground where emergencies were occurring, were in the best possible position to judge of emergency action. It appears from this correspondence that after the destruction of Lathrop and his men at Bloody Brook, the commissioners ordered that the towns should be left without garrisons, that the field forces might be made stronger. The total number of troops, as agreed upon by the delegates of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth, was to be 500, and furnished by the first two, without Plymouth's aid. Connecticut, particularly, felt the injustice of this, well knowing that the total force, in any event, should be much larger.

The commissions and instructions to Major Treat, dated but twenty days before the battle at Bloody Brook, will be found in the first volume of Lockwood's "History of Westfield." He was to command the Connecticut forces sent into Massachusetts, to go first to Westfield, then to Northampton, "to advise with the Bay commanders, but not bound by their counsels unless you accord with them!" He was instructed to do what he could to "succor our neighbors in danger, to see to the carriage and behaviour of all under your command, that it be sober, Christian and comely according to the gospel profession," and further, that he must "preserve the lives and limbs of the soldiers with the best skill." This Major Treat reported reported on September 9th, on the strength of which report the Council granted that the groups of Hatfield (40), Northampton, and Westfield, should remain where they were; that Ensign Miles at Westfield should command twenty-six Connecticut men, and that Lieutenant John Standley should control sixteen more men at Springfield. The Council added, "that the rest, under Sergeant Joseph Wadsworth and Lieutenant John Grant should return."

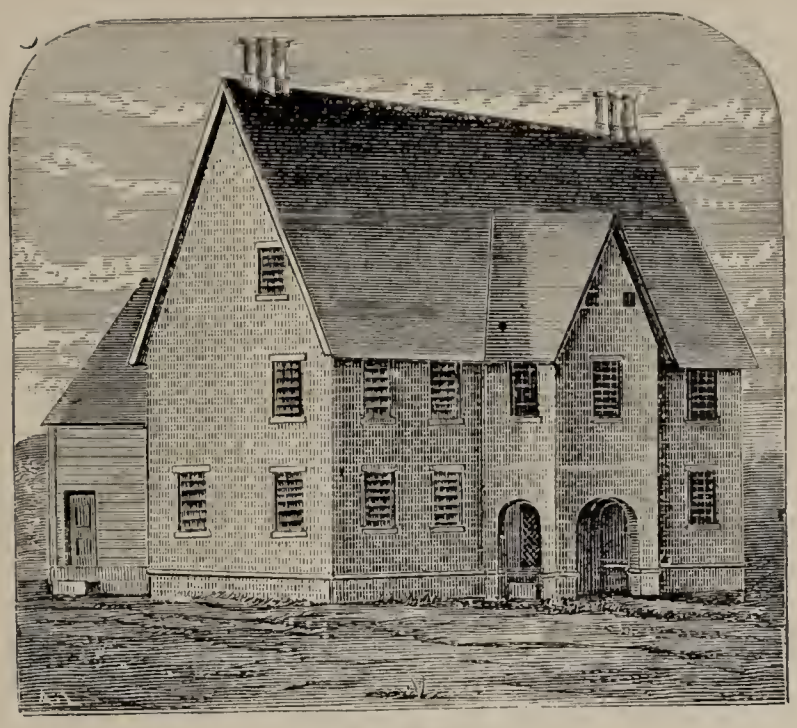
Major Treat, who had made the timely charge on the enemy at Bloody Brook, was withdrawn from a region sorely in need of protective troops. Major John Pynchon, of Springfield, realizing how desperate the situation actually was, yet litle suspecting that the greatest danger of all was at that moment about to break over his own home, determined to go northward with as many troops as he could in the emergency get together, to make a demonstation against the enemy around Deerfield and even further north, where the Indians were said to be gathering in great numbers. The latter, with characteristic cunning, watched for just this movement and decided to strike the whites where they least expected it. He left Springfield defenseless, or nearly so, taking all available troops with him. He sincerely believed he was doing the best thing for all concerned.

The Burning of Springfield—The Indians around Springfield, hitherto at peace with the whites, encouraged by the native successes at the North and towards Boston, and anticipating the final triumph of the tribes, began to manifest treacherous tendencies. They burned small buildings here and there occasionally but the settlers, lulled into a state of unpreparedness by a practical peace of forty years, could not believe in the existence of any general or

growing policy of incendiarism. But for weeks there had been forewarnings of outbreak which caused the settlers to strengthen their barracades, and make their three fortified houses secure, to be the more nearly (alas, not enough!) prepared for emergency.

They questioned the Indians they met, and secured a few hostages for guaranteeing the good behavior of the rest, sending these "sureties" for safe keeping to Hartford,—from which point they promptly escaped. On the same night that they secretly returned to Springfield, October 4, 1675, the first night away from home of Major Pynchon and his armed forces, two hundred and seventy of Philip's warriors, flushed with success, arrived silently at the Indian fort at Long Hill. Living in the family of Mr. Wolcott, of Windsor, was Toto, an Indian student, who, grateful to his white benefactors, made them aware that night of the plotting in the Long Hill fort. He had seen, among other signs of the nearness of the calamity, the passing northward of the escaped hostages, at the time they vanished from Hartford, and he was shocked to learn that they planned to attack Springfield at once, and utterly destroy it. To warn the unprotected villagers there, by the advice of the Wolcotts, Toto galloped, an Indian PaulRevere, at the dead of night. He roused the terrified inhabitants at every door in town, "thus saving many lives," as the historian Barrows declares. As just stated, the town's soldier-protectors had just left for the Hadley campaign. What few men and boys were left in Springfield seized whatever they could find in the way of arms or ammunition. Men, women, and children fled with such valuables and necessaries as they could lay hands on to the three fortified houses of the town. A messenger was dispatched to Major Pynchon at Hadley, informing him of the plot, and imploring him to return at once to the defence of the town. Another messenger rode horseback posthaste to Major Treat in Westfield on the same errand.

Inside the three garrison houses the despairing inhabitants spent the rest of the night in awful suspense. Morning came silently, and the sun rose higher, with not an Indian in sight. The agony of waiting at last induced two of the principal men to mount horses and ride towards the famous Indian fort between Springfield and Longmeadow. One was the brave old man Lieutenant Thomas Cooper, who had been left the commander *ad interim* by Major Pynchon when he rode northward; and the other was another elder, John Miller. The two horsemen got as far as what is now the south end of Main Street, when they rode directly into ambush.



OLD PYNCHON MANSION.

OLD INDIAN HOUSE, BUILT BY ENSIGN JOHN SHELDON.

Miller was instantly killed and his horse captured. Cooper was mortally wounded, but managed to stick to his horse, which galloped back to town. Lieutenant Cooper fell from the horse at the very door of the first fortified house, and was dead when picked up and carried inside. Their worst fears confirmed, the citizens were in some measure prepared for the swarm of Indians which immediately appeared. The warriors of Philip, in overwhelming numbers, rifled the houses, and set them on fire. From the windows of the forts the sorrowing settlers could see their homes licked up by the flames, and smoking in ruins. Thirty dwellings and almost as many barns filled with the winter's supply of hay, grain, and other farm products, were burned down in a few minutes. The corn mill and the saw-mill of Major Pynchon was also destroyed. The fortified houses successfully sheltered the whites, and withstood the many attacks of the infuriated savages. During the day the latter managed to wound five people and to kill one woman, Pentecost Mathews, the latter having ventured out to go where her home had stood, in the lower end of town.

Meantime word had been received by the soldiers, and Major Treat with his Westfield troop was first to appear,—but on the west bank of the river, with no boats or bridge for crossing. The inhabitants sent out five men to take over a boat. A squad of twenty savages chased them to the shore, repeatedly shot at them, and succeeding in wounding one poor fellow, David Morgan, in the neck. None of the Treat soldiers would venture to come back across the river; so the villagers had to wait for Major Pynchon, who arrived in the middle of the afternoon.

Major Pynchon's Distresses—Major Pynchon had only the day before been relieved of the supreme military command in the district, and had been succeeded by Captain Samuel Appleton, who went with him to Hadley. Pynchon had long desired the change, that he might devote himself more completely to civil responsibilities, though he was not lacking in courage or military skill. "Discouragements enough are on us all," he wrote to his Governor weeks before, in begging to be relieved of military responsibilities. On receiving the urgent night message from beleagured Springfield he and Captain Appleton had rushed back to its defence, only to find the town in ashes. With their two hundred men added to the force of Major Treat who had by this time crossed the river, the town was well protected the following night. No

more Indians were to be seen. Scouts found that the King Philip company, had camped in the forest about six miles east, near the present Indian Orchard. More than forty families had been made homeless by the conflagration. The inhabitants were left houseless and penniless. There were no mills for grinding their corn, nor any means of preparing lumber for building new houses and barns. Pynchon was tremendously disheartened, as his letters show. One letter which he wrote to Rev. Mr. Russell, of Hadley, reflects something of the discouragement he must have felt over this ruthless sweeping away of the careful, prudent accumulation of nearly forty years of patient toil.

> We did come to a Lamentable & woefull sight. Not a house or barn standing unburned except Goodm Branches' till we come to my house & Mr. Glovers' (the ministers). John Hitchcocks' and Goodm Stewarts' Burnt down with Barnes, Corne, and all they had. Some standing about ye Meeting house & then from Miricks' downward, all burnt to 2 Garrison house at ye lower end of towne. My Grist Mill and Corne Mill Burnt downe, with some other houses & Barnes I had let out to tenants.

He was a little better off than some, who had lost their all, it is true; for on the other side of the river there were still standing some sixty buildings, some filled with corn, which the savages had not reached. In several of these he had an interest. He felt, too, that as the leading man of the township, the weight of responsibilities was upon him. The minister, Rev. Peletiah Glover, who had preached his first sermon as the second pastor in Springfield, when twenty-four years old, in 1661, lost what was probably the most valuable privately-owned library in New England at the time. This rare collection of books, called by the best authorities a "brave library," because of its size and variety had only just been taken back to the parsonage from one of the block-houses where it had been stored for safe keeping; but as Mr. Glover himself describes it, "being impatient for want of books," he had removed them, to his great sorrow, in season to make them "fit for the bonfire of the proud, insulting Enemy." Nothing more clearly exhibits Major Pynchon's disturbed state of mind over this calamity than the letter he wrote, three days after the conflgration, to Governor John Leverett, who always seemed keenly alive to the needs of the frontier, and with whom the son of the founder of Springfield was particularly friendly:

> Our people are under great discouragement—talk of leaving the place. We need your orders and directions about it. If it is deserted, how wofully

do we yield to, and encourage, our insolent enemy, and how doth it make way for the giving up of all the town above. If it be held, it must be by strength and many soldiers, and how to have provision—I mean bread —for want of a mill, is difficult. The soldiers here already complain on that account, although we have flesh enough. And this very strait— I mean no meal, will drive many of our inhabitants away, especially those that have no corn, and many of them no houses, which fills and throngs up every room of those that have, together with the soldiers now (which yet we cannot be without), increasing our numbers, so that indeed it is very uncomfortable living here, and for my own particular, it would be far better for me to go away, because here I have not anything left,— I mean no corn, neither Indian nor English, and no means to keep one beast here; nor can I have release in this town because so many are destitute. But I resolve to attend what God calls me to, and to stick to it as long as I can, and though I have such great loss of my comforts, yet to do what I can for defending the place.

This day a post is sent up from Hartford to call off Major Treate, with a part of his soldiers, from intelligence they have of a party of Indians lying at Wethersfield, on the East side of the river, so that matters of action here do linger exceedingly, which makes me wonder what the Lord intends with his people. Strange providences diverting us in all our hopeful designs, and the Lord giving opportunity to the enemy to do us mischief, and then hideing of them, and answering all our prayers by terrible things in righteousness.

Sir, I am incapable of holding my command, being more and more unfit, and almost confounded in my understanding. The Lord direct you to pitch on a meeter person than ever I was. According to liberty from the Council, I shall devolve all upon Captain Appleton, unless Major Treat shall return again, when you shall give your orders as shall be most meet to yourselves.

To speak my thoughts, all these towns ought to be garrisoned, as I have formerly hinted, and had I been left to myself, should, I think, have done that which might possibly have prevented this damage, but the express order to do as I did, was by the wise disposing hand of God, who knew it best for us, and therein we must acquiesce. And truly to go out after the Indians in the swamps and thickets, is to hazard all our men, unless we knew where they keep, which is altogether unknown to us, and God hides from us for ends best known to himself. We are in great hazard, if we do but go out for wood, to be shot down by the skulking Indians.

The deep religious spirit with which Mr. Pynchon regarded his calamities is evidenced further in a letter written on the 20th of October, to his son Joseph, in London:

Springfield, Oct. 20, 1675.

Dear Son Joseph:—

The sore contending of God with us for our sins, unthankfulness for former mercies, and unfaithfulness under our precious enjoyments, hath

evidently demonstrated that he is very angry with this country, God having given the heathen a large commission to destroy. And exceeding havoc have they made in this country, destroying two or three small places above Northampton and Hadley, and lately they have fallen upon Springfield, and almost ruined it by burning of houses. About 30 or 32 dwelling houses are burnt down, and some twenty-five barns, full of corn and hay. The Lord hath spared my house (the old brick "Pynchon fort" dwelling, which stood on the corner of Main and Fort streets, next to the present Springfield post-office), but the barns and out-housing are all burned down, and all my corn and hay consumed; and not anything have I left of food, either for man or beast. All my mills, both corn and saw mills, are burnt down. Those at home, in this town, and also those I had in other places; and four of those houses and barns to them, which were burnt in this towne, belongeth to me also. So that God hath laid me low. My farmers are also undone, and many in this towne that were in my debt, also utterly disabled, so that I am really reduced to greate straites.

This Providence, and the state of this country in reference to this Indian war, afford matter of consideration in reference to your coming over, which I have much desired and wrote to you for; but now shall leave you at your liberty, not having ground or seeing cause to press you upon it, further than you shall yourself see reason for it. Though I and your mother should be exceeding glad to see you, yet, as tymes are, question whether it be best to come over yet (I mean now); and how God may dispose of us I know not. We are yet here at Springfield—my house garrisoned with soldiers, and full of troubles and hurrys. The Lord help us to remember our peace and quietness, and truly to lament our abuse thereof, and heartily and really to turn to himself by unfeigned repentance. The Lord is in earnest with us, and truly he expects our being in earnest in returning to himselfe.

Oh, dear Son! How sweet is an interest in Christ Jesus in these distracting tymes! They are trying tymes, and it is good, knowing in whom we have believed. Treasure in heaven is abiding, when the greatest earthly enjoyments may soon fail us, and come to nothing. Let us, therefore, while we have them so use them, as using them sitting loose from them, and being contented to part with all when God calls for it. In the improving of the creature, to sit loose from it, is a sweete and blessed frame, for I know it is a duty to look after, and manage what God hath given us, and in that respect I may call on you to doe your best, in a way of prudence, to sell your estate in England, and in it advise with Mr. Wickens and brother Smith (Henry Smith, Major Pynchon's brother-in-law, who returned to England in 1652) who I know will afford the best help they can, and doe as you are able. I am not able to afford you any helpe, but by my prayers, while I am always putting up for you; and as God shall enable, I shall be ready to do my utmost for you otherwise. The Lord in mercy be good to you and us. How he may deal with us I know not. Where his providence may cast me, whether to Boston or further, or whether I may live to get out of this place, it is only with himself, and on that strong rod I desire to depend for salvation, here and hereafter. I am in straits and hurrys and may only add mine and your mother's en-

deared love and affection to you, with hearty wishes and prayers for you. I commend you to the grace of God in Christ Jesus, and am your affectionately loving father,

JOHN PYNCHON

(P. S.) Dear Son—I would not have you troubled at these sad losses which I have met with. There is no reason for a child to be troubled when his father calls in that which he lent him. It was the Lord that lent it to me, and he that gave it hath done very well for me, and I acknowledge his goodness, and desire to trust in Him and submit to Him forever. And doe you, with me, acknowledge and justify Him.

Consternation Wide Spread—The destruction of Springfield threw the nearer up-river towns into the keenest alarm. The plantations to the north of them had been cut off. Springfield was in ashes. Their own turn might come next. Major Treat, their experienced defender, had been recalled. Major John Pynchon, in whose wisdom and fighting ability they had every confidence, had resigned his command of local forces. The Connecticut troops remaining were at complete loss to know how to act in the continued absence of their commander, and all lacked confidence in the policy of the commission on Indian affairs. The pious Rev. John Russell, of Hadley, at the time when the troops needed at Hadley had gone to the protection of the Springfield district, wrote to the patient Governor John Leverett, as follows:

The men in these towns, who before trembled at the order that none should be left in garrison when the army went out, are now much more distressed at the thoughts of it as looking at themselves, thereby exposed to inevitable ruin at their enemy's assault, which we might expect. Especially the town of Hadley is now likely to drink next, if mercy prevent not, of the same bitter cup. We are but about fifty families, and now left solitary.!

Mr. Russell urged upon the Governor the necessity of furnishing each town with a sufficient garrison, and suggested that either Major Pynchon or Captain Appleton, or both, should be empowered to direct the towns in their system of fortifications. The affliction met with by Major Pynchon in the destruction of property which it had taken years to accumulate was not the main cause of his asking for the recall of his commission. From the letter of the Massachusetts Council to him, written September 15, 1675, it appears he had previously resigned.

In the words of the Council: "You are the chief military officer in the country where you have your habitation, interest and concerns, and where by Divine Providence, a considerable part of the

stress of this war is at present; you have able and judicious persons under you, that will assist you in Council, and action. Your pleas concerning your sense of the lashes of the tongues of men against you, and that spirit of opposing rulers which much shows itself among us, it is matter of grief and discouragement, but it is no otherwise than Aaron, David, and divers others of the servants of God have met with." The Council did not accept his resignation. Governor Leverett wrote him a letter September 24th, still declining to accept it. On the 30th, Major Pynchon wrote the Council, pleading the anxiety of his wife on his account, as a further reason for giving up his active command. These worries of his wife were undoubtedly important factors affecting Pynchon's entire later course of action. Still later he wrote another letter to the Council, begging relief, containing the following appeal:

> My sad state of affairs at home will necessitate your releasing me. Truly I am so overwhelmed with it that I cannot act—I beseech you do not expose me to those temptations which will overwhelm me if you do not discharge me. I would not willingly sin against God nor offend you, and entreat you to ease me of my pressures.

It is a singular fact that, "on account of his importunity," he was released the very day Springfield was burned, and that while he was writing his letters after that date, begging for his discharge, he was no longer in office. The welcome bearer of the dispatch had not then reached him.

Major Pynchon was thus relieved of his command, and allowed to remain with his distressed flock at Springfield. After strengthening the garrisons of the place, Captain Samuel Appleton, upon whom the command had devolved, returned to Hadley, with the most of the forces.

The Appleton Campaign—Arriving in Hadley on October 12th, his forces spent two days in scouting, without success. On October 14th he ordered Captain Moseley's company, at Hatfield, and Captain Seeley's company at Northampton, to join him at once ready for an immediate expedition against the Indians. The former responded at once; but Captain Seeley demurred, as he had yet received no commission and was without authority to act. Meantime tracks of the enemy had been discovered in great numbers on the opposite side of the river. Captain Moseley's experience and caution in advising the forces to remain where they were

instead of proceeding as Captain Appleton at first decided to do, aided by a severe storm, doubtless prevented the Indians from falling upon poorly protected Hadley and Hatfield that night. The troops returned to the garrison where Captain Sill had been left with sixty men, in time to prevent the great horde of Indians hovering near from making a carefully planned attack.

Meantime, Captain Appleton had sent an urgent appeal to Hartford authorities, telling of his embarrassment over the continued absence of the promised assisting forces of Major Treat, and urging some action leading to the sending at once of the reinforcements necessary for carrying on a campaign of aggression.

Vital Assistance Refused—On October 17th, Captain Appleton received a most unsatisfactory answer from the Hartford authorities to whom he had appealed for immediate help. They replied, leaving it still uncertain when the Major Treat troopers could arrive. That same evening came the alarm at Northampton, where the watchfully-waiting Captain Seeley and his fifty men were garrisoned. The enemy had been discovered in great force between there and Hatfield. That midnight a strong force was pushed across the river into the meadows opposite Mt. Warner; nothing came of it. The demonstration had again warded off the common enemy.

Captain Appleton, impatient at continued delays, in the midst of his perplexities wrote thus to Governor Leverett:

> In very truth I am in straits on every side. To leave the towns without any help, is to leave them to apparent ruin. To supply with any now in the absence of Connecticut, is hardly reconcilable with the order of the Commissioners.

Whether the Council at Hartford reconsidered their action, does not appear, but the fact is recorded that Major Treat had arrived at Northampton on the 19th, with a considerable force, for the protection of that town. At that date Captain Appleton was at Hadley with one company, while, because of the more exposed situation of the place, Hatfield was garrisoned by two companies, respectively under the command of Captain Moseley and Captain Poole.

The enemy came, to the number of seven hundred or eight hundred, and fell upon Hatfield, attacking from every side. One after another of the scouts which had been thrown out by the whites were cut off, and the clash came without warning. Poole and his

men fought the foes on the right, and the veteran Moseley forced his way against the center. Captain Appleton with forces from Hadley was promptly on the ground, and engaged the enemy's right. The fighting was spirited, but the great numbers on the Indian side proved no match for the superior discipline, improved arms, and military skill on the part of the English.

The enemy was repulsed at every point. The engagement took place just at the close of the day, and the enemy had been engaged so hotly that it retired in great haste and confusion, only having had time to burn a few barns and other out-buildings, and to drive off a number of cattle. Captain Appleton's sergeant, Freegrace Norton, was mortally wounded, "another bullet passing through his own hair, by that whisper telling him that death was very near." The names of those killed were Thomas Meekins, Nathaniel Collins, Richard Stone, Samuel Clarke, John Pocock, Thomas Warner, Abram Quiddington, William Olverton, and John Petts. The loss of the Indians must have been considerable, though the coming of nightfall, and their adherence to the custom of carrying off their dead, made it impossible to ascertain how great. Some were driven through Mill River, and in their attempts to carry off their dead, either purposely or accidentally dropped their guns into the river, and there left them, with the hope, probably, of ultimately reclaiming them.

During all these secret movements and spirited operations of the Indians, it is a singular fact that Philip was neither ever seen nor ever recognized. That he was the reigning genius of the war, that he directed in all the important movements of the Indians, and that the malicious policy of the savages had its source and center in him, there was no doubt; but his daily-life history, for this eventful period remains unwritten. There are many evidences that he was, though unseen, in close touch with the whole situation, and that the signal was repeatedly given by this strong right arm of the Indians, close to the scenes of battle, which resulted in the destruction of many helpless villages, and in the slaughter of so many of the English.

It was now November 1st, reckoning by the Gregorian calendar, not then adopted. Winter was settling upon the scourged, worried valley. Discouraged by their failure of their attack on Hatfield, Philip's Wampanoags took their way through the woods to the Narragansett country.

The Vanishing Philip—One authority reports Philip to have been within forty miles of Albany during the winter, with four hundred or five hundred Indians, and himself so disabled by sickness that the Hadley chief, who was present, took the command of the force. But his directing mind and implacable spirit were nevertheless apparent. The river Indians mostly remained upon the river, and during the winter made no serious demonstrations. Soon after the attack on Hatfield, a number of the inhabitants of Northampton went into the field to secure some of their corn, when, having left their arms under their carts, they were surprised by the approach of a party of Indians, but made good their escape. The alarm called out Major Treat, but before he could come up with the Indians, they had succeeded in burning seven or eight buildings that stood a little out of the town, and in getting beyond his reach. A few days after, three settlers, Thomas Salmon, Joseph Baker, and Joseph Baker, Jr., were killed in the meadow, and the Indians attempted to burn the mill, "but it was too well guarded by two files of musketeers lodged there for the purpose." Springfield, in consequence of the destruction of its corn mill, was obliged to resort to the neighboring plantation of Westfield, to get its corn ground.

Rev. Edward Taylor, the minister at that place says in his records, "Our soil was moistened by the blood of three Springfield men—young Goodman Dumbleton, and two sons of Goodman Brooks, who came here to look for iron ore on land bought of John Pynchon, who accompanied them, but they fell in the way by the first assault of the enemy." This occurred just after the murders at Northampton, and at the same time, the Indians burnt, in Westfield, the house of a Mr. Cornish, and John Sackett's house and barn, with their contents. A Mr. Granger was seriously wounded in the same affair.

Around Springfield the Indians were hovering in squads all through the winter, awaiting opportunity to cut off such stragglers as might present themselves. During this period the settlers at the "Long Meadow" were deprived of any opportunity to attend meeting at their only place of worship, the church at Springfield, because the Indians were skulking in the woods on every side. On Sunday, March 26, 1676, eighteen men, women, and children, ventured out for a visit to their meeting-house, and had proceeded as far as Pecousic Brook, attended by a small guard, when they were assailed by a small band of the hostiles. Selectman John

Keep, his wife, and their infant child, were killed in cold blood, and several guards and neighbors wounded. Major Savage, from his headquarters in Hadley, gave an account a few days later in his letter to the Council, of an encounter with Indians which "killed a man and a maid, wounded two other men, and carried away captive two women and two children." He further reports that, in cooperation with Major Pynchon, he "gave chase to the enemy, and when the force of horse came up to them, the Indians immediately killed the two children, badly wounded the two women, but before they could slay the latter, escaped into the swamps."

About this time a Springfield man, going across the river to look after his corn and house, was shot down by Indians, who then set fire to his property. Westfield suffered again in the autumn of the same year. Moses Cook and a Connecticut soldier stationed at the garrison in Westfield were killed. These and other calamities kept the settlers in a constant state of anxiety; and Major Pynchon and his staff were kept busy day and night in the defense of the Springfield Colony. About this time a son of Miles Morgan, Peletiah, was killed from ambush while venturing out through the northern edge of the Springfield plantation. During the greater part of this struggle the Agawam tribe of Indians, prominent factors among the assailing and harassing forces, was led by the old sachem, Wequagan. According to Wright, this chief's name is variously spelled as "Weackwaguen," in the Joseph Parson's deed of a part of Hadley, May, 1662; as "Weaquogon," in the John Pynchon deed of territory in Granby and Belchertown the same year; and "Weequagin" in the later deeding of the great territory comprising parts of Hampden, Longmeadow, Wilbraham, Somers, and Enfield. Wright's investigations have also determined that this wily old chief was also known by the name of "Wrutherna," and that this fact is recorded in the last deed mentioned. Knowledge of this fact will save researchers along this line much unnecessary labor in clearing the basic titles to various lands.

The Council Gives Advice—The Springfield people, notwithstanding their "scourging and dire calamities," still clung to their holdings on the Connecticut. Many still had faith in the ultimate prevailing of law and order, and daily prayed that they might be left to pursue their usual occupation in peace and quietness. That they did not, as some urged, immediately abandon the "capital," was due in part to an order of the General Court, wisely interfering with all plans for the desertion of the place. Secretary

Rawson wrote to Major Savage, evidently under instructions from the Council, that the "night watch of every town was to call up all the inhabitants an hower at least before day" to arm themselves and stand guard at specified posts "until sunne be half an hower high," when the warders were to take their places. Two scouts were to be appointed by each town to spend each day scouting on horseback through the woods. Then, in pursuance of the Council's plan for concentrating the settlements of the valley and reducing the number from five to two principal ones, the instructions went on to advise that the Connecticut Valley towns "do immediately consult and determine putting themselves into such a position as may best accommodate security, which we judge must be by their gathering together in such places and numbers that they may be able to defend themselves . . . . . In case this cannot be in each town, then the lesser towns must gather to the greater. To remain in such a scattered state is to expose lives and estates to the merciless cruelty of the enemy and is no less than tempting Divine Providence . . . . . Some that know these places best do apprehend that Springfield and Hadley are the fittest places for their fortifying and planting."

To Major Pynchon the Council wrote, "Come all together in some convenient place in town and take in so large a fort that the proprietors may live in distinct houses and shelters near. And Westfield must join with you and totally move to you, for it is impossible to hold both towns, the enemy being so many . . . . . We cannot see how you people can remove at present, but must ride it out as best you can. We speak not of particular persons but of the body of the people . . . . . The like advice we have given to the people of other towns upon the River, to come in all to Hadley and fortify it well; and there by united strength it may be kept, but otherwise all will be lost. Most of our frontiers are away off. Our present care is to secure the principal towns upon our seacoast . . . . . The army must remove . . . . . Ammunition is scarce here. If your people be averse to our advice we must be necessitated to draw off our forces from them, for we cannot spare them nor supply them with ammunition . . . . . We have ordered the major to leave some of the garrison soldiers to strengthen you if you are able to provide food for them . . . . ."

This letter of instructions was unfavorably received in both Springfield and Westfield. Speaking particularly of the latter settlement, Dr. Lockwood's account says, "If the Bay Authorities

supposed that the sturdy yeoman of the western frontier were going to submit meekly to such advice, which was an implied command, they counted without their host. These men had spent too much hard toil in building their houses, rude as they doubtless were, in breaking up and cultivating their farms, in organizing social and ecclesiastical institutions, to desert them even in the direst extremity. Whatever danger might yet materialize, since during the months of the war already passed Westfield had lost but two houses and one citizen, they realized it would be absurd cowardice to desert the plantation because an army could not then be spared for its defence."

Attacking the Enemy—The winter following was a mild one, and providentially there was not particular suffering from lack of food. Although organized hostilities of the Indians seemed for the time suspended, there was an uneasy feeling throughout all the river-towns that the clouds were lingering, and that the storm of battle might break again. During the winter-time lull, the settlers busied themselves in strengthening their walls and borders, and in reconstructing their fortifications. These were necessarily rude, and consisted of posts of cleft wood, well set into the ground, which formed little more than an extra heavy fence,—at best only a slight barrier against musket-fire. Some of the towns and villages were entirely closed by these palisades. Weak as they were, they afterwards proved formidable to the enemy, for, though easily entered when once forced, in an attack, they were hard to escape from in the confusion of retreat. When these precautions had been completed, the troops at Hadley and elsewhere were called off to Connecticut and the east, a sufficient number only being left to lightly guard and garrison the valley towns.

War-clouds were threatening in the east also. Captain Henchman, sent out to quell disturbances at Mendon and vicinity, accomplished nothing more than recovering one captive and burning a store of corn.

The United Colonies determined upon attacking the enemy in its strong-hold, which occupied a swamp in the present town of South Kingston, Rhode Island. It was resolved to raise a force of one thousand men, of which Massachusetts was to furnish 527, Connecticut 315, and Plymouth 158,—the Massachusetts troops to be commanded by Major Samuel Appleton, the Connecticut troops by Major Treat, and the Plymouth troops by Governor Winslow, the latter being the commander-in-chief. Captain Moseley was

among the Massachusetts officers, and Captain Seeley, formerly stationed at Northampton, commanded a Connecticut company. On the way to the enemy's country Captain Moseley surprised and captured thirty-six, and other companies succeeded in killing and capturing several, and in burning one hundred and fifty cabins. Moseley's life was particularly sought for by the desperate savages met upon the way, but he escaped, and was placed forward in leading the way to the fort. The army was exposed to great hardships, from the snow and cold, and from the destruction by fire of buildings they had intended to make their headquarters. On the 19th, the fort was reached, and attacked, and after a bloody struggle, captured. The slaughter of Indian warriors was terrible, not less than seven hundred being slain, and three hundred mortally wounded. The wigwams, to the number of several hundred, were fired, and in them, and among the flames, miserably perished hundreds of women and children. The whole number of Indians in the fort at the commencement of the attack was about four thousand. Those who were fortunate enough to escape fled into the adjacent cedar swamp. Nearly two hundred of the troops were killed and wounded, and many of the latter, who had not received wounds necessarily mortal, died in consequence of an immediate march of sixteen miles to Pettyquamscot, in a snow-storm. Among the eight English captains killed or mortally wounded was Captain Seeley, of Connecticut. The main force of the Narragansetts had withdrawn from the east, joining the Nipmucks and other allies of Philip around Greenfield and Hadley. The English forces succeeded in cutting off many stragglers and destroying a large quantity of enemy stores. There were a good many hostile Indians still left in the east,—enough to continually annoy and harass the smaller settlements. On February 10th they attacked Lancaster, killing or making captive forty-two people, and leaving only eight of the town's inhabitants. The last of that month the town of Mendon was burned to the ground, where twenty English lost their lives. Part of Weymouth was then destroyed by fire. Groton, Marlboro and the Rhode Island town of Warwick also suffered severely. About this time Captain Pierce of Scituate, with his force of fifty men, after killing a hundred of the enemy, was cut down with the loss of nearly every man. Seventy buildings were burned one morning at Rehoboth, and thirty more at Providence at about the same time. Eleven settlers were summarily killed at Plymouth during a night clash. The 18th of April, Sudbury

was partly burned, and a relief party of English from Concord at the same time was ambushed and slain. Immediately after this, Captains Brocklebank and Wadsworth had almost their entire force massacred while going to the defence of Sudbury, by falling into another ambuscade.

Captains Denison and Avery, with volunteers and friendly Indians from Connecticut, late in March clashed with the main force of Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts. Canonchet was slain when he returned to the vicinity of the recently destroyed fort for a supply of seed-corn. He was given the chance to save his life by making peace then and there with the English. Scorning the offer, he died as courageously as his implacable old father Miantonomo could have wished. This Connecticut force was the best drilled and most experienced body of Indian-fighting troops which had yet engaged in the war. It did splendid service in quelling many savage disturbances and capturing Indian stores throughout the eastern part of the colony. It did so well in driving the red-skins from the vicinity of Plymouth and Boston, that there was no need of remaining longer away from the Connecticut Valley, which stood greatly in need of more protection. Thus Western Massachusetts became the chief arena of the war.

CHAPTER IV

KING PHILIP'S WAR—CONCLUSION OF THE 1676 CAMPAIGN

The whole community was saddened February 5, 1676, by the death of one of the first and foremost of the Connecticut Valley's honored men, Captain Elizur Holyoke; his son, Captain Samuel, valiantly stepped into his place. The war-weary colonists would have greatly rejoiced had they been able to know that they would be able to win the war within the same year. This they could not know; so they diligently fortified themselves, and doggedly prepared to hold their ground and resist all opposition.

The troops of Major Savage and Major Treat, respectively Massachusetts and Connecticut forces, met at Brookfield, and after a few minor engagements with the enemy proceeded to Hadley. At the latter point there was stationed one Connecticut company and two from Massachusetts under Captain Whipple and Captain Gilman, both under Major Savage. At Northampton, considered an especial danger-point, there were planted two Connecticut companies and one from Massachusetts, under Captain William Turner's and Major Treat's command. At Hatfield, gallant old Captain Moseley, whom all the Indians had, by this time, learned to fear as well as hate, commanded two companies; and the inhabitants felt doubly secure with him in charge. The troops had hardly settled themselves in camp before, early in the morning of the 14th of March, 1676, a large body of Indian warriors furiously attacked Majors Savage and Treat at Northampton. The frail palisades erected during the previous winter, offered feeble resistance to them, and were broken through in three places. After the Indians had succeeded in firing ten buildings, killing Robert Bartlett, Thomas Holton, two other men, and two women, and wounding several more, they were repulsed by the spirited resistance of Major Treat and his troops, and fled in confusion into the woods. In a letter to the Council, written March 28th, by Rev. John Russell of Hadley, the Indians are said to have "begun burning houses and barns,—one within the fortification"—and to have slain "several persons and wounded five." The same authority states that about a dozen Indians were found slain. Dissatis-

fied with this adventure, the hostiles immediately went to Hatfield, but were prevented from attacking it by the opportune arrival of reinforcements of troops from Hadley. Unwilling to give up the day thus, they returned to Northampton, but the difficulty they had previously experienced, in their retreat through the openings they had made in the palisades, appealed too strongly to their caution, and they withdrew. Soon after this they appeared at Westfield, but, beyond killing one man and taking a quantity of corn, they effected no damage.

To Move or not to Move—The Council's drastic "orders," advising consolidation of the smaller towns with larger ones for mutual protection, avoidance of responsibility of the "headquarters" at Boston and Hartford, and threatened withdrawal of needed troops, caused the most intense dissatisfaction at Northampton, as well as at Westfield, and in other parts of the Colony.

In 1672 Rev. Solomon Stoddard, successor of the first minister of that remote settlement, Rev. Elizur Mather, began his strenuous ministry of fifty-six years. On March 28, 1676, he wrote a most interesting letter, signed by himself, John Lyman, John Strong (ancestor of the famous Governor Strong), John King, William Clarke, and David Wilton, quotation from which will make clear other phases of the opposition; and will throw into still bolder relief the problems of the fathers and their courageous manner of meeting them. Moreover, it supplies the beginning of rivalry between Springfield and Northampton. "The Lord hath wonderfully appeared of late for our preservation," declared the pious leader of pioneer opinion in the upper Connecticut; "We fear it would be displeasing unto Him if we should give up into the hands of our Enemies, by running away, that which the Lord has so eminently delivered out of their hands, when they did so violently assault us." Shrewdly he goes on to enlarge upon Northampton's importance as an army headquarters; and makes the practical suggestion that the people there would not only look after the protecting forces already there, but would "diet freely and pay the wages" of an addition of fifty more to the Northampton garrison. Then they made a strong argument against Springfield being considered the chief city, in the following words:

> Whereas some have informed the Council that Springfield is one of the most convenient towns for others to repair to, your honors are much misled therein, for the bulk of the town is burnt already, whereby they are incapable to entertain others, and their land lies remote—most of it on the

other side of the river, so that they are incapable, we fear, either to maintain themselves.

Under the same date, Mr. Russell of Hadley, wrote to the Council, upon the same subject. He says:

There appears something working towards a frustration and disappointment of that good end aimed at, viz: an inclination manifested in divers, especially at Westfield (which town I guess at as not like to hold together), in case they be necessitated to pluck up, to remove out of the colony to Windsor or Hartford, or some other towns in that jurisdiction, whereby it may come to pass that a town, and perhaps others in the same manner, may be broken.

Mr. Russell suggested, in view of this state of things, an act, or order, forbidding individuals to leave their plantations, to remove into another jurisdiction, without a special license.

It would appear from Mr. Russell's letter, that the state of feeling prevailing at Westfield was known among the other towns on the river, even before it was communicated to the Council by the town itself. From subsequent proceedings of the town, it is not improbable that they were meant to be, and that the strongest reports of the dissatisfaction of the people were purposely disseminated, that they might have an effect upon the decisions of the Council in regard to them. On the 2d of April, Isaac Phelps, David Ashley, and Josiah Dewey, in behalf of Westfield, addressed a long letter to the Council. The letter was written by Mr. Taylor, the minister.

A town meeting had been held at which it was decided that they could themselves accommodate between twenty and thirty families. The project of removing to Springfield was altogether an offensive one, "insomuch that there is not a man among us having the least inclination to remove that way." Mr. Taylor, goes on to state the grounds for entertaining a different opinion of Springfield, as a place of safety, from that stated by the Council, in the following curious words:

1st. Its situation—lying on both sides of the great river Connecticut, whose East side is void of habitations, being but very few left, and those a great distance asunder; those on the West side being scattered about a mile up and down, some of which are hid with brambles; and as for its tillage ground, most is a great distance from the town, and not clear from brush from some places of it, insomuch as an indifferent person, cannot but judge (as we suppose) that the danger is double, in managing field employments, to what ours is.

2nd. Its preparation—It is a place (with grief of heart be it spoken)—

most of the East side in ashes—unbuilt and unfortified, unless some few houses.

3rd. Its providential dispensation—It hath been sorely under the blasting hand of God, so that it hath but in a lower degree than ordinary answered the labor of the husbandman, and sometime his labor upon it is wholly cast away.

Now these thoughts are very discouraging unto all thoughts of our removal thither, for to remove from habitations to none, from fortifications to none, from a compact and plain place to a scattered, from a place of less danger in the field to more, from a place under the ordinary blessing upon our labors to one usually blasted, seems to us such a strange thing that we find not a man among us inclined thereto.

The letter incidentally refers to a note that had been addressed to the Hartford Council, requesting reinforcements to their garrison, and to the refusal of that request. The Taylor letter stated that if the inhabitants could not depend upon a safe convoy to some down-river point, or the thirty extra soldiers they had asked for, they would prefer to remain in Westfield rather than go to Springfield. "It grieves us" continued the letter, "that we should object so much against Springfield, for the Worshipful Major Pynchon's sake, but we judge there is a better way for his safety than this, and although we would do much for his sake, yet we cannot advantage on this ground into such great hazard as appears."

Three days after the dispatch of this communication, another one was sent to the Hartford Council, which proved that the inhabitants were in a highly excited and even exasperated condition of mind. The letter alludes in the first place to the order for them to remove, their objections to removing to Springfield, and the measures they had taken to fortify themselves, then proceeds:

If we must be gone from hence, many of us have estates and friends calling of us elsewhere, and, thereupon, most of us incline, in case we remove, to come downwards. But yet the hand of God hath shut us up, so that we apprehend that we are under the call of God to abide here at present, by reason of the sore hand of God upon us, disenabling Capt. Cook's family, and other, from a remove, who are low, and Captain's wife at the point of death, under the bloody flux. Wherefore, the ground of these lines is, in part, to intimate unto you that if there should be any convoy allowed at the present, by your honored selves, to any one, for the bringing off their estate, the opportunity being so desirable to us all, if our town were not under the circumstances by the hand of God upon the persons of some amongst us, whereby it would be their death to remove, (yet, we see that it being such a desirable opportunity) that we fear we should lay our hands upon . . . . . leaving our sick to look to themselves, and liable to the rage of merciless enemies.

This letter was answered April 7th, by a note from the Hartford Council, scarcely less ambiguous, and in which they say:

> As circumstanced, were we capable to anything in way of supply for your continuance there, we should do it; neither have we, nor will we, do anything irregularly, to draw you from attendance of what from your own authority is presented, if it be ground for their welfare and advantage; or, to draw off any part to the hazard and discouragement of the rest, and shall forbear giving any such opportunity.

This utterance of declarations showing themselves to be beyond the reach of all corruption was doubtless intended for "the gentlemen of the Bay," while the whole was qualified to harmonize with the tone of Westfield in the words—"We cannot but say that when God shall open the door with safety, both for shelter to you and security to us, in reference to the disease, we shall account it our duty, and accordingly be ready to lend our assistance in your transport, and give such entertainment as we are capable. In the meantime, your patience a little longer will be advisable. If you should venture while there to sow, it is somewhat possible you may find opportunity of reaping. It is doing what we can, and leaving the event with God."

Holding Their Ground—It is evident that the Westfield people did not intend to remove at all, and that the Connecticut Government did not wish to have them. At the same time, the inhabitants of the disaffected town wished to have "the gentlemen of the Bay," think there was danger of their removal to Connecticut, in case they were not humored and protected in their determination to remain where they were, while their Connecticut friends, taking care to disclaim all idea of any irregular proceedings, apparently complied with their wishes, both to gain time, and assist them in achieving their ends. There was a good and sufficient reason for the Connecticut Council not wishing the Westfield people to desert their town, for the more the war could be confined to the upper towns on the river, and the greater the number of towns in that quarter, the less danger there would be to the towns in Connecticut. They could not but see that if the towns above them should be deserted, and thus become the planting grounds of the Indians, a power would be nursed that would shortly endanger themselves. So, their promise to bring off the Westfield people, under certain circumstances, was intended only as a gentle irritant to the Massachusetts Council. The letter goes on to say that the Indians would be likely to destroy the ruins of the smaller

deserted places; and being thus provided with bases of supplies would be able to continue to annoy the larger towns indefinitely. They plead that thus one of the greatest granaries of Massachusetts would be lost. They suggested that the better policy would be to take white men from the "leaner places" and place them in fertile towns on the Connecticut, thus enabling many of the lesser towns to defend themselves. The Westfield people were quite right in their determination not to move.

The disaffected towns carried their point. The Council made an order as soon as the letters of pastors Stoddard of Northampton, and Russell of Hadley, had been received, that Major Savage should at once return home and to "leave soldiers to assist those towns, not excecding one hundred and fifty men, choosing such as are fittest for the service." On April 1, Major Treat and a portion, at least, of his forces, had gone to Connecticut, and Major Savage was ordered, in case they should return, to march, if he should deem it best, against the Indians at Deerfield. Previous to the departure of Major Savage, several inhabitants of Hadley went down the river to Hoccanum, accompanied by a small guard, to work in the meadows. Carelessly separating themselves from the guard, and some of them even ascending to Mt. Holyoke, to obtain a view of the surrounding country, they were fallen upon by the Indians, and three of them killed, one of them a prominent citizen, Dea. Goodman. Thomas Reed, a soldier, was also taken prisoner. On the 27th of April, two citizens of Springfield having occasion to go to Skipmuck (now Chicopee Falls), saw some Indians, and, themselves unseen, hastened back to the town. Captain Samuel Holyoke, who had been elected to the command of the military company of the town, to succeed his father Elizur Holyoke, took a number of men with him and started in pursuit. Four Indians were found sitting on the riverbank, not suspecting any danger. They were attacked without warning, and took to the river, where two lost their lives, while the other two gained the opposite bank. One of these was shot and the other captured and taken to Springfield for questioning. He made known by signs that the Indians were concentrating in three fortified positions between Northampton and Northfield; that of the 3000 souls there were but 1000 fighting natives; that these were not foreign tribes, but were all either Nipmuck, Narragansett or Quabaug Indians, and a few other scattering tribe-representatives known to be engaged in the war; that the Dutch had furnished them with ammunition, but that

they were in great need of provisions and other supplies; and that the Connecticut Valley Indians were tired of strife in being so much inclined to peace that, if the English would propose it, they would even bring in the head of Philip. The rumor that the commanding chieftain had secured the co-operation of Canadian Indians in the prosecution of his Massachusetts campaign was untrue, he declared; though there were insistent rumors to that effect. He also warned the inhabitants to be on their guard against small parties of marauding Indians who were lurking about most of the towns bent on mischief. Proof was not lacking that the prisoner, in this as in other particulars, spoke the truth.

Turner's Strategic Night Ride—On May 18, Thomas Reed, taken prisoner by the Indians the previous April, escaped and came back to Hadley. He reported that the enemy had been for several days engaged in planting at Deerfield; that they were established in force "at the Falls,"—between Gill and Montague—on both sides of the Connecticut River, and that a large number of their colony consisted of old men and old women. They were, however, "boastful and scornful," and proud of the war they were waging against the English, and of what they expected to do in future. Two days before Reed escaped, they had visited Hatfield and stolen many horses and cattle. These he reported seeing at Deerfield, grazing in the meadow, high fences having been built to keep them within bounds. Two boys named Stebbins and Gilbert, the latter a step-son of Samuel Marshfield, of Springfield, had only recently escaped from the Indians, and had told practically the same stories. The Indians being short of provisions, had settled near what is known as Millers Falls, because of the great abundance of fish there.

At this time Philip was supposed to be among his forces in northern Massachusetts, which were then scattered between Wachusett Mountain, Princeton and Greenfield. The Indians encamped near the falls were in no fear of an English attack, for they were well aware of the latters' quite recent weakness. With these circumstances in mind, Captain William Turner, who had been placed in command at Hatfield on Major Savage's withdrawal, made careful plans for an attack to force the issue. He assembled one hundred and eighty men at Hatfield in this enterprise, and with young Captain Samuel Holyoke as second in command, started on May 17th for the Falls encampment. They advanced in the evening, up the west side of the river, crossing Bloody Brook and the for-

saken plantation at Deerfield, over Deerfield River at the point known as Cheapside, and up the remainder of their twenty-mile night ride to the west bank of what is called "Fall River" near Greenfield. They had a narrow escape from discovery by Indians lodged at Deerfield River. The Indians heard the soldiers crossing that river. Supposing that the noise might be made by moose and not horses, they let Turner's men slip through. It was still dark, and there was still more time for sleep.

The Indians at the Falls were resting blissfully from their feasting of the previous night, when they had regaled themselves on the milk and the flesh of stolen cows. Not a sentinel had been posted. All minor sounds were lost in the ceaseless roar of the rapids at that point. Just as daylight broke, the soldiers tied their horses on the river bank, and pressed forward, undiscovered, to the higher ground in the rear of the sleeping camp. The word was given to fire, and the noise was the first that had risen above the rushing of waters over the rocks. Bullets riddled every wigwam. Savages fled pell mell from every hut in wildest alarm. The loud cry, "Mohawks! Mohawks!" was another proof of the slight ground existing for believing that the Mohawks, as had been freely rumored, were the allies of the local Indians. Cut down on every hand, some rushed to their canoes. Some in blind haste pushed off without stopping for paddles and were dashed over the rocks at the cataract and drowned. Others were shot crossing the river, their canoes, one after another, disappearing in the torrent. Others died in their wigwams, and others still, took shelter under the shelving river rocks, where the soldiers hunted them out and shot them like muskrats. Five were killed by the sword of Captain Holyoke himself. At the close of the engagement there were a hundred dead Indians lying on the ground, and at least one hundred and forty were seen to pass down the stream, only one being seen to escape drowning. One of the soldiers was killed outright. It was afterwards acknowledged by the Indians that they had lost in killed and drowned over three hundred, including some of the best-known sachems.

Captain Turner, though a sick man, did not shirk any of his responsibilities. Though poorly able to withstand the fatigue and excitement of the fighting, he manfully kept the command, when barely able to guide his horse. He directed the destruction of the remaining wigwams, and retreated to where the horses had been left, only to find the woods around them swarming with Indians,

attracted by the noise of the fighting at the Falls. The horses were, most of them, rescued, but the English retreat was beset by greatly superior numbers. The day grew sultry, which added to Captain Turner's discomfort and prevented him from properly defending himself. Holyoke, as chief officer of the rear guard, did brilliant service in carrying out the orders of his superior. "We there destroyed" says his orderly's account, "much of the Indians' ammunition and provision which we think they may hardly be soon or easily recruited with as perhaps they may be with men . . . We likewise demolished here Two Forges they had to mend armes; took away materials and tools . . . and then threw two great piggs of lead of theirs (intended for making bullets) into said River." Opposite Smeads' Island a great detachment of fresh Indians appeared, and joined those on the left bank of the river in harassing the English. The rumor that Philip himself with his main army had arrived caused the soldiers much uneasiness, but they fought on until Captain Holyoke's horse was shot under him. He managed to escape those who crowded up to kill him, and took complete command of the retreat at Green River, where gallant Captain Turner received his death wound. He is to be given equal credit with Captain Holyoke, for "fighting the good fight." His body was later found where he fell, in Greenfield meadow. Holyoke conducted the retreat of the shattered troop with real genius, contesting every step of the way back to Hatfield, where he finally arrived with only thirty-eight men.

Wells, Atherton and Holyoke—Worthy of special mention is the experience of two of the active white participants, both of whom were at first mourned as dead. Early in the mêlée Jonathan Wells of Hatfield received a shot fracturing his thigh, but he managed to get to his horse, and became lost in the woods. Falling from his horse in a faint at twilight he accidentally set fire to the woods, the flames spreading in all directions. He was afraid he would thus attract the Indians, but nevertheless sank exhausted into a deep sleep. While lying on the burned-over ground he dreamed that he had been travelling upstream and in the wrong direction: so on awaking he went down Green River, dragging his broken leg and using his gun as a crutch. In fording Deerfield River, he leveled his gun at an Indian he saw in a canoe, and the latter jumped into the water to escape. Immediately the woods on the stream's banks became alive with savages; but Wells had so thoroughly hidden himself in the neighboring swamp that he

was not then found. In awful pain, desperate from hunger, he crawled, inches at a time, back to Hatfield, where he was looked upon as one risen from the dead.

Rev. Hope Atherton, chaplain of the Turner-Holyoke troops, also became lost in the woods during the Falls fight, wandering about until he became convinced he could never find his own way back. Meeting a party of Indians he gave himself up, but they, overcome by superstitious fears, refused to touch him. At last he found the bank of the Connecticut River, and after many days of privation arrived home to the great astonishment of his Hatfield friends and neighbors.

Captain Holyoke, the sharer with Captain Turner of the honors of "Turner's Falls" fight, did not long survive the heat and exertions of that day. He died the following autumn at the age of twenty-eight. After the slaughter of the Indians at the Falls, Philip planned revenge. With hundreds of Indians he invaded Hatfield, May 30, 1676, at once setting on fire twelve houses outside the fortifications. The men of the town were at work in the meadow when more than a hundred Indians suddenly attacked them. On seeing the fire from burning Hatfield buildings, twenty-five young men of Hadley rushed to the rescue of their up-river neighbors, arriving just in time to help to drive the Indians off. Each Hadleyian killed his Indian, but five of the white company were killed,—two of them Connecticut soldiers, Smith and Hall. All this proved conclusively to the Government authorities that the force of Indians on the Connecticut made Western Massachusetts one of the chief storm-centers of the campaign. The military forces which had been withdrawn were promptly returned. Major Talcott was sent with fifty English and two hundred friendly Indians—Pequot and Mohican—by way of Brookfield, to the relief of Captain Swain at Hadley, arriving there just in time to participate in the last decisive battle of the Philip War in Western New England.

A Miracle Happens at Hadley—On a day of fasting and prayer, with most of the garrison absent, June 12, 1676, more than seven hundred Indians decided to strike a decisive blow at Hadley, which they saw was fast becoming a danger-point of English activity. The enemy made careful plans for the success of the attack. They prepared an ambuscade at the southern extremity of the town into which they hoped to sweep the inhabitants at a certain stage

of the battle, driving them from the north end of town and forcing them into the cunningly-devised snare. The main body of red warriors attacked the palisades at the north promptly at day-break, assailing at several points at once. The settlers fought desperately. The savages gained possession of one of the houses inside, but were beaten back with severe losses. Indian reinforcements gathering like a cloud threatened the whole northern barricade; and it seemed impossible to avert complete extermination of the settlement. The tide of battle surged back and forth. A moment arrived when, from lack of adequate leadership, the English seemed doomed to defeat; then there suddenly appeared in the midst of the villagers a venerable long-bearded man, in ancient garb, brandishing a sword. No one had time to ask questions. With the voice and mein of one accustomed to command, the wavering, demoralized battle-line of the whites was quickly reformed, in skilled military fashion. He encouraged here, ordered there, and brought such order out of impending chaos, that the furious enemy was repulsed on every side. The old veteran of the Cromwellian era rallied the amateur troops, and filled them with hope and courage. Whenever the attackers were approached by the white haired demon, the savages fell back; for, was he not the spirit of vengeance with a flaming sword? The excited people of Hadley, regarding him as a sort of Moses, sent of God, obeyed him without demur. The Indians fled in wild confusion and panic-stricken, in all directions. The victory of the English was made absolute with the sudden arrival of Talcott reinforcements, for whom there remained nothing to do but to aid in chasing the surviving fugitives into the deep woods.

The quaint nobleman, whom the villagers could not remember ever having seen before, did not stay to share in the common thanksgiving. He had vanished as suddenly as he had come, and was not seen again. Not until some time after was it learned that for twelve years two of the English regicides of Charles I., Goffe, and his superannuated father-in-law, Whalley, both under sentence of death, had been concealed in the Hadley minister's house. Only half a dozen people in town knew the secret, and they had kept it well. Colonel Goffe was an experienced Cromwellian soldier, specially chosen by the Great Protector because of his military knowledge for stirring service, thirty years before. From his sheltered window in the minister's house he could not look on and remain in hiding when he saw English compatriots in peril in

the streets of Hadley. So he rushed into the fore-front of the battle, and unquestionably saved the day for the Hadleyites, until the prayed-for reinforcements of Major Talcott could arrive and help in the finishing touches to the Indian rout.

The Indians were now beginnig to distrust themselves, and did not fight with their former spirit. Philip's power was rapidly declining. He made the Mohawks (Macquas) angry by trying to make them believe that the English,—and not his own men,—had slaughtered a party of Mohawks on the upper Connecticut waters. It so happened that just one of the Mohawk victims failed to die, and they were undeceived! In retaliation the now enraged Mohawks swept over the mountains into Massachusetts, and exterminated a lodge of about fifty of Philip's allies. This was previous to the Falls fight which has been described. With the memory of this fighting fresh in their minds, it was only natural that the Indians felt that the Mohawks were upon them when they were first assailed by Turner and Holyoke at Turner's Falls.

With no hope from the west, worsted in almost every encounter, and driven from their ambitious attack on Hadley, the forces of Philip had been obliged to scatter in all directions.

Soon after the Hadley affair, Captain Henchman joined Talcott and his forces scoured both sides of the river northward from Mount Tom up to Northfield and even beyond, only to discover that there were no longer any Indians in that field, and that there was none of their stores to capture or destroy. They found plenty of evidences of the fighting which had cost the men of the valley so many lives and such wide-spread desolation. But the existing authorities did not enquire too closely into the strange circumstances surrounding the "welcome apparition" which saved Hadley, and which had helped to deal one of the sharp death-blows to "King Philip's War."

The Fall of Philip and the War's Ending—Major Talcott, no longer needed in the valley, left with Captain Henchman, of Brookfield, for the Narragansett country, inflicting severe punishment on the natives as he went. Large bodies of the enemy were flocking towards Rhode Island, being hunted down as they went by the pursuing English, with the loss of very few of the latter. In a Narragansett swamp one hundred and fifty of the hostiles who were nearest Philip were put to the sword or otherwise slain. Philip, though pressed on all sides, with men he thought

he could depend upon, particularly his northern allies, deserting to other tribes and alliances every day—remained haughty and implacable. Many of those whose tribes had been nearly destroyed blamed Philip for their predicament and became scattered. Major Talcott now stationed his troops at Westfield, for the purpose of stopping the tide of fugitives passing to the west. He had hardly reached there before he discovered the trail of some two hundred who had peaceably passed that point. He caught up with them at Stockbridge, Berkshire County, on the Housatonic River. Attacking them immediately, twenty-five were left dead on the ground and twenty were captured. One of the latter was said to be the treacherous sachem of Quabogue (Brookfield). Afterwards it was definitely learned that the total loss of the Indians was sixty killed or badly wounded. Talcott lost only one man, and he a Mohican Indian ally. This showed the savages they could hope for little quarter from the colonial authorities, even if they did refrain from actual hostilities. "King Philip's War" had become a rout, and a mere chase!

Sometimes Philip himself escaped death seemingly by a hair's breadth. His wife, children, captains, and councillors were either killed or captured, one after another, and at last the treachery of one of his handful of remaining followers caused his final downfall.

Captain Benjamin Church, one of the bravest and most skilled of the Indian fighters enlisted in the English cause, had long cherished the idea of surrounding the chief instigators of the war, and bringing them, dead or alive, to Boston. He learned as the summer waned, that the much harassed chieftain Philip with the mere "ghost of his once great army," sought safety at his old home at Mount Hope, Rhode Island. On August 3, 1676, Church's men killed several Indians and captured forty in that neighborhood. The lines began to tighten. An Indian who counselled Philip to submit to the English was promptly shot by the chief for his advice. The brother of this murdered man went to Captain Church and offered to lead the English to Philip's lodge. By midnight of August 2d, Church and a few picked soldiers were at Bristol Neck. At dawn of August 12th, every avenue of escape had been sealed up. One hundred and sixty of the last followers of Philip were slaughtered. The revengeful Indian whose brother had been shot in cold blood by the "Terror of New England," was given the privilege of shooting him through the heart.

Elroy M. Avery says: "The head that had planned the two years' war was cut off and stuck on a pole in the public gaze at Plymouth . . . On the theory that Philip was a rebel against Charles II, the punishment for treason was meted out to him, and his body was quartered. The clergy were consulted, the Old Testament was carefully examined, and the dead chieftain's widow and child were sold as slaves in Bermuda . . . ."

There are but six copies extant of the earliest history which gives with striking detail the account of these stirring happenings all over Massachusetts,—so much of it in the western part. The title page of this quaint work, which was "Printed by John Foster, Over Against The Sign Of The Dove, Boston, 1676," is in part as follows:

A brief history of the **Warr with the Indians in New-England,** From June 24, 1675, When The First Englishman Was Murdered, To August 12, 1676, When **Philip,** Alias Metacomet, The Author And Beginner of The Warr, Was Slain. Wherein The Grounds and Progress of The Warr Is Summarily Expressed, Together With An **Serious Exhortation,** By **Increase Mather,** Teacher of A Church Of Christ In Boston. Signius Irritant Animos Demissa Per Aures . . . . Horat.

Lege Historian Ne Fias Historia.....Cic.

This rare old book has been freely consulted for the present writing.

Indian Disturbance in the Wake of the War—No very serious demonstration of the Indians against the settlers of Western Massachusetts occurred until the autumn of 1677, when on the 19th of September about fifty Canadian Indians descending the Connecticut to Hatfield, shot down three men outside the fortification and killed eleven of those inside. The attack came in the forenoon when many of the men were at work in the fields. Those killed were Sergeant Isaac Graves, John Atchinson, John Cooper, the wife and one of the children of John Coleman, the wife and child of Philip Russel, the wife of Samuel Kellogg, the wife and child of Samuel Belding, and a child of John Wells. Among those carried away captives were two more children of John Coleman, Mrs. Waite and her two children, Mrs. Foote and two children, Mrs. Jennings and two children, Obadiah Dickinson and one child, a child of the Mrs. Samuel Kellogg who had been killed, William Bartholomew's child, and a child of John Allis.

By nightfall the Indians with their captives arrived at Deerfield, where they captured Sergeant John Plympton, Quentin Stockwell

and Benoni Stebbins, killing John Root who tried to escape. During the next day's march they reached the "west meadow" at Northfield; and about noon of the third day they halted at a remote up-river camp, near what is now Claremont's northern edge. They waited some days here until a party of about eighty women and children had arrived from Princeton. Then the whole party pushed on towards the Canadian line. The prisoners were subjected to many hardships and much unnecessary cruelty. Benoni Stebbins managed to escape and reached home in safety. Sergeant Plympton, of Deerfield, for the "trifling offence" of trying to escape, was burned at the stake near Chamblee, and his compatriot, Dickinson, of Hatfield, was forced to lead him to death. Three children, named respectively Foote, Russel, and Jennings, had died or were killed on the way, by the time the rest had reached Sorel, a small French outpost.

In a round-about way the Connecticut Valley settlers heard, during the anxious weeks that followed, that several of the captives had been seen or talked with in Canada. Among the captives was Mrs. Stephen Jennings and Mrs. Benjamin Waite, to each of whom was born a daughter after leaving home. In commemoration of the trials of that awful winter the Jennings offsping, endured for all its years the name of "Captivity," while the Waite girl was always called "Canada." Jennings and Waite secured a commission from the governor of Massachusetts to aid in their search for the party of captives, and set out October 24, by way of Westfield and Albany, at the latter point being subjected to a cruel month's delay by Governor Andros and others. Near the last of November the two anxious adventurers hired a Mohawk guide, who fitted up a canoe and gave them a rough plan of Lakes George and Champlain, as well as other lakes they would encounter. On January 6, 1678, says Dr. Lockwood's "Westfield," they reached Chamblee, where Sergeant Plympton had only a few weeks before been burned. Pushing on toward Sorel, they found Mrs. Jennings and four other captives working for the French, the latter having exchanged their service, with the Indians, for liquor. From them it was learned that other captives were not far away. With aid given by Canadian government officials at Quebec, they were able to buy from the Indians the whole party of surviving captives for about two hundred pounds sterling.

Throughout that winter and spring, chroniclers say, the Valley settlers had been in an agony of suspense. Great excitement was

therefore caused in Deerfield and Hatfield by the receipt of a letter May 22, from Quentin Stockwell to his wife, telling of the party's safe arrival, after incredible hardships, at Albany, bound for home. May 23, 1678, is the date of a letter from "Your Loving Kinsman, Benjamin Waite," written "To My Loving Friends And Kindred At Hatfield," and containing these moving words:

> These few lines to let you understand we have arrived at Albany now, with the Captives, and do stand in need of assistance for my charges is very great and heavy; and therefore any that have any love of our condition, let it move them to come and help us in this strait . . . I pray you to hasten the matter for it requireth great haste. Stay not for the Sabbath nor shoeing of horses. We shall endeavor to meet you at Cantorhook (Kinderhook) or it may be at Housatonock. We must come very softly because of our wives and children. I pray you to hasten then—stay not night or day,——haste. Bring provisions . . . At Albany, written from my own hand. As I have been affected to yours all that were fatherless, be so affected to me now . . . Hasten the matter, and stay not, and ease me of my charges. You shall not need to be afraid of any enemies.

Four days after the messenger had left with this urgent message, the little company walked twenty-two miles to Kinderhook, there meeting men and horses from Hatfield. What a meeting that must have been!

The return through Otis and Blandford, down the old mountain road into Westfield valley, and along past "Ashley Ponds" towards home, was almost a triumphal procession. The captives had been absent the best part of a year; and there was great thanksgiving over their return. A copy of Waite's letter was made the basis of appeal by the Governor and Council at Boston for contributions from the churches and towns for defraying the "heavy charges" incurred by the heroes, Waite and Jennings, in their arduous work of redeeming the captives.

The Hadley mill was attacked that summer, and some other slight outbreaks from wandering Indians occurred from time to time; but the few remaining natives expressed a desire to be at peace. A "Commission" at Northampton, attended by Major Treat of Hartford with a guard of forty men, dictated the terms of a peace treaty, in which the Indians in the district were promised protection and the enjoyment of fishing, hunting and other privileges on certain lands, provided they would become and remain subjects of the British crown, and deliver up all English captives. The affair amounted to little more than securing certain captives.

The Indians found it less humiliating to move away from the

scene of their old and once "happy" hunting grounds. So they retreated farther back into the wilderness than ever, and the Valley of the Connecticut settled back into the enjoyment of a considerable season of quiet so far as the Indians were concerned.

CHAPTER V

WITCHCRAFT AND MYSTICISM

How It Secured A Foothold in the Valley—Witchcraft was one of the lingering superstitions of the Middle Ages. The witchcraft delusion and persecution are among the saddest chapters in New England's history, when Englishmen who had so recently sought refuge from persecution, so soon began to persecute on their own account. Early in the seventeenth century, Mathew Hopkins, with the title of "Witchfinder General," was tolerated in England. In 1645, the very year of the marriage in Springfield of the same Hugh Parsons and Mary Lewis who were a few months later involved in the first witchcraft accusations in Western Massachusetts, this fantastic character caused sixty protesting suspects to be hanged, in one county alone. Butler immortalized him by name in the lines from "Hudibras," ending "Hath he not within a year, hanged three score witches in one shire?"

Richard Baxter, who was such an authority on "Saints Rest," vouched for him; and the leading men believed that he possessed unique and uncanny powers to save mankind from the evils of the black art. The fame and success of such an imposter as he must have been, were not slow in reaching the New England colonists. Something inexplicable occurred in the community, and it was easy to charge it to the devil's growing account, and call it "Witchcraft."

Back as far as 1636, the law as laid down by the Plymouth Colony, in summarizing the list of offenses "Lyable to death," included "Whoever is found guiltie of Compaction or Converse with the Divell by way of Witchcraft, Conjuration or the like."

"A faithful minister of the Church of England, whose name was Edward Seymour, as long ago as 1637, did thus express himself in a sermon," said Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, citing various "Enchantments" he had "encountered."

"At New England the sun of comfort now begins to appear; there will come times when the clouds will overshadow and darken the sky there."

"This is an inspiration very dismally now verifyd upon us," declared Dr. Mather, writing of Seymour's words in 1692, when the Salem craze was at its height. Mrs. Loomis Todd has written:

As the twilight of Christianity's Dark Ages came on, superstition spread, and we trace outlines of the more modern forms of belief in witchcraft. Even Christianity allowed that perhaps the devil was at the head and that it was possible for persons to join him in the overthrow of the Church. In this belief lay the kernel of all subsequent action upon the crime of witchcraft. The two mighty antagonists used men as puppets, playing with and upon them. During our colonial era more than six hundred each year perished in Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Sweden suffered in like manner.

Most intelligent persons were convinced that the alleged witches communicated with Satan and really believed that they had covenanted with the Devil. Not until about forty years before the American colonies ceased to be a part of the British empire were the drastic English statutes against witchcraft repealed.

Twenty years before the "Blessing of the Bay" sailed up the Connecticut River with the goods of William Pynchon and his fellow adventurers, several hundred "witches" were put to death in Geneva, the home of Calvin. In 1641 Massachusetts Bay Colony incorporated these "Bible-inspired" words in its famous "Body of Liberties:" "If any Man or Woman be a Witch, that is, hath consulted with a Familiar spirit, they shall be put to death." One year later Connecticut adopted similar "measures for public safety."

In 1647 the General Court of Rhode Island said "Witchcraft is forbidden by the present Assembly to be used in this Colonie; the penalty imposed . . . is Felonie of Death!" It was 1648 when the first execution for witchcraft took place in Boston. Mary Jones, who literally went about doing good,—being the first "visiting nurse" of actual record in the colonies, was hanged on Boston Common, because, forsooth, some of her medicines had "extraordinary violent effects," also because she "would tell those who refused her ministrations that they would never get well!"

In 1651, February term of court, the Hugh Parsons before referred to, a sawyer and brickmaker, head of one of the first families of Springfield, was examined on the charge of being in league with the devil before magistrate Pynchon. The Parsons' second child, Joshua, was born the previous October. A year before, Mary Parsons, the child's mother, had been severely reprimanded by the Court for slandering the widow Marshfield, and had been sentenced to be "well whipped with twenty lashes, by the constable"—unless she could make "payment of three pounds to the Widow Marshfield for and towards the reparation of her goode name." Her first child Samuel lived but a short while. Her accumulation of troubles drove her insane. The wise-acres "knew" that her unhappy condition and circumstances were brought about

by witchcraft. In the delirium of her illness she accused both her husband and herself of witchcraft. Neighbors accused first her husband, then herself of causing the death, March 1, 1651, of their infant son, Joshua. All the accusations were of the flimsiest character, yet the sum of them was so great that the magistrate was compelled to have a trial. Long and tedious was the testimony of George Lankton, Hannah his wife, Thomas Miller, John Lumbard, Symon Bemon, Rice Bodorthe, and others; and the harassed magistrate could only send the accused on to Boston for further examination. There a bill of indictment was found against the accused, as was to be expected of the straight-laced elders, who dictated the wording of the arraignment in these words: "The Grand Jury present Hugh Parsons of Springfield for not having before his eyes the fear of God. In or about March last, and divers times before and since at Springfield aforesaid (as they conceived), he had familiar and wicked converse with the Devil and did use divers devilish practices and witchcraft to the hurt of divers persons, as by several witnesses and circumstances as doth appear, and do leave him to the Courte for his further trial for life." Then, solemly, "Edward Hutchinson, Foreman, with the consent of the Jury," declared "The Jury of Life and Death finds against Hugh Parsons, by the testimony of such as appeared in Court, so much as gives him grounds not to clear him: Considered with the testimonies of divers that are in Springfield, whose testimonies were sent only in writing, as also the confession of Mary Parsons, and the impeachment of some of the bewitched persons and the testimonies that are in writing, but appeared not in person,—authentic testimonies, according to law,—then the Jury finds the said Hugh Parsons guilty of the Sin of Witchcraft."

The Demented "Witch" Confesses—Meanwhile the poor demented Mary, when a little more nearly in her right mind, confessed that she herself took the life of the infant Joshua, and was imprisoned on the double charge of sorcery and murder. She realized that her testimony had been a factor in placing her huband, Hugh, under sentence of death; and she had the satisfaction of knowing that the Court reversed its former decision, and had spared his life. Meantime, Mary had herself been acquitted of the witchcraft charges, and convicted of murder. The language of the Court is "On the second indictment, for willfully and most wickedly

murdering her own child to, the which she pleaded guilty, consent the fact, and according to her deserts condemned to die." On the day her husband's sentence was reversed, and he was set free, the gaoler was notified of a respite for the unhappy Mary. She died in prison before the death sentence could be carried out. Her insanity and death are directly traceable to the excitement caused by the witchcraft epidemic and the public odium attached to it.

A strange book called "Wonder Working Providence," published in 1654 by Captain Edward Johnson, has this to say of the growth of the witchcraft craze in Western Massachusetts: "There hath of late been more than one in this town greatly suspected of witchcraft, yet they have used much diligence both for the finding them out and for the Lord's assisting them against their witchery. But have they, as is supposed, bewitched not a few persons, among whom two of the Reverend Elder's children." The children of the Rev. George Moxon, the first minister, who a year later went back to England with Mr. Pynchon, were those referred to.

A Jury of Women—Nor was Springfield alone in the distinction of being the seat of activity in witchcraft. Singularly enough, another Mary Parsons, this time the wife of Joseph, a prominent and wealthy citizen of Northampton, was accused. And it was twenty years after the excitement over the other Parsons case had subsided that the singular circumstances of the case of the second Mary arose.

It seems that in July, 1674, a certain Mrs. Mary Bartlett, wife of Samuel, died of an unknown malady. All the available "chirurgeons" gave it up; and it was the course of least resistance to charge it to witchcraft. The next step of course was to find who could be not only accused, but convicted, of "witching" Mrs. Bartlett. Mrs. Parsons had made enemies for a certain independence of manner and speech, in themselves entirely inoffensive, but creative of jealousy among her neighbors. So it was not difficult to find witnesses who had "evidence" satisfactory to judge, jury, and lawyers.

Soon after the death of Mrs. Bartlett, her husband began to collect this "evidence" in preparation for the September term of Court, held in Springfield, in the shape of numerous depositions, to substantiate his accusations. Mrs. Parsons was aware of the course

of events, and did not wait for process-service, but appeared voluntarily to answer her accusers. In her plea she denied guilt, and in a spirited speech to the Court she "did assert her own innocencey, often mentioning that the righteous God knew of her guiltlessness and that she left her cause in His hands." Notwithstanding her insistence of innocence, the Springfield Court found probable cause, and it is recorded that it "appointed a Jury of soberdized, chaste women to make diligent search upon the body of Mary Parsons, whether any marks of witchcraft appear, who gave in their account to the Court on oath of what they found." That report was attached to the various depositions and sent to Boston, to the governor and magistrates. Mrs. Parsons was solemnly ordered to appear before them in March, 1675. She was bound over in the sum of fifty pounds, and her husband, Joseph, was surety for her further appearance in the Hampshire County Court at Springfield.

An indictment was found against her upon presentation of her case to the grand jury, and she was sent to prison to await trial. Her trial came May 13th. The indictment was similar in wording to those in previous cases: "In that you have, not having the fear of God before your eyes, entered into familiarity with the Devil, and committed sundry acts of witchcraft on the persons of one or more." To this charge she again emphatically stated she was "Not Guilty." The trial-jury was convinced of the woman's entire innocence, and had the good sense to acquit her. An attempt made later to fasten guilt upon her son John did not avail. The Court held that the "evidence" was not sufficient, and there was no further persecution of the Parsons family on the score of witchcraft.

Another instance of the credulity of people determined to follow one line of reasoning, is found in the case of the death of John Stebbins, of Northampton, who died March 7, 1679. Dr. Thomas Hastings, of Hatfield, was one of the twelve jurymen chosen to hold an inquest. They declared they found several hundred small spots on the body as if they had been made by small shot. "Witchcraft, of course." But this time there was no scape-goat who could be loaded with the burden of proof. There was a tradition, made into the record of testimony, that some time before John Stebbins died he worked in a saw-mill where the logs and plank became more or less "wrought up" and performed queer and un-lumber-like antics. The County Court received the papers in the case, and transmitted the whole matter to Governor Bradstreet. Perhaps

the executive's own forceful hand pigeon-holed it. At any rate nothing further was ever heard of the Stebbins case.

The only other noted case of such character in the Western Massachusetts section occurred in Hadley in 1683, during a great religious revival in that region. It seems that yet another Mary, the wife of William Webster, was charged with witchcraft, appearing before a court consisting of Colonel John Pynchon, Philip Smith, Peter Tilton, Aaron Cooke and William Clarke. In April she made the long, tedious trip to Boston. On May 22d, appearing before Governor and Council, she was indicted by the grand jury. She was kept in jail there until her trial September 4th, when she was acquitted because of insufficient evidence. Two years later the same Mary suffered more persecution of the sort, even being accused of committing murder in the "practice of her arts." This charge was also unsubstantiated. The same astute lieutenant-governor and chief justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, William Stoughton, who signed the Hampshire County Judges Commission of 1696, later appearing in this volume, presided in solemn state over the famous Salem witchcraft trials near the century's end. Even as late as the time of the learned activities of famous Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), that great legal luminary, who was led to pen and to publish these lines; "To deny the possibility, nay, the actual existence of Witchcraft and sorcery is flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages!"

CHAPTER VI

RULING SPIRIT AND GOOD GENIUS OF FIRST SETTLERS, PYNCHON—PIONEER

The founder of Springfield, William Pynchon, like his father, John, a graduate of Oxford, was a man of much learning, as well as being one of the patentees of the Colony while in England, under Charles I, one of Governor Winthrop's magistrates and "assistants," the trusted treasurer of the Colony, and high commissioner for the government of the Connecticut River settlements. Pynchon matriculated at Hart Hall, Oxford, (afterward Hertford College) when he was eleven years old, October 14, 1596. It was the custom to send boys to Oxford at a very early age. Here he acquired great familiarity with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and accumulated the theological stores of knowledge of which there is so much evidence in his later books. The historian Henry M. Burt says that "William Pynchon was undoubtedly the ablest reasoner and the best scholar residing in the colony during the first century." The one man whom Josiah Gilbert Holland called "the ruling spirit and good genius" of the first decade and a half of the settlements of Western Massachusetts, so thoroughly laid the foundations upon which the later structure of town, county, and city life has been reared, that he well deserves this separate and particular encomium. "The Father of the Valley" he was, indeed.

He was a man "well fitted" as Dr. Lockwood says, "for leadership in several spheres,—commercial, theological, political, and intellectuual." He came primarily as an active man of business. It was the business of trade in fur, particularly beaver, which induced him to go up into the heart of what was then considered the New World's fur country, and to select and create the first outlines of the four counties,—Hampshire, Berkshire, Franklin and Hampden, named in the order of their establishment.

Mme. Pynchon and the Lady Arbella Johnson—When the "Jewel, one of the four ships of Governor Winthrop's daring little fleet, sailed from Southampton, England, March 22, 1630, it carried William Pynchon the acute, self assertive, resolute, energetic man of large affairs; the "country gentleman" who was also the merchant, and pre-eminently the fur-trader. With him went his wife,

Anna, daughter of William Andrews, of Twywell, Northamptonshire, and their three daughters. The oldest was Anna, later to become the wife of Springfield's first recorder, Henry Smith; Margaret, who married Captain William Davis, of Boston; and Mary, who was later Mrs. Elizur Holyoke, whom the ornate tombstone in the old Peabody cemetery at Springfield declares was "a very Glory of Womanhood." In the archives at Boston is a document showing that the son, John, at this time nine years old, but later the famous "Worshipfull Major Pynchon," remained behind, to come over by a later ship.

The sea was reported to be infested by pirates, a fact which caused no little dread and apprehension. Once on the toilsome voyage the sight of "eight strange sail" caused an immediate clearing of the decks for action, and the throwing overboard of some things which were considered too combustible. There were anxious hours when the elders knelt in fervent and continuous prayers for deliverance. The fears of the company were turned to joy when the unexpected wayfarers proved to be "friends, not enemies."

An extraordinary storm, continuing ten days, caused much distress; and so tossed and bruised the cattle imprisoned below decks that "more than three-score died" or had to be butchered. When, on the 72d day outward bound, "land was sighted and there came a smell of the shore like the smell of gardens," their joy knew no bounds. Saturday, June 12, 1630, they "came to anchor in the harbor of Salem."

Many of the 180 who had come over on the "Jewel" or her sister ships had died on the way over. Some had strength and courage enough to reach land, though not lasting much longer. Since the little company had formed itself into this historic group, nearly two hundred had been eliminated by death. All its leaders were "men of sorrows, and acquainted with grief." The "Arbella," the "Ambrose" and the "Talbot" were the sister ships of the "Jewel;" and the first of this trio was named for one of the "stockholders," the Lady Arbella Johnson, widow of the late Sir Isaac, and the first titled woman to reach New England. The same terms used in Hubbard's eulogy of the Lady Arbella would apply to Mme. Anna Andrews Pynchon, for the excitements of the enterprise and the inevitable nostalgia caused the death of both these women, almost as soon as they had come on shore. "She came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of a noble Earl, and into

a wilderness of wants. Although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was she not able to encounter the adversity with which she was surrounded. In about a month after her arrival she ended her days in Salem." It is related of Mme. Pynchon that she died in Salem before the return trip of the "Jewel" which had brought her over.

The Merchant and Fur-Trader—Pynchon never lost sight of his main objective, that of merchandizing and trading in furs. Up and down the coast, trading with both the English and the Indians, sailed the little ships in which he was financially concerned exchanging the goods he had imported from England for native products, and particularly furs. It is recorded that one of his ships "coming from Sagadahock in October 1631, was wrecked at Cape Ann, but the men and chief of the goods were saved." No one thing did more to effect the colonization of America than the pursuit of fur-bearing animals, and particularly the beaver. Competition and search for new sources of supply lured the hunter into remote regions, only to be followed by the settler. The beaver furnished food and clothing, and its skin was one of the chiefest articles of commerce with the mother-country. On the frontiers it became a unit of currency.

As early as November, 1630, the regulations controlling the price of beaverskins were cancelled, and it "was left free for every man to make the best profit and improvement of it he could." June, 1631, "upon the reading of certain articles concerning a general trade of beaver agreed upon by Captain Endicott and divers others, it was ordered that the persons interested therein should . . . decide such differences as were betwixt them, and for such as they could not end, to bring them to the next Court to be there determined. "June 5, 1632, a tax of twelve pence was levied on every pound of beaver passing through the trader's hands. As this entailed rather onerous details of accounting, Pynchon proposed that he pay a flat rate of twenty-five pounds a year. In the October Court this proposition prevailed and continued until the spring of 1635, when the possibilities of securing furs had become so meager that he felt that the yearly payment should be reduced to twenty pounds. This also was adopted.

Naturally, Pynchon was much interested in the visit of the sachem Wahginnacut who came out of the unknown "Quonehtacut" country in April, 1631, in an effort to get Englishmen to plant

and trade in his territory. He wanted two men to go up and see the "country which was very fruitful," and offered to find them not only plenty of corn but eighty skins of beaver annually.

The Traders Propose, But Small-Pox Disposes—Pynchon had heard, even before he left England, of rich and productive virgin forest lands and great lakes to westward of the Bay Colony. When the governor refused to entertain the Connecticut sagamore's proposition, Pynchon resolved at the earliest opportunity to settle for himself the beaver-trade problem. He looked with growing alarm on the trading schemes and the encroachments of the Dutch in the territory "leading to great northern lakes" of which he heard and read much; and heard with anxiety that the Dutch had built their fort without interference, as far up the river as Hartford. In 1633, John Oldham and his party returned from their explorations, reporting that he had been received kindly by the Indians, and had lodged peacefully at Indian towns all the way. Pynchon examined with keen interest the beaver-skins which had been given them and the specimens of hemp and black lead they had secured. In the fall of that year the Plymouth Colonists sent Winthrop's bark up the Connecticut River, and past the Dutch forts, despite the protests of the latter, and built a trading post at Windsor. The commander of this expedition reported that the "Connecticut River runs so far northward that it is within a day's journey of a part of the Merrimac, and so runs thence northwest so near the 'Great Lake' as allows the Indians to pass their canoes into it overland. From this Lake and the hideous swamps around it comes most of the beaver."

Every scrap of information which Pynchon could obtain more fixed his intention to develop the resources of the unexplored upper Connecticut. The fear of interference by hostile natives was much lessened by the report brought back, 1634, by one Hall, who, after untold hardships, had fought his way back from the Connecticut, to bring word of terrible ravages of the small-pox the previous winter among most of the Indian tribes to the north and west.

Governor Bradford's journal relates the futile attempt of the Dutch, established in their fort at Hartford, to dissuade the Indians at Springfield from sending their furs to or dealing with the English in any way. A few of the Dutch, it seems, had gone up in the winter of 1633-34 to the Springfield Indian fort to stay awhile and induce them to dispose of all their furs in Hartford. "The

enterprise failed," says Bradford "For it pleased God to visit these Indians with a great sickness, and such was the mortality that over nine hundred fifty of the thousand (in one fort) died; and the Dutch almost starved before they could get away." Gradually they worked their way back to Windsor, and, by about March 1, 1634, to Hartford. For more than two hundred and fifty years this statement remained almost unverified, save by the report brought back to Pynchon by Hall and his comrades, before alluded to. When the ancient fort on Long Hill, Springfield, was recently unearthed in excavations for new streets, there were found scores of clay tobacco-pipes, with tiny bowls, each bearing initials which have been identified with those of known Dutch pipemakers of the period. The Dutch emissaries brought these along as part of their equipment of gifts with which to purchase the exclusive trade of the up-river Indians. Most of the latter who made promises to the Dutch on this basis, died of the "providential scourge" before those promises could be fulfilled.

The Impatient Fur-Trader's Explorations—Early in the spring of 1635, Pynchon made elaborate plans for re-arranging his affairs at the Bay, and establishing fur-trading headquarters farther up the river than any of the other settlers. To that end he decided to personally select when the weather would open, the best possible site for a post. For the subsistence of the traders and their families, farmers would be required; and these, in turn would necessitate the coming of carpenters and blacksmiths, as a matter of course. His preliminary survey-party was therefore made up of carefully selected members; those particularly suited to the task as well as being helpful with good judgment and practical experience. Hence it was natural that he should take his carpenter-neighbor, Jehu Burr; his own fur-trading helper, Richard Everett, his trusted son-in-law, Henry Smith; young John Holyoke, placed in Pynchon's care by the latter's "ancient friend Holyoke of Lynn; one Joseph Parsons, "fluent in Indian tongues;" John Cabel (Cable), able seaman and ship's carpenter, and as an assistant to the latter, a certain John Woodcock, experienced in trapping and in trading with Indians, but who turned out afterwards to be a trouble-maker and a ne'er-do-well.

Permission to migrate was about to be granted by the Court, and Pynchon knew this. As a matter of fact it was agreed, at the session of May, 1635, that the Roxbury petitioners, and some

others, might depart "to any place they should think meet, not to prejudice of any other plantation provided they continued under the same government." Pynchon's first absence from Court for five years was in the fall of that year, months before Springfield was planted. Pynchon's "shallop" used for this expedition, a light-draught, sea-going, single-mast vessel, carried the house material used in the erection of the first dwelling on the Agawam, already referred to. His expedition, like the Windsor and Saybrook ones of the previous year, had for its prime object the establishment of permanent settlement far enough up-river to be "nearest the 'Great Lake,' all ready to intercept the Indians bringing down their wealth of furs." His boat was the same "greate shallop which was requisite for the first plantinge," referred to in "compact" adopted the following year, in that part regarding the assessment of individual settlers for exploration-trip expenses.

These details of systematic pioneering and exploration of territory about which he had determined to gain first-hand information before risking his own capital and that of his friends in the problematical expedition were characteristic of Pynchon the founder. They are essential to this first really adequate picture of the progressive, ambitious, super-promoter, "not slothful in business and serving the Lord." The trip up the river to the promised land,—as he then visualized it,—was purely a commercial proposition. It is to be remembered that at that time the rapids at Windsor had a greater depth of water than in modern times after much of it became diverted into the locks at that point. There is evidence to show that after successfully negotiating the rapids in the shallop, the navigators "with a fair wind" proceeded up stream until halted by the "great falls," where the Holyoke dam now is. Learning there that the country immediately above was rock, with no substantial out-spread of meadow-lands or swamps in which the beaver was supposed to thrive most, and the wind being again favorable, the shallop retraced its course. Attempts were vainly made to ascend the "Chickuppe" ("raging" or "violent water" in the Algonquin tongue), and the boat descended to the delta where the Agawam and the Mill rivers come together from opposite directions into the Connecticut. Here they finally decided was "a location most fitly seated for a beaver trade." They were unaware that they had passed beyond the boundary, as later fixed, of Connecticut Colony and State. Pynchon lost no time in trying to reach an understanding with the Indians about the land

he wanted. Leaving his men Cable and Woodcock to plant, build and keep possession until he should return, Pynchon valiantly hastened back to Roxbury.

Pynchon went back alone and on foot, through the autumn woods toward the sea, as he could spare neither of his companion-explorers, and he could not sail the shallop alone. "The direct route taken by the Indians, following about the present course of the Boston and Albany Railroad, was not known to the English until the following year," says Mr. Wright. "He then knew that by following the river down he would soon come to the so-called 'Connecticut trail,' which followed a fairly direct course from the foot of Windsor rapids through Woodstock, to Boston." The way was through a district peopled by peaceable natives, enabling travelers, as has been said, to "lodge at Indian towns all the way."

He was glad to give a somewhat roseate report to the waiting Roxburyites who were growing anxious over his protracted absence. The natives seemed friendly enough. Fortune seemed to smile on the "man who dared." He put in a favorable light the advantages possessed by the permanent site he had chosen for extensive fur-trading operations; the virgin forests abounding in large and small game would furnish food and clothing; the rivers teeming with shad and salmon; the abundance of nuts, fruits and berries; the hemp for lines and nets growing at their very doors; and the rich lands suited for all kinds of gardening and farming. Some of the Roxbury listeners were duly impressed, but some shook their heads.

On Pynchon's return in the spring, he received something of a shock. The growing greed of the Indians and the lack of tact and executive ability by those who had been left in charge, were disturbing factors confronting the promoter. Reluctantly he gave up his choice of the west side and set new bounds on the east side of "ye Greate River."

In his own words to Winthrop, June 2, "The best ground at Agawam is so encombred with Indians that I shall lose half the benefit yearly and am compelled to plant on the opposite side to avoid trespassing thereon." So it was not alone the danger of the probable annual spring overflowing of the meadows which induced Pynchon to change his mind on the subject of the most suitable site for Springfield.

It was also in part the inability of the settlers to properly restrain their domestic animals, which contributed to their change

of base to the east side. No provisions having been made for fencing, the cattle trampled down the corn fields of the Indians, and the hogs also created much damage, which threatened their friendly relations. So, all things considered, it was thought highly advisable to put the river between them and their new neighbors.

The Agawam-side "first house" was undisturbed by any flood that first winter; for it is recorded that John Woodcock lived in it "all that somer" of 1636, and for some time after the more enterprising John Cable had set to work improving his own special allotment of land on the east side.

William Pynchon early built the trading storehouse on the Connecticut above the Windsor and for that reason is to this day called "Warehouse Point." Here freight was transferred to shallower-draught boats for up-river points, and vice versa. Later the account books of William's son, John, abounded in credits in the name of fellow-townsmen for canoe-freight trips between the town and the warehouse.

For the attitude which William Pynchon took on the Indian ownership of the lands throughout what is now Western Massachusetts, he was severely criticised by church and state. He always contended that until such time as the natives voluntarily subjected themselves to the government and sold all of their lands without restrictions, they must be considered a free and independent people. The crop conditions at first became a serious problem which called for all the ingenuity the leaders possessed. The hurried preparations for spring planting after the Colonists arrived resulted in light harvests that year, and the following winter was one of extraordinary severity. The spring of 1638 was cold and backward; and it was necessary to plant the corn two and three times because the seed rotted in the ground.

Because Pynchon, Burr, and Smith had "constantly continued to prosecute efforts in behalf of the settlers at greate charges and greate personal adventure" an extra forty acres of meadow-land free of all taxes was given them.

Pynchon's Fair and Honorable Dealings—On July 15, 1636, Pynchon completed negotiations with the Indians for the desired Agawam lands, with the "ancient natives, Commucke (he who takes it), and Matanchan (old and decrepit one)." When he came to dealing with Menis, Naponpenam, and Wrutherna, for the now thickly-settled territory from Chicopee River to Mill River with

a depth (east to west) equal to its length, he was particular to pay the latter in pacification an extra pair of coats—or two more than the others had. Yet this was the same Wrutherna who, forty years after, was the aged ring-leader of the Indians in the burning of Springfield. Wright states that the name "coates" were not coats in the modern sense of the word. It was merely a strip of cloth made from a mixture of English wool and flax, called "Essex shag,"—sixty inches in width, and with a nap making it resemble in texture, though firmer, the skin-clothing of the natives. Pynchon imported quantities of this "trucking cloth," for his own trade in furs and other commodities. It was carried in various colors, such as "tawney," "liver culler," violet, and russet. An Indian "large coate" was merely a piece of this cloth approximately five feet square, perhaps the progenitor of the Indian blanket of later years. What the deeds term a "small coate," was a shawl-like wrapping about one and one-half yards long; and "coates" still smaller than these were called "childe's coates." The large coats were rated at the value of sixteen shillings each. This fixes the price which Pynchon paid for approximately thirty square miles of territory in one deal, as the equivalent of about one hundred twenty pounds or six hundred dollars of the money values of the present day.

For about twenty dollars a mile the Indian relinquished certain rights in a small fraction of a domain, the vastness of which he never comprehended. That there was in the dales and valleys upriver, plenty of land to which he could and did migrate, history clearly shows. He received for this the only standards of value which he could recognize. Pynchon and his associate-promoters took pains to find out whatever was of greatest value to the Indian; and these things immediately became units of currency value. Articles of clothing which made him feel more comfortable or better adorned than he was before; ornaments which were of ceremonial value alone; tools and implements the like of which his nearest ancestor never suspected and the use of which materially decreased his labor, leaving him more time to hunt and fish; and, above all, friendly-appearing neighbors who would in emergency act as a bulwark against invading enemies;—all these desirable things were theirs in exchange for comparatively small tracts of land, much of which was unproductive so far as they were concerned except in a general way. Pynchon found them eager to dispose of lands in this way, and for a price which, in their con-

dition at that time, was wholly satisfactory to them. The white men secured the land they wanted in the only fair and equitable way it could be obtained. Not the least of the value of these transactions lay in the fact that the natives felt they were dealing with almost supernatural beings able to guide and teach them ways to acquire some of the many wonderful possessions and appliances of the English. Almost without exception the Indians of the Valley were well satisfied with the land-dealings of the whites, certainly with those in which Pynchon was involved. And for the following forty years peace reigned between the Western Massachusetts Indians and their European visitors.

Measures of Protection—Native Needs Supplied—The Colonial laws had been framed to prevent the Indian from possessing guns, ammunition, and other things which would make him harmful to himself and others, when greedy fur-traders, less scrupulous than Pynchon, supplied arms and weapons to the covetous natives. Once in their hands, the Indians began to feel almost invincible; and used this new power to revenge themselves, Indian fashion, for real and fancied wrongs. Men of the caliber of Pynchon and Winthrop little feared the hickory bow and stone-tipped arrow; but it was quite another matter to cope with craftsmen who quickly became excellent marksmen with the gun.

Stringent laws were made by the colonies, on the advice of Pynchon and other frontiersmen of active experience, against "all trade of powder and guns to the Indians by occasion whereof the greatest part of the beaver trade was drawn to the French and Dutch by whom the Indians were constantly furnished with those things, although they made profession of like restraint, yet connived at the practice."

Pynchon saved the Connecticut Valley from being a battleground in 1648, when the relations between the whites and the natives were strained in surrounding sections almost to the breaking point, by insistence on a policy of justice; and this in the face of opposition from his superiors in office. His shrewdness and diplomacy in dealing with certain chieftains over the murder of two groups of peaceable Indian settlers near Brookfield, averted what promised to be a sharp conflict and much ill-feeling. He made the Indian authorities feel that the English were just as keen about the apprehension of native murderers of natives as they would have been had the victims been of their own people. In the words of

CONNECTICUT VALLEY IN 1878, SKETCH BY P. F. GOIST

the junior Pynchon, "They saw our care of them and readiness to protect and revenge them." Pynchon's adroit handling of the affair was such that everybody was satisfied and the threatened danger vanished. It speaks volumes for the wisdom of his dealings with the Indians that as long as he lived he retained their confidence and respect.

Map Making and Monopoly—The old Dutch map by Jasper Danker, published about 1650 and a few years later used by Van Der Donck in his "New Netherlands" has faithfully even if crudely set down many easily recognised points in our story. Its central motif is the "Versche (Fresh) Rievier" (Connecticut), starting at the south with "Zeebroeck" (Saybrook) and involving "Herfort" and "Voynser" (Hartford and Windsor). Just above the latter are two allusions to the pioneer who for so many years dominated in affairs of the upper Connecticut. One is the legend "Mr. Pinser's Cleyne Val" (Little Falls) now Enfield Falls, and farther northward still, "Pinser's handel-huys" (trading house), shown as being some distance from the Agawam River. This has been confusing to many; but the explanation is simple. When Thomas Cooper, builder of the first meetinghouse, exploring the Agawam in a birch-bark canoe, was able to portage around the rocky pass at Mittineague, and so follow up the Agawam, as William Pynchon had been unable to do in his early attempt with the shallop, he found at "Woronoake," near the mouth of "Little River," most attractive conditions for the Indian trade in furs. So he established himself there in the second "trading house" indicated on the Dutch map, as Pynchon's agent. The third of the Pynchon trading houses was established later in similar manner by Joseph Parsons. His canoe-trip up the Connecticut several miles farther than the Pynchon shallop could go, enabled him to find a good site for a branch post just above the gap between Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke. There, at "Nonotuck" (the far-away lands), he established himself as another of Mr. Pynchon's agents to collect furs of the Indians.

To Mr. Pynchon was given the monopoly for fur-trading in the Agawam district by the General Court at Hartford, held April 5, 1638, while it was being contended that the settlers at Springfield were in the jurisdiction of Connecticut. The lower Court distinctly "ordered that none should trade there for beaver but those hereafter named, and if any others trade for beaver they shall for-

feit five shillings per pound" (about seven one-half shillings per skin), "for every pound so traded."

For exchange with the Indians for furs and other things, as well as with the sea-board merchants for wampum, in turn exchanged with the Indians, Mr. Pynchon imported direct from England knives, hatchets, hoes, mirrors, and various kinds of cloth.

The details of a single transaction at this time will show what a keen and careful merchant he was. Late in that year the younger Winthrop at Saybrook received from Pynchon goods which the latter had purchased for him in Boston. These included "35 yards of violet colored shagg, 72¾ yards russet colored shagg, and 35½ yards of murry (mulberry) colored shagg." While admitting that the price of this in Boston was but eight shillings a yard he contended that an additional sixpence a yard "was but a reasonable added charge to cover freight and venture." He asked that in case Winthrop could not use it at that price, the goods be safely kept by the latter until called for, well knowing that at the proper time he could easily dispose of it in trade with the Indians.

Although we have no record of the actual results of the fifteen seasons during which Mr. William Pynchon actively operated, yet when he returned to England at the end of that time, his son John, continuing the business, was in the habit of sending two thousand beaver skins annually to England. It is reasonably certain that in the prime of the business, before the number of traders had grown large, the father's shipments were considerably heavier. Pynchon's other chief trading-representatives, besides Cooper and Parsons, were David Wilton of Northampton, and John Westcarr of Hadley. His usual allowance for the beaver-skins secured by these agents was fifteen shillings apiece. At one time he paid ten shillings a pound for 3,572 pounds of beaver fur, which involved a sizeable sum of money for those days, and which gives some idea of the magnitude of the business, as a systematically conducted enterprise.

Annoyances by Men and Animals—Chroniclers seldom mention the smaller, day-by-day troubles confronting the Pynchon coterie—comparatively insignificant, but very real in their historical effect, and supplying true coloring to the picture.

The elder Pynchon was not reimbursed for the thirty pounds of purchase money he advanced in 1636 for the Agawam land until after 1647, when it was "voted that ye 30 pounds wch is due Mr.

Pynchon shall be raysed on all ye alotments . . . from each inhabitant for his purchase of ye land from ye Indians." In March of that year this assessment was levied on forty-seven land-owners, jointly owning 2,013½ acres, plus an assessment of 165 other acres, contained in eight vacant lots, also assessed. Of this total of 2178 acres, Pynchon and his two sons-in-law, Smith and Davis, respectively owned 237, 148, and 125 acres, or nearly a quarter of the whole amount of Springfield territory; and because of this, their assessment was over seven pounds of the amount due the founder. The rest of the community had to raise less than twenty-three pounds.

A constant source of annoyance to the Pynchon group was the attitude of the Indians who grew more independent as they found their labor materially lessened by the use of European tools. Appreciating the ready market for the corn which was raised by their women, they began, in 1639, to "break up" new ground already granted to the English, contrary to agreement. The following year, it becoming apparent that they were planning on an even more extensive scale of operations, Pynchon caused a committee of three to be appointed to confer with the Indians and stake out the bounds beyond which they should not pass in their cultivation of the soil. No attempt was made to restrict their labor in the domain which by agreement had been left to them; and the white representatives, Rev. Mr. Moxon, Henry Smith, and Thomas Mirick, satisfactorily curbed this source of annoyance.

Another cause of worry, the wolves, proved a serious menace to the young cattle, as well as to the deer and bears. Both the latter were popular for food, bear-meat being even preferred to venison by many. The bear never annoyed the cattle, though it would attack bravely when molested. It was said that the wolves, often mistaking a red calf for a deer, destroyed so many of that color that the valuation of white or black calves was greatly increased. But the most obnoxious of all the elements of trouble which they had to meet in their new environment, and which gave the careful Pynchon no small concern, were the swarms of "musketoes" which had their breeding places in the beaver swamps and ponds close to the settlements. These were found to "sting so fiercely in summer as to make the faces of the English swelled and scabby, as if the small-pox for the first year. "It is recorded that in April 1640, such was the scarcity of timber partly due to the Indian custom of burning over their lands in November, that with-

out special permission, not even "canoe trees could be cut or destroyed within the bounds of the plantation." In March 1647, on account of the great, "scarcity of tymber about the towne for buildings," the selling of any timber to out-of-town buyers was expressly prohibited. The new settlers found the pine and oak more useful to them than all others of the trees with which they had been unacquainted. The former furnished the candlewood or "weakshackquock" of the Indians; and the latter a much larger variety of acorn, for "hog-mast," than the English oak. Sickness, and weather conditions, too, were among the worries of William Pynchon. In July, 1646, there is record of a "great damage to grain by a caterpillar like a black worm 1½ inches long" especially destructive to almost the whole crops of wheat and barley. June, 1647, was very cold, with frosts killing many growing things; and "an epidemic" sickness, sparing neither English, Indians, French nor Dutch." In August, 1648, there came a small "fly, out of the ground, about the bigness of a man's little finger, brown in color, filling the woods and eating the young sprouts of trees, though they meddled not with the corn." In June, 1638, two years after the settlement, "in the afternoon, it being clear, warm weather, with a westerly wind, came a great earthquake . . . with a noise like continued thunder . . . continuing about four minutes . . . The earth was unquiet for twenty days after, at times." Sunday, March 5, 1643, at seven in the morning, occurred another "great earthquake, with a rumbling noise like the former one. That same summer was so cold and wet that little grain matured; and what did appear was destroyed by the pigeons which came in such flocks, above ten thousand in one flock, that they beat down and ate up a great quantity of all sorts of English grain." The spring of 1846 was early and more seasonable than many before it; "yet many were taken with a malignant fever, whereof some died in five or six days, but if they escaped the eighth, they recovered." In the late summer of 1648 came another scourge of wild pigeons, when it was not unusual for a man to kill eight or ten dozen in a half day.

Inflammable Bon-Fire Material—The activities of William Pynchon, while he remained in Springfield were hampered by the jealousies of men envying him for his enterprise and successes, and by the quite savage criticism of both laity and clergy over alleged breach of contract in furnishing the Connecticut Colony with food supplies. Comes now the period which must be included in a truthful account of epochal doings in Western Massachusetts. The

founder of Springfield was not in accord with the chief men at "The Bay" in theological matters, who had for some time looked askance at Pynchon's rather outspoken utterances both in and out of the church. The Storm broke when "The Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, &c Cleering it from some common Errors," was published in London in 1650. Copies of this rare work reached Boston at the October term of Court that year, and produced mingled dismay and consternation. So important did the authorities (some of whom had fled from the home-land danger of like persecution) feel this evidence of liberalism to be, that all obtainable copies, with exception of a handful saved for evidence in Court, were ordered to be "burned in the Market Place, at Boston, by the Common Executioner, after lecture." The orthodox stalwart Rev. John Norton of Ipswich, was ordered at the time to prepare and publish a reply to the pernicious work of "William Pinchin, Gentleman of New England."

In the light of twentieth century reasoning it is hard to see what could have been considered so incendiary in the Pynchon arguments. On the title-page he honestly sets forth attempts to "prove, 1st, that Christ did not suffer for us those unutterable torments of God's wrath, commonly called Hell-torments, to redeem our soules from them; 2, That Christ did not bear our sins by God's imputation; and therefore he did not bear the curse of the Law for them; 3, That Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, not by suffering said curse for us, but by a satisfactory price of atonement, viz, by paying or performing unto his Father, that invaluable precious thing of his Mediatoriall obediance, whereof his Mediatoriall Sacrifice of attonement was the master-piece; 4th, A sinner's righteousness or justification is explained . . . ."

The book was a small quarto of one hundred fifty-eight pages, of which at least three copies are known to be extant, and one of these in the British Museum. It would be strange if more copies, in time, did not come to light. The edition was quite large, and quickly exhausted, such was the great interest in the controversy throughout the colonies. Surely, only a small part of the whole edition fed the inglorious Boston bon-fire!

The care taken by the authorities to have the people served with only orthodox theology and to avoid any danger from such works as that of William Pynchon, is shown in the words of the Court in reference to those regions which were without the ministrations of a tried and true clergyman of the acceptable type; "Though

some private men may exercise their gifts, when there are such as are known, able, approved *and orthodox,* their best, safest and most peaceable way is to assemble all at one place and to spend their Sabbath together, besides praying and singing, in reading and repeating of known godly books and sermons." Roger Williams, from Rhode Island, had written to his friend John Winthrop, of Connecticut, that the burning of Pynchon's book in Boston had brought up the question whether "The Most High and Only Wise will by this case discover what liberty hath conscience in this land."

Pynchon had undoubtedly published this book as a labor of love, and because he thoroughly believed there was a need for its teachings. He hoped to spread among the people a more tolerant spirit than the old theology had been able to inspire.

There is no evidence whatever that he was particularly cast down by this turn of affairs. Your keen and fair-minded controversialist even if he be a layman, does not flinch from discussion with the clergymen whom he must have known would be stirred up by such published opinions; even if such divines were skilled in the metaphysical niceties in which the theologians of that day delighted. It is not now generally known that Pynchon had only a short time before written thus in the British parliamentary contest over the form of church discipline to be adopted. This has much weight in considering the attitude of Pynchon in the face of opposition which he had taken pains to arouse:

"..The Scotts say that their fourme of Presbyterian government is the only way of Christ. 'The Independents' say that their fourme of discipline is the only way of Christ. Parliament says that neither of them is the only way of Christ. Therefore they have ordained Commissioners to supervise the conclusions of the Presbyterian courts. But, truly, where zeal of God's glory and godly wisdom are joined together; a world of good hath bin done by godly ministers, (even in England), that have held no certain fourme of discipline; on the contrary where a cold spirit doth rule in ministers, though they may have a good fourme of government, their people may be said to have a name to live and yet be dead Christians!"

All of which shows a remarkably liberal tendency, and a considerable basis for adverse criticism. The criticism was not slow in making itself known. Pynchon's outspoken religious views were privately discussed especially among the ministers, long before they became matters for state-wide consideration.

Pynchon Receives Encouragement from England—The Massachusetts governor, John Endicott, had eight councillors at this time, two of them Thomas Dudley and Richard Bellingham, later destined to be governors also. These men received a letter from Sir Henry Vane, who was a warm personal friend of Pynchon, and who was governor of the colony in 1636, when Springfield was planted. Since returning to England he had been knighted, had been made treasurer of the British navy, and had succeeded Pym as leader in the house of Parliament. A letter from a nobleman of his prominence was something not to be lightly regarded. It urged the Massachusetts authorities to deal with Pynchon in a brotherly way, and to do whatever was possible to encourage him to remain in the service of the churches. And it deplored the repudiation by the General Court of the "false, erroneous and hereticall opinions and assertions (as they were pleased to name them), in the book which had been publicly burned by the court's order. Nothing could more clearly reflect the gravity of the question in their own minds, nor the trend of thought causing it to be made a public issue than the letter which this solemn jury of nine wise men, Endicott and his councillors, wrote in reply to Sir Henry; a part of which follows:

Honored Sir; We received your letter bearing date of April 15, written in behalf of William Pincheon, who is one that we did all love and respect. But his book and doctrine therein contained we cannot but abhor as pernicious and dangerous; and are much grieved that such an erroneous pamphlet was penned by any New England man, especially a Magistrate amongst us, wherein he taketh upon him to condemn the judgment of most, if not all, ancient and modern divines who were learned, orthodox and godly in a point of so great weight and concernment, as tend to the salvation of God's elect . . . Neither have we ever heard of any one godly orthodox divine that ever held what he hath written; nor do we know any one of our ministers in all four jurisdictions that doth approve of the same . . . but all do judge it as erroneous and heretical. . . .

Mr. Pincheon might have kept this judgment to himself, as it seems he did above thirty years, most of which time he hath lived amongst us with honour, much respect and love. But when God left him to himself in the publishing and spreading of his erroneous book here amongst us, to the endangering of the faith of such as might come to read them (as the like effects have followed the reading of other erroneous books brought over into these parts), we held it our duty, and believed we were called of God to proceed against him accordingly. And this we can further say that we used all lawful Christian means with as much tenderness, respect and love as he could expect, which we think he himself will acknowledge....

Divers of our elders, such as he himself liked, did confer with him pri-

vately, lovingly and meekly to see if they could prevail with him by arguments from the Scriptures . . . and he was then thereby so far convinced that he seemed to yeild for substance the case in controversy signed with his own hand . . .

The Court gave him divers months to consider both of the book and what had been spoken unto him by the elders. But in the interim (as is reported), he received letters from England which encouraged him in his errors to the great grief of us all . . . We therefore leave the author together with the maintainers of such opinions, to the great Judge of all the earth . . .

Touching that which your Honoured self doth advise us unto, viz, not to censure any person for matters of a religious nature or concernment, we desire to follow any good advice from you, according to the rule of God's word. Yet we conceive, with submission still to better light, that we have not acted in Mr. Pincheon's case either for substance or circumstance, as far as we can discern, otherwise than according unto rule,—in conscience to God's command. All of which we hope will so far satisfy you that we shall not need to make any further defence . . . The God of peace and truth lead you into all Faith and guide your heart aright in these dangerous and apostatising times, wherein many are fallen from the faith . . . and make you an instrument, in the place God hath called you unto, of his praise; to stand for his truth against all opposers, thereof, which will bring you peace and comfort in the saddest hours . . . The prayers of

Your Unworthy Servants,

John Endicott, Govr.	Tho Dudley, Depty.	Rich Bellingham
Increas Nowell	Simon Bradstreet	Wm Hibbins
Sam Simonds	Robt Bridges	John Glover

It is noticeable that no mention was made in this "explanation" to Sir Henry of the "tenderness, love and respect" shown by the burning of the magistrate's honest little book on Boston Common. The nobleman who was beheaded in England the year before William Pynchon died doubtless held to his own opinion as to that. Meantime, with the consciousness of a man who has made a success of a business in which the risk had been tremendous for those times, and who has asserted religious views which he honestly held and wanted others to have the comfort of believing, he was making his quiet preparations to retire, being now well along in years, to well-earned rest and enjoyment in his native England. It was no suddenly conceived plan. He had been quietly bending affairs to that end for some time.

The Nonconformist Church Warden—There were many evidences, to close observers of that time, that witchcraft and heresy were walking hand in hand. Pynchon and his son-in-law Henry Smith went to Boston in 1651, with a number of other citizens, to appear at the May term of the higher Court in the case of

poor, bewildered Mary Parsons, alleged witch. The previous March the magistrate had heard the charges against Mary for killing her infant son Joshua. But he found there was a more serious matter for him, awaiting his attention. Some of the most prominent men of the colony, had resolved to try to "win back Mr. Pynchon to orthodox ways if possible." He was deeply troubled over other matters, quite apart from this. During the fortnight he was detained in Boston, after giving his testimony as witness in the Parsons case, he had to face theological music in this form:

May 22, 1651. William Pynchon, being summoned to appeare before the General Courte, according to their order, made his appearance. Being demaunded whether that book which goes under his name and then presented to him was his or not; he answered for the substance of the book, he owned it to be his.

Whereuppon the Court, out of tender respect to him, ordered him liberty to conferr with all the reverend elders now present, or such of them as he should desire and choose. At last he took it into consideration, and returned his mind at the present in writing, under his hand, viz;

"According to the Court's advice, I have conferred with the Rev Mr Cotton, Mr Norrice and Mr Norton about some points of the greatest consequence in my booke; and I hope I have so explayned my meaning to them as to take off the worst construction. And it hath pleased God to let me see that I have not spoken in my booke so fully of the price and merrit of Christs sufferings as I should have done, for in my booke I call them but trials of his obedience, yet intending to amplifie and exalt the mediatoriall obedience of Christ as the only meritorious price of Man's redemption. But now at present I am much inclined to think that his sufferings were appointed by God for a farther end, namely as the due punishment for our sins by way of satisfaction to divine justice . . . Subscribed, your humble servant in all dutifull respects, William Pynchon.

It is not hard to read between the lines of this "heroic retreat from fixed theological convictions," the author's determination at a later convenient season to "speak more fully" and to "amplifie and exalt" more freely the very views in controversy. This "retraction" did not altogether please the Court, which made this significant reply:

Finding by Mr Pynchon's writing, given into the Court, that through the blessing of God on the paines of the reverend elders to convince him of his errors in his booke they conceive he is in a hopefull way to give good satisfaction, and therefore, at his request, judge it meete to grant him liberty, respecting the present troubles of his family, to return home some day next week if he please, and that he shall have Mr Norton's answer to his booke up with him, to consider thereof that so at the next session of

the Court, being the 14th of October next, he may give due satisfaction as is hoped for and desired; to which session he is hereby enjoyned to make his personal appearance to that end.

It is ordered that thanks be given by the Court to Mr John Norton for his worthy paines in his full answer to Mr Pynchon's booke, which at their desire he made, & as a recompense for his good service therein doe order that the Treasurer shall pay him twenty pounds from the next levy.

The clear conscience of one who had made known to the world the truth as he honestly saw and believed it, must have been a consolation to the dissenting magistrate on his sturdy horse plodding homeward along the fragrant May-time bridle-paths for the next three days, westward bound, towards the promising settlement he had so firmly planted on the banks of the Connecticut at Springfield. And the wise law-givers of the General Court, "reverend elders" and all, riding their horses back to their homes were possessed of a comfortable complacency in their consciousness of delicate duties bravely performed.

Remonstrance and Attempted Humiliation—Pynchon, engrossed at this time by the details of equitably settling his affairs before he should permanently leave America, passed through something of the trials of most men who are ahead of their own time. It was undoubtedly a source of satisfaction to him that Henry Smith was honored with the high office of which that year's Court had obligingly relieved the father-in-law. The first magistracy in Western Massachusetts, held by the founder for fourteen fruitful and busy years, was to be continued in his own family, which was an indirect tribute to his administration of the office of magistrate. The "reverend elders" feeling that their contention regarding Mr. Pynchon's "haeresies" had been publicly confirmed, caused this further "resolve" to be recorded:

This Court, takeinge into consideracon howe farre Sathan p'vayles amongst us in respect of Witchcraft, as also by draweing away some from from the truth to the pfession & practice of straunge opinions, & also consideringe the state of England, Ireland & Scotland & the great thinges now in hand there, conceive it necessary that there be a day of Humiliation throughout or jurisdiction in all the churches.

But if they sought to add humiliation to Pynchon by this procedure, they signally failed in that purpose.

More "fuel for the flame" was furnished by the "encouraging letters" referred to in the Endicott reply to Vane. The author of the disturbing pamphlet had a wealth of friends in England; and some of these, both clergymen and laymen, became greatly

exercised that his modest volume of personal religious opinions had been so violently received. They wrote letters of remonstrance against what looked to them to be prejudiced criticism of a work which interested them keenly, though some did not hesitate to say that they were not yet ready to acquiesce in all the Pynchon views. To these, at length replied five of the foremost "thinkers" and preachers of the colony,—Richard Mather, author of the first printed book in America, "The Whole Book Of Psalmes;" Zachariah Symmes and John Cotton, eminent "Bay" theologians; William Thompson, the saintly pastor of Braintree; and John Wilson the first minister of Boston. The reply, filled with pious phrases, took some time to prepare. It is a masterpiece of involved sentences and cumbersome reasoning. It seems that the writers of several letters had urged the preachers mentioned to "incline to a favorable construction" of the Pynchon tenets, and "to intercede with the magistrates to deal favorably with a Gentleman so pious and well-deserving." The reply defended the judgment of the deputies to the General Court that the Pynchon book was "unsound" and "derogatory to the justice of God." The book was deemed to be one "adding to the many Errors and Heresies already too much abounding;" and went on to state the belief of the Court that it "shook the Fundamentals of Religion." The repudiation of the book was rushed through so that the opinion of the deputies could be sent back on the return trip of the ship which brought it over. It was "feared that the book being published under the name if a New England Gentleman might occasion too many to think that New England also concurred in the allowance of such Exhorbitant abberations."

No apology is found in this reply for the drastic action of the Court demanding the services of the "Common Executioner" in the Boston market-place.

Censure for "Offenses" Withheld—In pursuance of his careful plans for retirement, he conveyed to his son John, as a gift, September 28, 1651, all his lands and buildings on both sides of the river.

The new magistrate, Henry Smith, appeared at the October term of Court, but William Pynchon did not. On hearing that the man accused of heretical tendencies was to absent himself, it was promptly "voted, that the Court is willing that all patience be exercised toward Mr. Pinchon, that, if it be possible, he may be reduced into the way of truth, and that he might renounce the

errours and haeresies published in his booke; and doe give him time to the next Generall Courte in May, more thoroughly to consider of the errours and haeresies in his sd booke & well to weigh the judicious answer of Mr. John Norton, and that he may give full satisfaction for his offence, which they more desire than to proceed to so great a censure as his offence deserves. In case he should not give good satisfaction, the Court doth therefore order that the judgment of the cawse be suspended till the court in May, and that Mr. Pinchon be enjoyned under the penalty of 100 pounds to make his personall appearance at and before the next Court to give full answer—or otherwise to stand to the judgment and censure of the Court!" "It is ordered that the answer by Mr. Norton shall be sent to England to be printed."

William Pynchon, now sixty-two years old, had given the best years of his life to the upbuilding of the colony. He possessed not only rare executive ability but the vision to see which principles should make for the greatest permanence in the State. He had founded two great settlements which have existed through two centuries. He had prosecuted a successful business, and had vigorously maintained the principles he believed in. He was no coward; but he saw the needless labor of continued controversy with the little handful of leaders of thought in the new world, some of whom were by no means his equal in either intellect or education. In the last analysis he found himself only slightly at variance with certain nice points in theology held by the few ministers of the newly established church, and the leaders in the colonial legislature. The intolerant reception in Massachusetts given his little book was doubtless to some extent a disappointment to him and his American friends. But he knew there were numerous friends abroad who would express interest and even approval for his religious views, and this was a consolation. Undoubtedly the book episode hastened his plans for returning to his native England,—an ambition quite worthy of any prosperous, successful man of large affairs.

The founder of Springfield passed through Hartford on his way home in July, 1652. With him was Rev. George Moxon, who had arrived at "Agawam" in 1637 with his family, and Mme. Frances Sanford Pynchon, who had arrived in America with the first company in 1630, and who had been known as "a grave matron of the church at Dorchester." William Pynchon had married her in Roxbury, in 1635, for his second wife; and her son Henry had

wedded Pynchon's daughter Anna. So it came about that Henry Smith followed his mother to England on a later ship, though the wife Anna decided to remain with her sister and brother in Springfield. But it is certain that Smith stayed over until sometime later than the date of his making his wife his "lawfull Atturney to dispose of any of his lands, houses or goods." William Pynchon's hundred-pound forfeit for not appearing before the intolerant Massachusetts Court when it met the following May was honorably paid; and it must have been a disappointment to some who were so unexpectedly deprived of another chance to labor with the author for his "errours and haeresies." They were to hear from him later, and in no uncertain way.

One proof of Henry Smith's staying until after the Pynchon party had gone to England, is found in the Anna Smith deed of 1654, reproduced on another page. Allusion to the "deed under his hand" made October 17, 1652, "when the said Mr. Henry Smith went unto England," is contained in this original document of extraordinary Springfield interest. The deed also fixes the exact date of the settlement of lands on his daughter Anna by her father as April 17, 1651. It is in the fine, legible handwriting of another son-in-law of Pynchon, the Elizur Holyoke before mentioned, whose signature as one of the three witnesses is attached to this deed. It is to be recalled at this point that the same "Captain" Elizur Holyoke, first man to be married in Springfield (at very near the time he drew up and signed this paper) was appointed Magistrate in place of his brother-in-law; but another evidence of the respect and esteem in which all mmbers of Pynchon's family were held by the General Court.

Abigail Smith, eleventh of her children, was but six months and eight days old when her mother signed this interesting deed of relinquishment of about twenty-seven acres of valuable Springfield land to her brother John "for the summ of Ffive & Twenty pounds." The John Allyn, whose name is also signed as a witness, is stated in Burt, volume II, to be a Hartford nephew of John Pynchon.

"Convinced" Against His Will—That the Western Massachusetts pioneer-promoter had decided to remain, so far as religious views were concerned, "of the same opinion still," is apparent from his course when he reached home. Whatever errors he had made were plainly those of judgment rather than conscience. In

May, 1653, he purchased land in Wraysbury, Buckinghamshire, near his Bulstrode family connections. The same year he published "The Jews' Synagogue, A Treatise Concerning the Worship Used by the Jews," and Rev. John Norton's reply to Pynchon's "Meritorious" first edition, was published in England about the same time. Pynchon's pen was the busy one of a man by no means crushed or cast down. He published in 1654 a treatise on "The Time When The First Sabbath Was Ordained," in 1654, and quickly followed it with another treatise on "Holy Time, Or The Time Limit Of The Lord's Day," both with his own name. The greatest of his works was published in 1655, a new and enlarged edition of the book which had been called heretical; "The Meritorious Price Of Man's Redemption, Or Christ's Satisfaction Discussed and Explained," by William Pynchon, late of New England. In this he controverted Mr. Norton's arguments, and strongly reaffirmed his own views, this time in a work of four hundred and forty pages. There as a single copy of this in the library of Harvard University.

He followed up the success which this book proved with his last religious book, "The Covenant of Nature Made with Adam,—Cleerd From Sundry Great Mistakes." In this volume he dates the preface, "From My Study, Wraysbury, February 10, 1661.

In 1657 William Pynchon sent to his son John in Springfield the oil painting from which the founder's portrait used in this volume was obtained. This was a year of real sorrow for him. On October 10, 1657, his wife Frances died at Wraysbury and there was a largely attended funeral for this former Springfield resident. Weeks later, from America came the news of the death, sixteen days after that of her step-mother, of Pynchon's daughter, Mary Holyoke, "a very glory of womanhood," as her elaborate tombstone in the Peabody cemetery at Springfield declares. "I am the more solitary," wrote Pynchon "as son Smith is of a reserved melancholy, and my daughter (Anna) is crazy." She lived until after her husband's death in 1681. William Pynchon the founder, died in Wraysbury aged seventy-two years, October 29, 1662. This was the very year that Hampshire County was formed including all of the present counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin and Berkshire.

William Pynchon had no other children than the four already mentioned, John being his only son. The 1638 letter of Rev. George Moxon to Governor Winthrop, already quoted, contains

the allusion to one of Pynchon's numerous hired helpers, which has misled so many historians:

> Mr. Pynchon lately lost a boy who, tendinge cowes near our river, too venturously went into a birchen canowe, wch overturned & he was drowned.

One of the four large bronze tablets on the Hampden County Memorial Bridge at Springfield starts with the following inscription:

> **Memorial of William Pynchon, who in 1636 led the first company of settlers to this river in the Massachusetts Bay Colony: and of his son, John Pynchon, soldier, magistrate & citizen, who after his father's return to England, sixteen years later, was for half a century the important man of an ever-widening region.**

As has been well said, "William Pynchon founded Roxbury, mother of fourteen towns, and Springfield, mother of thirteen New England towns, and god-mother to quite as many more." Both Roxbury and Springfield have named streets for him, and there is an elaborate Pynchon family tombstone in the Peabody Cemetery. Beyond these, the only other public memorial of William Pynchon takes the form of three of the sixteen bronze panels designed by Gail S. Corbett for main doors to the Municipal Group in Springfield, entitled respectively, "Buying Lands," "Trading With The Indians," and "William Pynchon and Settlers from Roxbury en route to Springfield."

CHAPTER VII

THE SHAYS REBELLION

It is hardly possible for people of this era to realize the extent or power of the wave of discontent which swept over the north-eastern section of the United States immediately following the war of the Revolution. In Western Massachusetts, the great uprising was called "The Shays Rebellion" after a man of the locality named Daniel Shays who believed himself a deliverer, and who worked with astonishing success upon the feelings of the dissatisfied. Shays entered the army in 1770, a young Hopkinton farmer of thirty. He took advantage of the reaction following the war to group the malcontents together; to listen sympathetically to the recital of the varied and partly imagined wrongs, to impress them with his knowledge of military tactics; and to lead them to believe that a crusade led by him and by those he would choose was the most likely road to permanent peace and prosperity. It was a perfectly natural period of disorder and chaos in which the generally impoverished people of the region now found themselves. A formidable number seized upon the plans of "the deliverer Shays" as being the only way out.

Trade was flat; Continental paper-money was largely worthless; there was no demand for labor, and no way in which the value of any kind of property could be appraised. People became easily excited and local disturbances were frequent and serious. The State Constitution adopted in 1780 was viewed with pronounced distrust by a considerable number of the people. The "gaols" were filled largely with "poor debtors," thus deprived of any possible chance to pay their just bills. Each of the several towns of the region was financially embarrassed, chiefly because of the frequent levies upon its small resources to support the army, and for often repeated requisitions for both citizens and the supplies necessary to keep them alive.

A man whose credit was suspected found his property covered by attachments at once, and in the condition of things then existing a very slight circumstance excited suspicion. Litigation became general. The State was showered with executions, and large amounts of property were sold for almost nothing to satisfy them. In the unreasoning excitement of the time the courts, lawyers, and sheriffs were denounced in the wildest terms as the promoters of the suffering that men were inflicting upon each

other. A cry arose that the courts ought to be abolished. Threats were made that the courts should not be allowed to sit, that no more suits should be entered and no more executions issued.

Thus it came about that the first overt act of resistance to legal authority led by a Massachusetts "rebel," was put down by the firm hand and good generalship of Westfield's most famous military son, General William Shepard.

Such a very important politico-military disturbance, involving a large number of inhabitants of Western Massachusetts, deserves a more complete review than has been published until quite recently. The present compilation has the advantage in this respect over all others in that the painstaking research work embraced in several chapters from the "Revolutionary Period" of Dr. Lockwood's two-volume "History of Westfield" has been placed at our disposal and the following account is taken almost bodily from it. Details never before included in any account of the "Shays Rebellion" have been ably and thoroughly arrayed in the "Westfield" book; and in the interest of preserving here the most accurate account in existence of the remarkable affair which involved many others besides the four principal characters, General Shepard of Westfield, Captain Daniel Shays, of General Rufus Putnam's 3d Massachusetts Regiment, Captain Luke Day of West Springfield, and Samuel Ely, a former minister of Somers, Connecticut. As early as August 11, 1779, the following significant item appears upon the town records of Westfield: "Voted that the Petition prefered by Benjamin Winchel & Others for the Purpose of Stoping the Courts of Justice in this Country be not sustained."

Another momentous item appears in that meeting's record: "It was moved and seconded to chose a Delegate to go to the Convention at Concord next October agreeable to a Request sent by the Town of Boston, for the Purpose of regulating & Stating the Prizes of the Articles of Life & it passed in the negative."

A still more important item in the same record is the appointment of Colonel John Moseley to represent the town at the September 1st Convention at Cambridge "for the purpose of forming a new Constitution or Form of Government;"—and nine persons were appointed to instruct him.

September 29th following this it was voted "to see if the Town would come into some Measurs with Regard to stating the Prizes of the Necessaries of Life." A committee of seven consisting of Captain John Gray, Deacon Joseph Root, Lieutenant Zachariah

Bush, Lieutenant David Sacket, David Weller, Jr., Aaron King and Martin Root,—was appointed "to procure a Copy of the Proceedings of the last Convention held at Northampton & make such alterations in the same as they should think proper & report to the Town."

The convention referred to had been held at the Court House in Northampton, September 8, in response to a call sent to every Hampshire town by the Committees of Correspondence of the towns of Hadley, Hatfield, South Hadley and Amherst, having as its object "that there might be a uniformity of prices in the several towns." There is no record of the result reached, but it was rejected at a subsequent meeting in Westfield.

Only five Hampshire towns sent delegates to the October convention at Concord.

The first convention of 1782 was held at Hadley, and it was for his utterances there and elsewhere that Samuel Ely was arraigned before Major Hawley in Northampton, February 14, to answer the charge of being guilty of "treasonable practices." He soon became notorious and fomented most serious disturbances. Capt. Daniel Sacket and Lieut. Falley were appointed to represent Westfield at that convention. Judd in his Diary characterizes its action as having been "ill done" and a "scandel to the country." At the March meeting, 1782, at Westfield, Capt. Daniel Sacket was appointed a delegate to a convention to be held at Hadley the first Monday in April. What was probably intended was the meeting held at Hatfield on the first Tuesday in April. Thirty-six towns were there represented and the sittings of the convention extended over several days.

At that Convention on a motion "to request the Superior County Court to forbear giving judgment in civil causes, except the condition make it appear that he is in danger of losing his debt, or when the parties are agreed," the delegates from the towns voted respectively as follows: Yes—Granville, Norwich, Granby, Whately, Montague, Shelburne, Charlemont, Greenwich, Conway, Westfield, Palmer, Pelham, Leverett, Ludlow, Ashfield; Nay—Springfield, Wilbraham, Deerfield, Monson, Blandford, Northampton, Southampton, Hadley, Westhampton, Hatfield, Goshen, Cummington, Williamsburg, South Hadley, Amherst, Sunderland, Shutesbury, Worthington, Chesterfield, Greenfield, Belchertown.

Every grievance under which any member imagined that he or others suffered was aired. Sweeping changes in the administra-

tion of justice were demanded; and it was voted "that there be no County Court of the sessions of the Peace."

With that to support him, Ely, who had been let off without penalty by Major Hawley, instigated mob violence against the April sitting of the Court at Northampton. Samuel Ely had posed as a minister at Somers, Conn., but had so harried and divided the church as to be finally expelled from its pulpit. Holland declares of him, "He was a vehement, brazen-faced declaimer, abounding in his hypocritical pretensions to piety, and an industrious sower of discord; and he delighted in nothing more than in sowing jealousies between the poor and the rich." Dwight, in his "Travels," says that "he possessed the spirit, and so far as his slender abilities would permit, the arts of a demagogue in an unusual degree. He was voluable, vehement in address, bold, persevering, active, brazen-faced in wickedness." (Vol. 2. pp. 275-6.)

Early in the winter he had asserted fiercely at Sunderland that the people must "throw up our constitution" and that he "had got a constitution in his pockett that the angel Gabriel could not find fault with." He declared that "the Justices of the Supreme Court have gone beyond their power and should not sitt, nor the General Court should not sitt." For months he went ranting against the courts throughout the county. When the Court of General Sessions of the Peace began its sitting, April 4, and during subsequent days, he incited the people to violence, but could not induce them to criminal action. A guard of men under Captain Allen protected the court while Ely continued his bravado and inflammatory harangues.

Judd notes under date of April 12: "About 5 o'clock in the afternoon a Committee from the Mob came into Court. About half an hour after sent a petition and before Dark came in a body. But a guard under Capt. Allen prevent their coming into the Court House. Ely was soon after taken and Examined and then bound to appear at the next Superior Court which took after Midnight. Ely was in no ways subdued but I suppose the rest were."

He was afterwards indicted by the Grand Jury and May 6 he was sentenced to pay a fine of £50, suffer six months' imprisonment, and recognize in the sum of £200, with sufficient sureties in the like sum for his keeping the peace and being of good behavior for the term of three years, pay the costs of prosecution and stand committed till this sentence is performed.

A mob gathered at that time, appearing from several neighboring towns, and threatening to release him, but he was sent to prison in Springfield under a strong guard. A month later, June 12, a rabble of about 150 riotous persons, gathered from different towns up the river, entered Springfield late in the afternoon when a large part of the male inhabitants were absent at the funeral of Rev. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, and released Ely from the jail. Col. Elisha Porter of Hadley, high sheriff of the county, hastily organized a posse and the next day in Northampton an agreement was reached between the mob and the representatives of civil authority, whereby Ely was to be given up, but as he had already disappeared he could not be produced, and three hostages were therefore given by the mob and put into jail in Northampton to remain until Ely should be returned. This angered the malcontents who had begun to disperse. They gathered again and were joined by others the next day, while the guard about the jail was strong and vigilant. On Saturday, June 16, the crowds increased and became so threatening that Colonel Porter called upon various towns for assistance, and the services on the following day were marked by the absence of many male worshipers usually in attendance. The account in the Diary of Jonathan Judd, Jr., who was an eyewitness, is so vivid in its details of the proceedings on that eventful Sunday as to warrant its reproduction.

Sunday 17. Got up about four went to the middle of the Town. Maj. Bannister, Capt. White & Capt. Warner, who are leaning toward the Mobb go up to Hatfield. Was with a Committee to advise the Sheriff. Was at the Meeting part of the Exercises. People collect but slow till Noon and after. Upon Maj. Bannister &c., coming back at 2 Phinehas Lyman, Noah Smith & Dea. King go to the Mobb. All the return we have is that they will have the Hostages. They were then thought at Luke Lymans. We answer they can not. At Dusk when Col. Porter had about 500 Men at the Jail and Gen. Parks arrives with 160 more, they march to the Jail mostly on Horses, being about 450 men one Half armed with Clubbs. They fill the Lane from the School House to and in the Jail Yard. A Parley then began which lasted about 1 Hour and a Half, in which Time Capt. Dickinson and other Heads of the Mobb went into the Goal and saw the Prisoners. They then had one Idea of resigning up Ely, but as soon as they came out Ely put off with speed. It was then agreed that the Mobb should go to the plain near the Burying Yard and they went and Dickinson returned and the agreement was that the Question whether the Hostages should be delivered up should be brought to a County Convention and their opinion sent to the General Court who should be the final Judges in the matter. When Dickinson returned to the plain all his party

had left him. Almost the whole Party might have been taken with very little loss but we aimed to show we did not want to Hurt them nor shed blood. Springfield people came while they were at the Jail with 1 field Piece and a Number of Continental Soldiers. A large Guard was kept at the Goal, others scattered about a little not much; it was so near Day before matters were settled.

It was surely a long and exciting day for Judd, lasting nearly twenty-four hours, during which he could have had little if any rest. But late as was his hour of retiring he got up at 4 o'clock again on the following morning to find the leaders as "obstinate as human creatures can be. Nothing can de done with them. A Mobb man is almost certainly a Liar. Their cause is principally carried on by Lying."

The General Parks mentioned in his record was Gen. Warham Parks of Westfield, and his contingent of 160 men was probably raised in his native town.

Though Major Hawley urged the policy of holding the hostages until Ely was returned to custody, or it would be a "triumph to the tories and Great Britain," the tories having been active in fomenting the troubles and inciting the seditious proceedings, yet on Tuesday the hostages were released on the promise that they would return Ely or themselves when called for by the General Court.

Holland is indignant over that proceeding, and declares, "nothing could have been more contemptibly pusillanimous than the conduct of Gen. Porter on this occasion."

Major Hawley saw great danger in the exciting conditions, believing that the "Tories have great expectation from the view and prospect of them." But so careful a local historian as George Sheldon says, "It was by the firmness of Gen. Porter that the law was sustained, and by his prudence that a disastrous scene of bloodshed was averted, when six hundred determined men confronted the five hundred and fifty who guarded the Northampton jail, men equal in courage and social position. The mob had been misled by false reports, and it is a fact that the hostages, while still in prison, made such representations to Capt. Dickinson and others that this well-organized, well-led, and well-armed body of men, whom that distinguished patriot, Joseph Hawley, dignified by calling 'insurgents,' were induced to disband and disperse without firing a shot."

Trumbull in a sane and judicial spirit approved the action of Colonel Porter, and his conclusion seems to be justified by the

general tenor and specific details of a letter sent by Major Hawley to Caleb Strong, member of the Legislature from Northampton, June 24, 1782. He had already sent a message to the General Court recommending that it appoint a Committee to come to Hampshire County for the purpose of making a careful investigation of existing conditions. The General Court had voted several days earlier to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in the county for six months, and he plead that the Committee to be appointed should be made up of "sensible, honest, cool, and Patient men." In describing the state of public affairs he says, "You would be astonished to know with what amazing rapidity the spirit of the Insurgents spreads. Many are infected with it of whom you would not have the least suspicion. We are not certain who besides the Devil sprang Ely at first. But we are not at a loss who ventilates the flame, for the fire is now become such a flame as I cannot describe to you. The Genl Court have not had any affair of greater magnitude before them since the Revolution. Dispatch is of infinite consequence, but at the same time we must remember *festina lente,* for that interest a committee must previously be on the spot."

Later he reports, "We have had it Hurra'd for Geo. 3d within 8 rods of the Court House. Doct Hunt surmises that there may be British emissaries with British money among the people. Such a supposition does not appear to me groundless. None but God can say how far the spirit may spread." Still later he adds, "The people of the highlands of this country and Berkshire are *fervidum genus hominum,* and many, too many, on the east side of the river are of the same temper. * * * An attempt to subdue these People by force will at least be very expensive if not a very dangerous course. Their numbers by some means or other (be those what they may) increase daily." (Trumbull's Northampton. Vol. II, pp. 465-6. Copied there by permission from the Hawley papers, Bancroft Collection, Lenox Library, New York.)

Two important considerations must be noted in this connection, the emphasis laid by Major Hawley upon the character of many of the partisans of the movement, with its widespread extent; and the fact that such a general spirit of discontent and resistance to authority had come into existence five years previous to the final outburst of the insurrection before the arsenal in Springfield. The interest of people in Westfield is shown by the records of frequent action in the premises. On the last day of 1781 it

was voted not to accept the Excise Act and a Committee consisting of Capt. Gray, Doct. Ashley and Capt. Sacket, prominent citizens and patriots, was appointed "to draw up a Remonstrance against the aforesaid Act & to petition the General Court to repeal the same." That committee was also to draw up the petition "agreeable to the letter sent to this Town by the Committee of West Springfield relative to Excise Act."

Besides the delegates appointed to the convention at Hadley in February, and to that in Hatfield in April, as already noted, Captain Sacket was chosen to represent the town at a convention in Hadley May 15, and on the following day the town adopted the doings of that Convention and gave its fourteen articles as orders to its Representatives in the General Court.

1. That there shall be no Excise paid on any article of Consumption in a free Republick.

2d. We consider ourselves much agrieved by being obliged by law to carry all our Deeds to a Register when to have our Deed Recorded in our own Town must save the People a vast sum in a year & answer the Purpose in law.

3d. We find ourselves much agrieved by haveing a large number of Justices at the quarter Sessions which must cost the County a large sum of money (we Judge needlessly) when the Inferior Court alone can answer the same statutary purpose.

4th. We find ourselves much agrieved that the Legislature should give the Worthy Governour Eleven Hundred Pounds per annum and all other salary men of the civil Department proportionable together with the President of the Colledge & his fellows to them as such.

5th. We find ourselves much agrieved that the Several Clerks of the Superior & Inferior Courts should have ten or twelve shillings for Entering of Actions when we apprehend that one shilling is sufficient reward from the Debtor.

6th. We find ourselves much agrieved that there is such needless numbers of Deputy Sheriffs in this County & tis our real Judgment that no Deputy Sheriff ought to serve any writ of a civil matter as a Constable belonging to the several towns can and ought in Justice to serve all writs in their own town to save the poor generally in debt needless expense.

7th. We find ourselves much agrieved that the Select Men or some other Town Officers have not sufficient power to License all Innholders & retalers in their own Towns in order to save time pains & needless cost.

8th. We find ourselves much agrieved that we cannot have the Confession Act which we Judge is the best & the most saveing act for the People of any that can be adapted notifying the Debtor to repair before some Justice in the vicinity and makeing Confession of his Note or book Debt in order to save great cost. The civil trust to be Impowered by the Legislature to take such confession & give Execution upon sd confession, when demanded by the Creditor upon the riseing of the next successive Court.

9th. We find ourselves much agrieved that we have but one Judge of Probate in this large County when the Constitution does admit better provision for the saveing of the Publick great expence in probate matters.

10th. We find ourselves much agrieved that all Debts exceeding forty shillings should be confined by law for Judgment at the County Court when we think that every Justice ought to have power to Judge and determine any civil cause not exceeding twenty Pounds allowing to either party a right of appeal.

11th. We Judge it highly requisite that there be an Act of Law making Personal & Real Estate a tender to satisfy Execution, to be apprised by Indifferent Men under oath, with this restriction that household furniture meaning Utensils & the tools of Mecanicks shall not be taken while there is any other Estate.

12th. It is our opinion that no man sustain any office in Government but these that have distinguished themselves as friends to their County.

13th. We find ourselves much agrieved in the high & large fees which we understand the Law gives Atturnies for the drawing of writs & summonsis as the sum allowed them is six or seven shillings for a Court Writ when we are perswaided that one quarter of that sum or less is a sufficient consideration for that service.

14th. We your humble Petitioners for the redress of the foregoing Grievances would bespeack the Legislature by all Means to suspend the law in civil Matters while we remain under such very great burdens of a publick nature untill we find ourselves redressed relating to the foregoing grievances, Publick Taxes excepted, your Petitioners therefore petition your Honours to take the matter of grievances (above related) into your wise Consideration & we doubt not we shall obtain redress as in duty bound we shall ever pray.

N. B. the above is a Coppy of the doings of the Convention and by a vote of the Town is given our Representatives for their Instructions in the General Court.

The above proceedings are interesting and illuminating in many respects. Granting the legitimacy of the convention as a method of correcting wrongs and reforming methods of civil procedure, this action of the citizens was regular and orderly. They were living under a representative form of government in a democratic State, and they simply thereby instructed their representatives at the General Court to attempt by proper means to influence that governmental body to redress what their constituents considered grievances.

It was a far cry from such orderly procedure to the insurgency which by overt acts sought to overwhelm and destroy constitutional instruments for the administration of justice and the lawful conduct of affairs.

It became a stock action of conventions, even when they followed in quick succession one upon another, to declare with ve-

hement emphasis, and to spread upon their records that they were legitimately convened. This declaration was made even when accompanied with most treasonable utterances and threats of anarchistic activities.

In the absolutely free government which they had established at such cost of blood and treasure, and from the willing sacrifices for which they were then smarting under their enumerated grievances, they had ample opportunity to put into operation forces of amelioration plainly and amply furnished by their constitution. The men who framed the laws and administered civil affairs were the fruits of their own choice and awaited annually upon their will to determine whether they should continue to hold office. And so long as they were in office the people could advise, instruct and command them at their good pleasure. It was to make more definite, more forceful, more swift, more popular the control of statutes, measures and methods, that the plan of county conventions met with such favor with many citizens. Delegates could get together at short notice for common consideration of vital matters, and for concerted and immediate action respecting them. The same opportunity which, prudently and patriotically improved, had been fraught with such beneficent results through the various Committees of Inspection, Correspondence and Safety in preparation for and in prosecution of the Revolution, under different auspices, less wise and patriotic leadership, less lofty motives, less scrupulous methods, resulted in disaster and shame. Minot, commenting upon the matter of conventions in the year following the sensational end of Shays' Rebellion, says, "This practice is said to be founded on that article in the bill of rights 'in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble to consult upon the common good; give instructions to their representatives; and to request of the legislative body, by way of addresses, petitions or remonstrances, redress of the wrongs done them, and of the grievances they suffer.' Many, however, have supposed that the sense of this article extended only to town meetings which are known to the laws. And, indeed, to construe it in the most latitudinary sense, might tend in practice so to divide the sovereign power of the people as to make the authority of the laws uncertain, and distract the attention of subjects; especially in a republican form of government where all power is delegated." (History of Insurrections in Massachusetts. Second Edition, p. 24.)

How many an illustration of that confusing and subversive ten-

dency was given in conventions of the period under consideration. Take for example one of the diatribes of Samuel Ely as reported, "that he did then and there wickedly declare that the Attornies, Sheriffs, and all Officers should be sacrificed, that Major John C. Williams should be made a sacrifice of and his body should be given to the Fowls of the air and to the Beasts of the field."

In the height of presumption reached, a convention was attempted which might rival even the General Court in authority and power.

Still, in all our consideration of this momentous period, it must be borne in mind that the general conditions were harrowing to an extreme and well-nigh unendurable degree. Minot viewing them at close range appreciated them as it is hardly possible for us to appreciate them at a remove from them of a century and a quarter, and in the vastly changed conditions which now exist. With charitable forbearance he declares:

"From the short view which we have taken of the affairs of the Commonwealth, sufficient causes appear to account for the commotions which ensued. A heavy debt lying on the state, added to burdens of the same nature upon almost every corporation within it; [he means of course civic body, county and town] a decline, or rather an extinction of public credit; a relaxation of manners and a free use of foreign luxuries (by the few who could command them); a decay of trade and manufactures; a prevailing scarcity of money; and, above all, individuals involved in debt to each other; are evils which leave us under no necessity of searching further for the reasons of the insurrections which took place. We ought not to be surprised to find the people, who but a few years before, upon the abolition of royal government among them, exhibited a most striking example of voluntary submission to feeble authority, now driven into a confusion of affairs, common to all countries, but most so perhaps, to those who have shewn the strongest ardour in the pursuit of freedom." (Insurrections, &c., pp. 27-8.)

The Committee appointed by the Legislature to investigate affairs in Hampshire county consisted of no less illustrious personages than Samuel Adams of the Senate and Artemas Ward and Nathaniel Gorham of the House. They reached Northampton on July 27, and hurried to Conway, where Samuel Ely lived. Delegates from thirteen other towns in the northern part of the county assembled to advise with the people of Conway in relation to the

response to be made to the Legislative committee with the result that all parties at issue united in calling a county convention to meet at Hatfield. Pursuant to that call the convention met August 7 and continued its session for three days.

At a town meeting held at Westfield, Aug. 5, 1782, two delegates to that convention "in order to heal the uneasiness in the County" were chosen, Capt. Daniel Sacket and Lieut. Richard Falley.

It is natural to find that, held under such auspices of constitutional authority, represented by men from the Capital of such dignity, wisdom and influence, the proceedings and findings of that convention were orderly, conservative and reassuring to those who respected governmental authority and desired to have it reasserted and maintained in all parts of the Commonwealth. Sufficient sympathy with the reasonable grievances and consideration for the must demands of the large body of disaffected citizens were shown, not only to prevent them from finding any fresh occasion and ground for grievance, but sufficient also to encourage them to a course of patient forbearance until their wrongs might be righted by orderly and constitutional processes.

Among the fourteen resolutions adopted, the most important issues treated dealt with a more equable distribution of the burdens of taxation; fewer civil officers and reduced salaries; increased economy of administration of government; and immunity from punishment of all engaged in recent disorders except Samuel Ely. They concluded with fervid expressions of loyalty to the authority of State and Congress.

Characteristic observations and comments of Judd in his Diary are too quaint and interesting to be neglected. He was certainly an original, independent and piquant observer.

Wednesday 7 set out at 7½. Stopt at Northampton to get Shaved; got to Hatfield by 10½. Put up at Lt. D. Billings. Chose Coll Wells Chairman and Dean O. Smith Clerk. I assisted him in reading. Began upon Business at 3. The committee from the General Court present, and the first question was whether their Commission was Constitutional. We then determined to let every one tell his grievances and adjourned.

Thursday 8. The Mobb began to tell their Grievances and the [committee] to answer and give information. The Day was spent in this way. The Mobbists began to feel themselves more a ground than they expected. The Tories who are spectators in very great plenty do not hold their heads so High as they have done of late.

Fryday 9. Began where we left off. Afterwards chose a committee to state Grievances to us. Then the Mobb still continued to tell their

Grievances but got upon the Shoals long before night. Committee report near Night.

Saturday 10. Began in the morning upon the Report of the Comttee which consisted of 8 Articles. 3 we passed and the rest we through out. Friends of the Mobb could not get things to their Mind. They [are] Disappointed and Chagrined. What that may produce is uncertain, but 'tis certain that they cannot answer the arguments of the Comtee, or gainsay the facts they asserted. The appearance is that there is more probability of their being still if nothing more. Convention broke up about 6.

Westfield voted in town meeting, Jan. 23, 1783, "not to pay any Rates by Distress until June 1." The vote stood 50 in the affirmative and 40 in the opposition. That respectable minority, such in size and such in quality and standing in the community, seems to have felt bitterly indignant against the action taken, and expressed its outraged feelings by having spread upon the records the following deliverance. "We the Subscribers and Inhabitants of the Town of Westfield do hereby enter our Protest against the proceedings and transactions of some of the Inhabitants of sd Town Openly declaring our dissent from sd Vote, Utterly refusing to pay any cost or Charge that may arise from the Neglect of the Same." Among the forty names appended appear those of "Saml Mather Esq., Col. Wm. Shepard, Mr. Saml Fowler, Zach Bush Jr., Col. Dd Moseley, Capt. Dl Sacket, Russell Dewey, Capt. Jho Gray, Doct. Whitney, Mr. Jho Ballantine, Doct. Isl Ashley, Lieut. Falley, Dn Joseph Root, Bohan King, and Abel Whitney."

An attempt to reconsider the vote failed on Feb. 3 and again a few days later.

It was also voted not to indemnify the town constables for penalties which might result from that original vote.

There is no record of any action of the town relative to the four conventions held during 1783, which indeed were less generally representative of the county at large than preceding ones.

Jonathan Judd, Jr., was at one of them held at Hatfield in March, where thirteen towns were represented by delegates. He says of it: "We were good Natured, had no disputes, very reserved. They want to get rid of Major Hawley and myself. Near night we set off, leaving all the rest." Being rid of them, the Convention proceeded to vote to pay no taxes to the State and adjourned to meet at Hadley, Apr. 15. Judd says of that later meeting: "They felt feeble and fearfull. They begin to know the County are not with them and they must try to pay Taxes. Truths are told them more plain than they have been and they feel them since aid is not likely to come from New York."

It was during the month of May, on the first day of holding the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of General Sessions of the Peace at Springfield, that the first and only overt act of 1783 occurred in the county. The incident is described in the issue of the Massachusetts Gazette and General Advertiser of May 27:

> On Tuesday, being the day on which the general sessions of the peace and the court of common pleas opened in this town, a banditti collected from obscure corners of the county, composed of men of the most infamous character, to the amount of about sixty in number, met in this town to prevent the sitting of the court. * * * They showed no disposition to attack the courts in the forenoon; at two o'clock they met at a public house in the town and resolved themselves to be a convention of the county met together for the purpose of redressing grievances; after having passed several important resolves they adjourned their convention to the elm tree near the court house; when the bell rang for the court, they, in hostile parade, armed with white bludgeons cut for the purpose, marched before the door of the court house, and when the court, headed by the sheriff, came to the door, with insolence opposed their entrance; the sheriff in mild tones of persuasion, addressing them as gentlemen, desired them to make way.
>
> His civility was repaid with outrage, and an action soon commenced; happily there was a collection of people friendly to the government present, and the mob was repulsed with broken heads. A number of them were instantly taken and committed to prison; after which by a regular procedure, they were brought before the court of sessions for examination and were bound to appear before the supreme court,

The Court House in Springfield stood opposite Meeting-House lane, now Elm Street, on the east side of Main Street, where Sanford Street now enters it. The elm tree under which the rioters met stood a couple of rods south of the Court House on the same side of the street.

Concerning the financial distress of the people at that period, it is a notable fact that a great part of the time and discussion of many of the town meetings in Westfield during those years was directed toward possible methods of collecting taxes. It was a matter of the utmost difficulty, year after year, to get men to serve as constables. At each annual March meeting many persons were elected who absolutely refused to serve and paid the sizable fine imposed for such refusal.

When it is remembered that at the close of the Revolution the State debt of Massachusetts amounted to £1,300,000, besides £250,000 due to officers and soldiers, and that the State's proportion of the federal debt was no less than £1,500,000, it is evi-

dent that taxes must have been an awful burden upon an impoverished people. The towns also owed war debts of their own incurring for bounties of soldiers, for military supplies, as well as for current expenses.

The Massachusetts Gazette in 1784 published the following, which also appeared in papers in New York and elsewhere, showing the popular conception of burning questions then at issue: "A Shorter Catechism. *Q*. What is law? *A*. A servant to the rich and a taskmaster. *Q*. What are courts of justice? *A*. Executioners of the law. *Q*. What are lawyers? *A*. Rods of corruption. *Q*. What is patriotism? *A*. An hobby horse. *Q*. What is political good? *A*. Moral evil. *Q*. What is liberty? *A*. Licentiousness unbridled. *Q*. What is independence? *A*. Dependence on nothing. *Q*. Do we enjoy it? *A*. Yes. *Q*. Who gain'd it for us? *A*. The army. *Q*. How shall we reward them? *A*. Cheat 'em. *Q*. Who loaned us money? *A*. France and Holland. *Q*. How shall we pay them? *A*. Laugh at them. *Q*. What is gratitude? *A*. Disposition to repay benefactors. *Q*. What is public gratitude? *A*. Forgetfulness of benefits. *Q*. What is public credit? *A*. Soldiers' notes at 30 per cent discount. *Q*. What is taxation? *A*. Much ado about nothing. *Q*. What is excise? *A*. Great cry and little wool. *Q*. What is computation? *A*. The Devil."

The general popular distress is indicated by the fact that for several years over ninety per cent of the tax payers of Springfield worked out their highway tax instead of paying it in currency.

Green cites the case of Noah Copley of Westfield, who in 1783 allowed his note for £4. 17s. 5d. to John Worthington to go to protest. The latter secured judgment with £1. 9s. 2d. in costs, "That is to say, to use round numbers, a man owing $24.00 had to pay $7.00 for the privilege of having the sheriff sell $24.00 worth of his goods." Elsewhere he says, "Writs of creditors almost confounded the courts, and the legal profession and the sheriffs were a byword and a hissing. The passing of the 'Tender Act' of 1782, by which neat cattle and other specified property could be offered to satisfy executions for debt, opened the door for greater irregularities. A war between rich and poor was precipitated, and the judgment debtor and the judgment creditor crossed swords. More people were in debt than out of debt, and a good authority says that from 1784 to 1786 every fourth, if not every third, man was a defendant in writs of execution in Massachusetts." (Springfield, p. 308.)

Because lawyers were instruments of legal procedure against the debtor classes they were abused and denounced as enemies of society, refused the honor of election to offices of town and State, and in other ways treated spitefully. Many of them who had been eminent as members of the General Court were not returned in 1786, while their places were occupied by men greatly inferior in education and ability. Because the lawyers had profited by the misfortunes of the poor, they were regarded as rogues, rascals and thieves, and to them was attributed the largest share of the ills under which the country groaned.

A popular clamor arose for a new issue of paper currency by the State, mere fiat money which has always hastened in use to prove itself worth no more than the material on which it was printed. After all the distresses that the people had experienced from that nefarious delusion, they insisted repeatedly in successive conventions and by appeals to the General Court upon being allowed to try the fatal experiment yet again, in the self-deluding hope of getting relief thereby from some of the burdens which crushed them. They were on the verge of general bankruptcy, and cherished the absurd fancy that by a new inflation of the currency they might be restored to ease and prosperity.

The series of conventions went merrily on, in a succession as endless as that of Banquo's ghosts, though Westfield seems to have tired of sending delegates. Pursuant to letters from sundry persons in Pelham, then the place of residence of Shays, a convention assembled at Hatfield, August 22, where fifty towns of the county were represented. A special town meeting met at Westfield, elected General Shepard, moderator, and took up the only other article in the warrant, "To take into consideration the contents of a Letter directed unto the selectmen of Westfield signed by Caleb West, Chairman of Deligates from eight Towns; requesting a County Convention to be holden at Col. Seth Murrays in Hatfield on Tuesday the 22d day of Augt. Instant; & act thereon as shall be thought most advisable."

It was voted not to take the letter into consideration, and the meeting was dismissed. That convention continued in session for three days, having at first voted itself constitutional as was customary.

The shrewd plotters in the convention spent three days in vociferating harangues against existing order, supported the smug resolution, and confidently waited for the hotheads to execute

their cherished designs. One of the three justices of the Court of Common Pleas which was thus defied was Samuel Mather, Esq., of Westfield.

The weapons of the mob consisted variously of muskets, bludgeons and swords. A martial spirit was stimulated by drums and fifes played from time to time until the mob dispersed at midnight. As for the conduct of the rabble, it was said that it was marked with "less insolence and violence, and with more sobriety and good order than is generally expected from such a miscellaneous crowd bent on such an unlawful errand."

Judd comments, "All is again afloat. No law, nor order. Prison full of criminals, but none can be punished. Monarchy is better than the tyranny of the mob. Tories appear with pleasant Countenances others with long Faces. * * * What the consequences of these things none can tell. Destruction seems to await us."

Governor Bowdoin was startled by the account of these lawless proceedings, menacing the very foundations of the Commonwealth, the more appalling because the overt action in Northampton was repeated by a mob of 300 insurgents in Worcester during the succeeding week, and at about the same time a mob prevented the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas at Great Barrington. All over the State there was discontent, with bitterness, defiance of authority and treasonable speech.

The Governor issued a vigorous proclamation calling upon all citizens, and civil, judicial and military officers to oppose such outbreaks, to repress mob violence and bring the insurgent leaders to justice. He called for a session of the Legislature to open on October 18, but later amended the order and summoned it a month earlier.

It was during the autumn months of that year, 1786, that the two men who became the most conspicuous and authoritative leaders in the subsequent events began to exert themselves earnestly to shape public opinion by tavern oratory and then to organize and drill their adherents. Both men had served creditably as officers in the Revolutionary War. Luke Day, of West Springfield, said by Holland to be "one of the strongest and most dangerous and persistent of the insurgent leaders," entered the army as captain, served through the whole war, and returned home at its close a major by brevet, but distressingly poor. He had considerable mental ability, though uneducated, and marked forcefulness as a popular speaker. His favorite place of resort was

the old Stebbins Tavern, and his most prominent henchmen were Adj. Elijah Day, Benjamin Ely and Dan Ludington. He declared to a gaping audience that "Liberty is for every man to do as he pleases, and to make other folks do as you please to have them." The definition must have been just as gratifying to the lawless crowd as though couched in correct English.

He secured quite a following, and acted daily as a drillmaster on the West Springfield common, his motley battalion having been armed at first with hickory clubs and been marked by a sprig of hemlock which each redoubtable champion of liberty wore in his hatband.

Daniel Shays was one of the many Americans of Irish ancestry who proved themselves sturdy patriots during the Revolution, but his name has been stigmatized by having a rebellion historically attached to it. He was born in Hopkinton, Mass., in 1747.

Trumbull, quoting from the Judd MSS. now in the Forbes Library, Northampton, gives an account of him supplied by Judge Hinckley, who came from Brookfield to Northampton in 1781:

> Shays and a man named Cutler (afterward Gen. Cutler) lived as hired men with Mr. Hinckley's father at Brookfield for two years preceding the Revolutionary War. Both men were smart, active men, and received £16 ($53.33) per annum, when the common price was £15 ($50). Shays had much taste for the military, and the boys were in the habit of assembling with wooden guns and swords, and Shays would exercise them. Mr. Hinckley had often marched in that company. When the company of minute men was formed in 1774, Rufus Putnam was captain, and Shays and Cutler were sergeants. They had no bells and no cannon in Brookfield, and all alarms were given by conch shells. The day after the battle of Lexington the shells were sounded, and Captain Putnam's company soon marched. Captain Putnam was speedily promoted to the rank of major, and Shays and Cutler became officers in a short time. Shays continued in the army till 1780, when he had the rank of Lieutenant. When Lafayette came over he brought a large number of elegant swords which he gave to the subordinate officers of the army. Shays received one of them, but as he had a good one already he sold the one given him by Lafayette. This excited the indignation of his company and of the officers of his regiment, and an outcry was made about his meanness in selling the gift of Lafayette. The officers refused to associate with him, and talked about trying him by Court-Martial for his base conduct. He resigned and came home much incensed against the other officers and even against Washington. He was a disappointed man. The people of Brookfield censured him, and even his father-in-law, Capt. Daniel Gilbert, whose daughter he married after the war commenced, blamed him, and made severe remarks about his selling the sword. He remained in Brookfield a few years and then removed to Pelham.

On election day, in May, 1786, Colonel Porter's regiment met in Hadley and Shays appeared at the head of the Pelham company. His activity and officer-like appearance excited admiration, and were the subjects of much conversation. (History of Northampton, Vol. II, p. 492.)

Shays is said to have been "conspicuous for bravery at Bunker Hill and Stoney Point and present at the surrender of Burgoyne."

In the Hallowell Journal, the author, who was in Col. Rufus Putnam's Fifth regiment, Gen. Nixon's brigade, Ezra Newhall, Lieutenant Colonel, says that Shays was in his regiment, "in three years service and respected as a very good officer, was very good to his men." (Quoted in "Lynn in the Revolution," Howard Kendall Sanderson, p. 180.))

Shays' commission as Captain in Gen. Rufus Putnam's 3d Massachusetts Regiment was dated Jan. 1, 1777.

The Conkey tavern in Pelham and the Clapp tavern in East Amherst were favorite resorts of Shays.

Holland, in comparing the two men as far as known, says, "It was more the result of accident than any other cause that Shays had the precedence, and the fortune to make his name infamous by association with the rebellion in which he was engaged. Day was the stronger man, in mind and will, the equal of Shays in military skill, and his superior in the gift of speech.

It was in September, 1786, that Shays first came out into the open with a force which he had mustered to commit a glaring act of insurgency. The lower courts had been interrupted in several places, but hitherto the Supreme Court had not been molested. That august body was to assemble in regular session in Springfield, Sept. 26. Cognizant that plans to interfere with it were maturing, Gov. Bowdoin ordered out the militia of Hampshire County under command of Major Gen. William Shepard of Westfield. In the three and a half years which had elapsed since the completion of his service in the Continental army he had not forgotten the art of war which he had been learning and practicing for so many years. He was no carpet knight but a tried and seasoned veteran, ready to march forth again at the call of duty, and the rebels had abundant reason to show him far more respect than they actually accorded him. But desperate defiance of authority, civil and military, and irreverence toward personages greatly superior to them in ability and character, were prominent features of their lawless game.

The troops began to gather on Saturday, Sept. 23, and 150 of

them took possession of the Court House well armed, officered and equipped.

The following order is preserved among the Shepard papers in the Westfield Atheneum:

Springfield, Sept. 25, 1786.

Sir: I am suspicious that Col. Gideon Burt has through business and hurry forgotten to send any orders to you to bring on your Company to Springfield on Tuesday morning at 9 o'clock. I therefore request and command you as you value the blessings of Constitutional Government & the peace and security of society, to assemble the men in your Company and march them, both Train band and Alarm list to the Court House here by nine o'clock tomorrow morning completely armed and with three days rations.

I am, sir, your humble servant
William Shepard Major Gen'l
4th Division

Lieut. Abel Chapin,
Chickopee.

There was need of the utmost diligence and haste in collecting forces to sustain the government and resist the mob which had gathered in great numbers and which was continually being augmented by fresh arrivals from various quarters. Chief Justice Cushing, and Justices Sergeant, Sewell and Sumner were in attendance, and by the time that the Court convened fully a thousand troops were under arms to furnish needed protection from the mob. The insurgents considerably outnumbered them although inferior in equipment and officers. There were many veterans in both camps, while, however, many of the insurgents had been gathered haphazard without having any experience of martial drill or discipline. On the other hand it is said that more than one company sent to reinforce the militia marched boldly and bodily into the ranks of the insurgents. Affairs surely were decidedly mixed, so much so that many spies and many timid citizens carried about their persons both a sprig of hemlock which was the rebel badge and a piece of white paper used by the loyal party, and put one or the other on his hat according to circumstances. The action of the remote town of Rowe two months later shows that the spirit of incertitude and confusion had not then abated, for "being Repeatedly Requested to Join in the Dispute between the Court and those called the regulating party" and not being able to decide between them, it was recommended that as many as "can conveniently march" should proceed to Springfield and, having informed themselves, "join that party as

they shall Judge to be in the right of the cause, they acting entirely for themselves in the matter."

Shays and Day acted together, and spent much time in drilling and haranguing their forces. All were chagrined to find the Court House pre-empted by government troops. The rank and file were eager to make an attempt to carry it by storm, but the leaders were too wary and prudent to permit such a rash course, appreciating the general inferiority of their adherents.

The Court was regularly opened, but could accomplish no business because of the absence of the grand jury, some of the members of which felt that their duty lay in the line of defending the Court House and judges, even though thereby they were rendering nugatory the presence of these officers of the law. It was better to have a portion of the machinery of the law properly geared though turning out no products, than to have all the parts scattered broadcast under the mob's fury.

During the day a message was sent to the court by the insurgents stating the conditions upon which they would disperse and return to their homes. They demanded that no penalties should be imposed upon the regulators who forcibly prevented the sessions of the Courts in Northampton, or upon those who had gathered in Springfield to interfere with the sessions of the Supreme Court, "that no civil case should be tried unless both parties thereto should be willing," that the militia which had then and there gathered to protect the Court should not be paid for service thus rendered. To these and some other proposals less preposterous the Court replied with a vigorous denial, which so exasperated the rabble as to make an attack upon the militia imminent.

There followed a complaint that the militia had been insulting in its treatment of Shays' forces, denying them the right to march where they pleased, which was responded to by permission to march anywhere so long as they behaved themselves and committed no acts of violence. Thus encouraged the 1200 insurgents, only about half of whom had muskets, and very few of whom had bayonets, strutted back and forth trying to intimidate the militia, until they wearied of the exercise and were convinced of the falseness of the rumor that the militia had resolved that they should not march past the Court House. It is to the credit of the militia that it calmly refused to take the dare thus insolently flung at it.

Thus matters progressed until the third day of the sitting of

the Court, when it adjourned after deciding not to attempt to convene later in Berkshire according to appointment, lest its experience in Springfield might be repeated there. The insurgents in reality had won a triumph, successfully defying the Court to transact its proper business, though technically the Court had maintained its regular sessions. That success drove the insurgents to a frenzy, inflaming them to a clamor for an attack upon the government. Shays sent a presumptuous demand to General Shepard to surrender the Court House, but the sturdy commander drew up his men in line to meet an attack, which though threatened was not executed, Shays parading his forces back and forth before the steady ranks of the defenders but doing nothing more.

Finally, having defended the Court House so long as there was any reason for so doing, and having heard threats made of an attack upon the arsenal a half mile east on the hill, General Shepard let the rabble have the Court House while he withdrew his forces to the protection of what was more valuable at that juncture.

Minot, with fine consideration, says: "The condition of the Town of Springfield was truly melancholy during the civil contention. Neighbours were opposed to each other under arms, the houses were rendered the scenes of female distress; and it was in the power of accident only, to have brought on an action which might have destroyed the lives of thousands, and subjected all property to the immediate vengeance of the party that might have become victorious. After remaining in this situation for four days the inhabitants were relieved by the dispersing of both parties." (Insurrections in Massachusetts, p. 49.)

Judd, less pompously and more naively, tells his story of the exciting days:

> Tues. [Sept.] 26, 1786. 60 or 70 men of the Militia set off for Springfield, very early to support the Government. About 81 set out, some from Westhampton likewise got to Springfield about 10. Militia at the Court House and the mob above Ferry. About 1 the Mob marched down in order and back; about 900 armed and unarmed. Government upwards of 1000. Court sit in the afternoon. A very sorrowful day. Brother against Brother. Father against Son. The Mob threaten the lives of all that oppose them. Came away about sunset.
>
> Wednesday, 27. Went with Dr. Woodbridge about 9. Got to Springfield about 12. Lines are drawn with Centuries kept by each party. Looks more threatening than yesterday. Committees from each have met but cannot agree. Court did business in the P. M. our situation is truly deplor-

able. An alarm about 7; but rest of the Night was Quiet.

Thursday, 28. Mob threaten much but they are not coming. Those who threaten most do the least. The agreement nearly completed yesterday. Militia march on to the Hill, the Mob march and countermarch through the Town. Militia discharged about 3 P. M. Mob are high yet, not lowered tho lost their vim. I came away about 5; nothing but fire and Smoke where the Mob are.

Fryday, 29. Militia got home in afternoon.

Besides the government forces mobilized in response to the Governor's order and on duty during the disturbance, an ancient muster roll proves that eighty persons who had arrived from various towns organized themselves into an independent company of defense, chose Gen. Warham Parks of Westfield to act as their Captain, and were armed at the public store. Several Westfield men served in the ranks.

Two official reports, one by Col. Elisha Porter of Hadley, Sheriff, the other by General Shepard, were forwarded to Gov. Bowdoin on the same day:

Springfield, September 25th, 1786.

May it please your Excellency,

Finding since I saw your Excellency, that the combination for preventing the Supreme Judicial Court from sitting at this place tomorrow were increasing—and that they intended to take possession of the Court House on Sunday, I called upon Gen. Shepard for aid and advice. We judged it prudent to take possession on Saturday night as privately as possible. For that purpose I came here, and with a number of Volunteers belonging to this Town to the number of about forty I took possession of the Court house about ten o'clock in the evening, and about three o'clock in the morning were joined by about one hundred & fifty men from Northampton and about fifty men from Hadley who were ordered by the General for that purpose. They are now on the ground and are resolutely determined in favour of Government.

General Shepard writes by the Stage to whose letter I refer for further information.

I have the honour to Subscribe myself—

Your Excellency's Most Obedt & hble Sert.

Elisha Porter

His Excellency
James Bowdoin Esqr.

(Mass. Archives, Shays' Rebellion, Vol. II, p. 265.)

Springfield, September 25th, 1786.

May it please your excellency—

From the various movements in this County the inlistments as they are called of a party to obstruct the sitting of the Supreme Judicial Court, by

law to be holden in this place, this week, the Sheriff has tho't it his duty to call on me to assist him with the strength of this division. I have accordingly ordered about two hundred men to take possession of the Court House here last Saturday night which was executed accordingly with great execution & address.

I have ordered all the remainder of the militia both train band and alarm list to be here to-morrow at nine of the clock, completely equiped, with three days provisions, & I have reason to depend on some further assistance, but from the coolness toward the government which is too general & prevalent, the number & issue must be uncertain & precarious. The number of those who will endeavor to oppose the due course of Justice is uncertain also, but probably will be considerable, yet I cannot but hope we can support the Government in this county.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Your excellencys Most obedient humble servant.

Wm. Shepard

Major General of the 4th division.

N. B. I have just received intelligence that five hundred insurgents are to be embodied at West Springfield this evening & some say two thousand.

His excellency

James Bowdoin esq. (Id. p. 266)

Four days later the following report was sent:

Springfield, Sept. 29th, 1786.

May it please your Excellency—

In my letter of the 25th Instant, I acquainted you that I had taken possession of this Court house here, and expected the Militia to join the next day. I am able to inform your Excellency now of the events which have existed between that and this letter. The Justices and other gentlemen belonging to the Supreme Judicial Court arrived, opened, sat, and on Thursday morning adjourned (of their proceedings however your Excellency will have a particular account from them no doubt) and were protected by the Militia, from violent invasion and influence. I had here under my command about eight hundred men, who bore arms, among whom were not less than two hundred of the most respectable and opulent gentlemen of this County, including a company of Volunteers of this town; to arm whom I supposed it absolutely necessary for the protection of the Court, of the town, and of my own Corps, to demand and seize the key of the Arsenal and take from there two hundred stands of arms. As the Magazine and all the public property appeared to be in danger. I hope this measure, which was very disagreeable to me, may meet your Excellency's approbation and that of the General Court, as those arms were very carefully kept, and returned uninjured. There was a considerable number present who would have taken arms had I judged it necessary. A particular return of all who came here for the support of government from each regiment, I shall transmit to you as soon as it is practicable.

The number of those who were in this town collected to oppose government with arms, was, by as accurate an estimation as we could obtain, about seven hundred and twenty. Those who had clubs and weapons not under

the description of arms, may be called about five hundred. It appears they had sent expresses to all parts of this County, to many parts of the counties of Worcester and Berkshire, and some say into the State of Connecticut for assistance. They were continually receiving reinforcements and threatened to arm themselves from the public Magazine. We finally agreed by Committees of Officers from each party that they should dismiss their men and give a signal, immediately after which I was to dismiss mine, and that all persons were to return home without injuring or insulting any person.

The Militia were entitled most deservedly to great applause, both officers and soldiers, for extraordinary decency and order of conduct, and for their firmness in vindication of the rights of government. A few companies of the Militia I retained until this morning, but now all are out of town.

I shall have the honor, probably, to see your Excellency next week, and am, with great respect

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant

Wm Shepard

Majr Genll 4th Division

His Excellency James Bowdoin Esq.

More than a hundred men went from Deerfield with the militia to defend the Springfield arsenal. Sheldon says that more than a thousand soldiers were billeted on the townspeople at one time during the movements incident to quelling later disturbances. He also appends a bill presented for payment for supplies from time to time.

"Selectmen of Deerfield to Aaron Marsh Dr

1787	Jany 5th	To 22 lbs of Powder a 204 d pr. lb.	2 11 4
		To 42 sheets of paper for Cartridges	2 8
	Feb. 5	to 47 gills N. E. Rum De'd Capt Dick his company pr verbal order	5 0
	Feb. 6	to 3 bushells of wheat at 4s 6d	15 9
	(This line was erased but the figures stand)		
	" 7th	to 48 gills N. E. Rum De'd as above	5 0
	" 23	To 3 galls W. I. Rum De'd Lt Catlin	15 0
			4 14 9

Omitted Jany 17 To pd Jona Hayt for himself sleigh and horse to Cary Troops to Springfield."

That there were conservative and sane views curent amid the radical sentiments so freely expressed at that period of stress and anxiety is evidenced by the following brief editorial comment in the Hampshire Herald of June 20, 1786:

The scarcity of cash says a correspondent is a general complaint, and it has got to be so fashionable to complain of hard times and the scarcity of money, that debtors seem to think that they have sufficiently satisfied their

creditors, if they tell them the times are hard and money scarce. This has so long been the theme, that people almost universally believe it although it is a falsehood. Every generation and age thinks the former days and times were better than the present. This however, is a mistake, founded on false surmises and vain imaginations. The original principles of human nature are the same in every age, and ever have been since the fall. Times are easy when men do their duty; but when they deviate from that and enter the road of vice and indolence and licentiousness, then difficulties embarrass, and troubles perplex them.

In an editorial in the same journal Aug. 15, 1786, several months before the final outbreak of Shays and his followers, a very sane and fair statement of the existing civic conditions is given, with a protest against the subversion of existing institutions. A quotation from it is worth considering: "One grievance complained of is the weight of taxes! It is granted that taxes are heavy; and it is hoped government will exercise all reasonable forbearance. But though they are a *burthen* we are not sure they ought to be called a *grievance.* They are the unavoidable consequence of a long and expensive war which was undertaken with the general voice of the people, who chose it in preference to an abject submission to the demands of a British Court. When we declared war, we knew it might be long; and if long would certainly be very expensive; and now to complain of these burthens which we agreed to take upon ourselves, as the easier alternative, is an inconsistency dishonourable to Americans."

The whole article is a dispassionate discussion of painful but inevitable conditions, in striking contrast with the rantings and inflammatory diatribes of the ill-balanced demagogues who fomented the insurrection. Had more attention been paid to such reasonable consideration of public affairs, the Commonwealth would have been spared the disgrace of men lately patriots in the service of their country, turning into rebels against the authority for which they had wrought and suffered in order to insure its establishment, so speedily lifting the weapons of treason against it.

Hampshire Herald, Sept. 27, 1786.

Springfield, Wednesday, Sept. 27.
Eleven o'clock, Forenoon
Friends and Fellow-Countrymen

Let us not forfeit the dignity of our natures by attempting to destroy our excellent **Constitution**—a constitution, by which our lives and liberties are protected from the ravings of merciless rapine, by which the good order and harmony of society are preserved, in short, by which we are preserved

in the full enjoyment of every privilege which can tend to render our lives agreeable or happy. Let us not eradicate fair liberty that venerable tree, that plant of Renown, on whose fruit we subsist, under whose shadow we enjoy security and peace, and thereby run the hazard of incurring the shackles of Tyranny and oppression; but let us make every exertion to support and defend it; let us nourish and cherish it with all possible assiduity, that we may, under an indulgent Providence, long enjoy Peace and Harmony, which are the Basis and Ornaments of Society, and the Foundation of all Public and Private Happiness.

That all appears in large, heavily leaded type, and what follows is in small, unleaded type:

There are now assembled in this town, about 2000 men bearing arms; 1200 of which number appear disaffected to the present form of government; and threaten the annihilation of the Court now sitting here, unless they acquiesce with their proposals; which they have sent them. The others are for supporting and protecting it. The judges and other gentlemen of the Court Arrived in town on Monday evening and yesterday, at the appointed time, and in the usual manner, opened the Court and proceeded to business;—at nine this morning they again opened the Court; but immediately adjourned the same to three o'clock this afternoon. There are committees chosen from among both parties, who are now consulting what measures to take that shall give most general satisfaction.

By the last mail from the Eastward we have received an account of the insurrection in the State of New Hampshire, which is as follows: In the year 1785 the legislature of that State passed an act making every species of property a tender at an appraised value. This was attended with unhappy consequences. The people still thought they were grievously burdened; and to alleviate their load, a convention of Committees, in August last, from about thirty towns assembled, agreed upon, and preferred to the General Court, a long petition setting forth their grievances on account of the scarcity of money, and praying for an emission of paper bills of credit, in which there was no single trace of an idea of redemption, or any one attempt to give the currency a foundation; their object was, however, to have this paper a tender for all debts and taxes.

The Legislature soon after formed a plan for the emission of twenty thousand pounds, to be let out at four per cent, and landed security redeemable at a future period, carrying interest at six per cent, to be a tender for taxes for the internal support of the State, and for fees and salaries of the officers of the government. This plan was sent as early as the fourteenth of September to the several towns to collect their minds upon the subject.

On the twentieth, at four of the clock in the afternoon, about 400 men on horseback and on foot entered the town of Exeter where the general Court was sitting; about fifty of them, or perhaps more, were armed with muskets, and the others with bludgeons; their principal leader appeared to be one Moses French, a farmer of Hampstead, aided by one Coffin, a major in the militia, and two or three others; they affected military parade, and had a drum; after they had halted a while, they sent a paper into the House

of Representatives, who were convened in the meeting house, demanding an answer to their former petition without delay; it was dated on Exeter Plain, and signed Moses French, Moderator. The President (General Sullivan) considered the petition, and publickly shewed, with a great strength of reasoning, and very cooly, the extreme folly, as well as the very great injustice of the prayer of their former petition, and concluded by saying that no consideration of personal danger should ever compel him to so flagrant a violation of the constitutional rights of the people who had placed him in the chair of government.

As soon as this speech was made the mob beat to arms, and surrounded the meeting house where the President, the Senate, and the House remained; Those of the mob who had muskets, were ordered to charge with balls, which command they instantly obeyed. The house proceeded to business as usual without taking any notice of the management at the doors. Centinels were placed at each door, with fixed bayonets, and the whole Legislature were prisoners. After sun set the president attempted to come out, but was prevented by a firm column. Thus they were obliged to remain until a drum was heard at a distance, and a number of them huzzaing for government. The mob appeared frightened, some of them began to run; and the Court were permitted to retire to their homes.

The President then called forth the power of the State, and advanced toward the insurgents, who were drawn up at a tavern in the outer part of the town; there was no conflict; the mob fled; and nothing was to be done but to pick up the prisoners. A number fled and made a stand at a bridge. General Cilly soon came up with them, rushed in and seized their leaders. One of them ordered them to fire, but government appeared with such force that they dared not obey; about forty of them were made prisoners and are now in gaol to be tried for treason,—the rest soon fled to their lurking places, from where they must be dragged to an ignominious death unless the clemency of government shall pity and save them. By this time there were more than 2000 men in arms; about 300 of them were horse; all ready to make any risque to preserve legal government, & the due execution of the laws.

A communication in the Hampshire Gazette of Oct. 4, 1786, addressed "Mr. Printer" and signed "A Regulator," declares the object of the insurgents to be "not a redress of grievances, but a total subversion of the present government. * * * We mean to make thorough work of it, not to put our hands to the plow and look back,—we have advanced so far, and know that there is no safety but in completing the business, and leaving not one stone upon another," and more of like tone, evidencing the anarchistic ideas which he claimed for himself and others to be promoting.

A letter under date of Hadley, Nov. 8, 1786, was sent to all the towns of the county, stating that the convention then in session there had chosen a committee of correspondence with other counties and would report at an adjourned meeting on the first Tues-

day of January at the house of Samuel Dickinson, innholder in Hatfield. It was signed "John Billings, Chairman. A true coppy. Attest Sam Pepper Clark." (Hampshire Gazette, Dec. 13, 1786)

The speech of the Governor to the Legislature which convened Sept 27 in response to his proclamation, was strong and stern in its denunciation of those who had defied the laws and interfered with the Courts, declaring that such treasonable proceedings could not have been justified even had all their assumed grievances been well grounded. The Senate earnestly approved of the firm stand which he had taken and the measures which he had recommended. But the House was honeycombed with insurgency, and beyond a willingness to suppress violent outbreaks of lawlessness it was reluctant to champion any repressive and punitive measures.

Addresses and petitions poured in from all parts of the Commonwealth, four items of which were singled out for special consideration, the retention of Boston as the place of holding the General Court; the regulation of the inferior Courts; the burdens of the people due to accumulated taxes and the scarcity of money and the fee-bill, and salaries of government officials.

As a measure for the protection of the Supreme Judicial Court about to convene at Taunton, the Legislature passed a Riot Act, which "visited upon all offenders who should continue, for the space of an hour, their combinations, after the act was read to them, with the confiscation of their property, the infliction of thirty-nine stripes, and imprisonment not more than one year, with thirty-nine stripes every three months during the terms of their imprisonment."

Though insurgents gathered at Taunton they committed no overt act. A week later a large force of militia insured the sitting of the Court at Cambridge. The action of the Legislature was sufficiently positive and repressive to disturb the insurgents, as is indicated by the fact that the following circular letter was sent to the selectmen of the Hampshire towns:

Pelham, Oct. 23, 1786.

Gentlemen:—By information from the General Court, they are determined to call all those who appeared to stop the Court, to condign punishment. Therefore, I request you to assemble your men together to see that they are well armed and equipped, with sixty rounds each man, and to be ready to turn out at a minute's warning; likewise to be properly organized with officers.

Daniel Shays.

It is a question whether the ground of this presumptuous action was fear for the personal safety of the criminally involved insurgents, or a shrewd scheme for ripening opposition to the government. In either case, worded as the letter was, its effrontery was sublime, even though phrased as a request rather than as an order. Another convention was also appointed.

At a town meeting held November 1, in Westfield, Thomas Noble and Jonathan Lyon were chosen to represent the town at a convention at Hadley the first Tuesday in November in response to an invitation of Benjamin Bonney.

Before the Legislature adjourned, November 18, after a session which had spent nearly two months in discussion of pressing public issues, it had passed three acts for easing popular burdens, which provided for the collection of arrear taxes in specific articles; for making real and personal estate a tender in discharge of executions and actions commenced in law; and for rendering law processes less expensive. Besides it was enacted that one-third of the proceeds of impost and excise duties should be appropriated for the exigencies of government.

But while a measure was passed which virtually continued the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, and dire vengeance was threatened against those who should attempt to impede the Courts of justice, no other action respecting those already guilty of overt acts of insurgency was taken than to offer indemnity to such of them as should submit to authority according to certain specified terms.

A long address to the people was issued upon which large hopes of improved conditions were based. It entered into elaborate details of the state and federal debts, taxes and expenditures, salaries of officers and their reasonableness at existing rates. Sundry other matters were discussed and appeals for popular sanity, patience and loyalty were urged. It was ordered that the address should be dispersed among the people, and ministers of the Gospel were requested to present it to their congregations on the approaching Thanksgiving day or at a lecture appointed specially for the purpose.

The following order was promulgated through Hampshire County. The original was found among the papers of Gen. Israel Chapin in Western New York:

Northampton, 5th December 1786.

General Orders for the Militia of the 4th Division "Whereas, the Legis-

lature, composed of the Representatives of the good people of this Commonwealth, have, at their late meeting for that purpose, carefully and attentively examined our political circumstances and the various causes, and even pretended causes of complaint among us of late; and have, as far as is consistent with the interest and happiness of the State, complied with the wishes of every one of its citizens; and have among other things prepared and published an accurate statement of all taxes that have been granted, and the sums paid; also the sums that have arisen from the Impost and Excise, and the application of all monies within the State. Also the whole amount of our foreign and domestic debt, and the particular debt of this State. And have enumerated resources competent to the payment of the whole, accompanied with agreements convincing to all honest and well disposed members of society; and finally have even indemnified all concerned in any irregular or riotous proceedings in any part of the State that none who had acted from mistaken notions of propriety and civil duty, might be precluded from returning to the same.

Notwithstanding which, there are still persons (so restless and abandoned to all sense of social obligations and tranquility and not improbably influenced by the clandestine instigations of our avowed and most implacable enemies) again embodying under arms to obstruct the course of law and justice, and perhaps by one bold stroke overturn the very foundation of our Government and Constitution, and on their ruins exert the unprincipled and lawless domination of one man. The General, therefore, from a sense of duty and desirous to ward off impending evils, no less than in compliance with orders from his excellency the Governor, once more entreats and even conjures the militia of his division, both Train Band and Alarm List, and indeed, every class of citizens, as they prize their lives, their liberties, their prosperity and their country, unitedly to exert themselves to prevent those ills which must otherwise inure. And all officers commanding Regiments, are hereby requested and commanded immediately with all their effective men of their several regiments to Brookfield in the County of Worcester, and to wait further orders, the commanders of regiments will take care that the men are furnished with arms, ammunition and accoutrements, well clad, and with fifteen days' provisions. The General begs that no little personal or private considerations may take place of the very near regard we all owe our country, but that we may with one mind contribute in our several conditions to reclaim the deluded, bring all high handed offenders to the punishment they so justly deserve, and give not only the present but future generations proof that the peace and dignity of Massachusetts is not to be attacked with impunity.

Wm. Shepard, Maj. General.

(Phelps' and Turner's Purchase, Turner. Appendix, pp. 483-4.)

Late in the year, Dec. 4, 1786, General Lincoln sent a letter, preserved by his descendants in Hingham, to General Washington, which was read at the centennial observance of the conflict at the arsenal, in Olivet Church, Springfield, and part of which follows:

Are we to have the goodly fabric, that eight years were spent in raising, pulled over our heads? There is great danger that it will be so, I think, unless the tottering system shall be supported by arms, and even then a government which has no other basis than the point of the bayonet, should one be supported thereon, is so totally different from the one established, at least in idea, by the different states, that if we must have recourse to the sad experiment of arms, it hardly can be said that we have supported the "goodly fabric,"—in this view of the matter, it may be "pulled over our heads." This probably will be the case, for there doth not appear to be virtue enough among the people to preserve a perfect republican government. * * Failing of their point the disaffected in the first place attempted, and in many instances succeeded, to stop courts of law and to suspend the operations of government; this they hoped to do until they could by force sap the foundations of our constitution and bring into the Legislature creatures of their own, by whom they could mold a government at pleasure and make it subservient to all their purposes; and when an end should thereby be put to public and private debts the agrarian law might follow with ease.

Is it strange that Washington should have been horrified by the receipt of this letter and news of the events which occurred within two months following? He gave vent to his indignation in words which the crisis in the affairs of the Commonwealth makes perfectly explicable: "What, gracious God, is man that there should be such inconsistency and perfidiousness in his conduct? It was but the other day that we were shedding our blood to obtain the constitutions under which we now live,—constitutions of our own choice and making,—and now we are unsheathing the sword to overturn them!"

At the end of the month in which General Lincoln sent that stirring letter to General Washington, a letter was sent by General Shepard from Northampton to Governor Bowdoin, under date of Nov. 30, 1786, hardly more than a month before the attempt of Shays to capture the arsenal, in which he says:

I have ever conceived the General Assembly at their last session did everything they possibly could, and even made some sacrifices in expectation of quieting all who should not be obstinate to conviction, and that they had taken measures not to recede from in any extremity.

How far I am justified in these conceptions your Excellency will best determine, but since the palliating scheme has failed to produce these effects that were promised, it appears to me of the first importance to know whether any further concessions from government are expected or not.

I beg leave to suggest whether if the Worcester Court is to be supported, the Assembly ought not previously to meet, if not to give more energy to our operations, at least to remove all occasion of scruple in the most nice.

As I have mentioned in my letter of the 14th inst. by the stage, I imagine

two thousand men with two companies of artillery and one hundred light horses to march first to Worcester from the lower counties, after part or all into this, and so on to Berkshire, will be amply sufficient to crush all opposition. * * Being now on my return from a tour through the whole county I am much encouraged, as I find that the address with other circumstances have fixed the wavering in many instances, particularly in the town of Northfield which voted unanimously satisfied with the doings of the General Court. However nothing will restore order and peace to these counties but superior forces, which I hope will be introduced as soon as possible. (Massachusetts Historical Collections, Seventh Series. Vol. VI pp. 126-7.)

The following address by the Insurgents to the People was issued late in that troublous year:

It has been considered by the Officers of the several Companies in the County of Hampshire returning from the movement to Worcester met in Consultation at Pelham on the 9th Day of December instant to be a matter of the Greatest importance that the several Companies and regiments in the sd County to be Properly Organized and Officered. I am therefore Directed by a committee appointed for that Purpose, to request you in the name and behalf of the Committee aforesd forthwith to Assemble your Companies to Chuse a Captain and the other Officers Necessary, and make return of the Persons so Chosen to me as soon as may be.

Pr Order of the Committee
Greenfield December 19th 1786
Obed Foot
(Mass. Archives, Shays Rebellion, Vol. II, p. 297.)

The interpretation put by the insurgents upon the transactions as a whole of that special Legislative session was one of weakness, as is not now to be wondered at, and the response to that deferential and pacific attitude was one of more vigorous defiance and intense hostility. "The leniency of the Government was stamped by the mob as an evidence of weakness and cowardice, and hardly a single individual out of the thousands who had engaged in the insurrection, availed himself of the act of indemnity passed for his benefit."

Within a week after the Legislature had adjourned a body of regulators assembled at Worcester, and when the members of the Court, headed by the Sheriff, approached the Court House, they were defied by a triple row of bayonets. The Sheriff expostulated with the mob, and read the Governor's Proclamation and the Riot Act. While he was addressing the crowd one of the leaders interrupted him, telling him that one of their most intolerable grievances was the Sheriff himself and his offensive

fees, particularly in criminal executions, to which he wittily replied, "If you consider my fees for criminal executions as oppressive, you need not wait long for redress, for I will hang every one of you, gentlemen, with the greatest of pleasure, and without charge."

The object of the mob was accomplished, as it had been so often before, and in view of that new defiance of authority the Governor issued emergent orders to the Major Generals of the State to put their several regiments of militia in the best possible condition immediately and to hold them in readiness for instant action. Notwithstanding these preliminaries no regiment was ordered to Cambridge to protect the Courts there. Insurgents from Worcester and Middlesex marched into Concord under Oliver Parker and were secretly joined there by Job Shattuck, their former Captain. Under warrants issued by the Governor and Council in the last extremity, Shattuck, Parker and Page were arrested without bail or mainprise, Shattuck only after desperate resistance in which he was wounded several times, once seriously. Shays with a large party rendezvoused at Rutland whence he executed plans of campaign and issued various orders.

Early in December, Day, with above a hundred men from West Springfield, Longmeadow and Belchertown, moved to that neighborhood. A letter from Springfield in the Hampshire Gazette of December 4, 1786, refers to the movement:

> By the best accounts I can get, Capt. Day received orders yesterday by express from Capt. Shays to march to Worcester all the men he could raise. He hath spared no pains to collect them. However I expect two-thirds of the men whom he expects will fail him. Perhaps his party from Westfield and West Springfield will consist of 100 or 130 men. The mob party from Longmeadow have this moment arrived, after two or three expresses sent them; but their number is only four poor boys.

The Gazette published also the following:

> An **Address** to the People of the several towns in the county of Hampshire, now at arms—
>
> **Gentlemen,**
>
> We have thought proper to inform you of some of the principal causes of the late risings of the people, and also of their present movement, viz.
>
> 1st. The present expensive mode of collecting debts, which by reason of the great scarcity of cash, will of necessity fill our gaols with unhappy debtors, and thereby a reputable body of people rendered incapable of being serviceable either to themselves or the community.
>
> 2d. The monies raised by impost and excise being appropriated to dis-

charge the interest of governmental securities, and not the foreign debt, when those securities are not subject to taxation.

3d. A suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus, by which those persons who have stepped forth to assert and maintain the rights of the people, are liable to be taken and conveyed even to the most distant part of the Commonwealth, and thereby subjected to an unjust punishment.

4th. The unlimited power granted to Justices of the Peace and Sheriffs, Deputy Sheriffs, and Constables, by the Riot Act, indemnifying them to the prosecution thereof; when perhaps, wholly actuated from a principle of revenge, hatred, and envy.

Furthermore, Be assured, that this body, now at arms, depise the idea of being instigated by British emissaries, which is so strenuously propagated by the enemies of our liberties; And also wish the most proper and speedy measures may be taken, to discharge both our foreign and domestic debt.

Per Order,
Daniel Gray, Chairman of the
Committee for the above purpose.

While wordy repetitions of grievances and demands which had become wearisome to the law-abiding were being flaunted in the face of the public, a very practical grievance was being experienced by the citizens of Worcester, since Shays had 1000 men billeted upon them, many of whom can hardly be conceived to have been refined and pleasing guests. An amusing incident of their sojourn there is related by Holland, illustrative of the strained condition of the public mind and the consequent ease with which a panic was started.

Several of the insurgents having become violently ill on one evening, the rumor spread that poison had been administered in their drinking water. A quack doctor from Paxton confirmed their suspicions by declaring that a sediment which he discovered on their glasses was a compound of arsenic and antimony. Then it was recalled that some of the mob had purchased sugar for their grog of an anti-Shays merchant in Worcester, and he was charged with a criminal attempt. It was only after a reputable physician had declared the sediment to be Scotch snuff, and the merchant's clerk had explained that he had accidentally spilled some of that article when doing up the sugar, that the excitement was allayed. To strengthen the truce, the suspected merchant treated his accusers with a few gallons of old Santa Croix rum.

The troops already under arms, though so formidable as an enforced burden upon the hospitality of Worcester, were wholly inadequate to cope with the whole body of militia of the Commonwealth which was completing mobilization. Indeed, Boston

already presented the aspect of a state of siege, largely on account of the confinement there of the three insurgent leaders while Shays had so numerous a force within striking distance. A great part of the militia was kept under arms; several alarm posts were assigned to citizens, guards were mounted at the prison and the several entrances to the town, while the discontented continually spread alarming rumors and voiced hateful forecasts.

A letter from Springfield, dated Dec. 4, 1786, speaks of Shattuck as "amply provided with all the necessaries and conveniences proper for any person labouring under such a wound as he received in his violent and obstinate resistence to the gentlemen who apprehended him." In the issue of January 3 the Gazette speaks of him as having, with Page and Parker, taken the oath of allegiance in Boston.

A communication from Northampton, dated December 27, says:

"We are credibly informed that the renowned Mr. Shays, has been, for some time past, so extremely careful of his own preservation, as to keep a constant guard about his person, and also his SEAT in Pelham—and that—Billings, of Amherst, has likewise kept about 30 men on duty to guard him from supposed danger of being taken by light-horse men."

A pretentious plan of enlistment and organization was agreed upon at a meeting held at Pelham, December 9, 1786, and a committee of seventeen was intrusted with its execution, no less formidable than the raising and equipping of six regiments of insurgent troops. Captain Gad Sacket of Westfield was associated with Captain Day of West Springfield for raising the 2d regiment; Captain Shays of Pelham was associated with two others to gather the 4th regiment. Eleven of the seventeen officers named had seen service in the army. It is a notable fact that Springfield had no representative among these doughty champions of liberty and conquest. The conservative element there was strong and influential though many individuals sympathized and acted with the insurgents.

West Springfield, the larger community at that period, differed widely from the parent town across the river in its general spirit, largely due to the rantings and activities of Luke Day.

The covenant into which the insurgents who formally enrolled themselves entered as the basis of their organization was phrased as follows:

"We do Each one of us acknowledge our Selves to be Inlisted

into a Company Commanded by Capt. ———— & Lieut. Bullard & in Cols. Hazeltons Regiment of Regulators in Order for the Suppressing of tyrannical government in the Massachusetts State, And we do Ingage to obey Such orders as we shall Reseeve from time to time from our Superior officers, and to faithfully Serve for the term of three months from the Date in Witness hereof we have hereunto Set our names—the Conditions of Will be for a Sargt, Sixty Shillings pr Month; Copl, Fifty Shillings a Month; Privet, Forty Shillings a Month and if git the Day their will be a Consederable Bounty Ither Forty or Sixty Poonds." (History of Pelham, C. O. Parmenter, p. 373.)

Late in December Shays appeared again in Springfield, and General Shepard with his 1200 men awaiting a summons had not been ordered there to meet him. Heading a rabble of 300 armed men Shays took possession of the Court House, which was a triumph peculiarly gratifying to them in view of their thwarted attempt on a previous occasion.

The affair is thus exploited in the Hampshire Gazette of January 3, 1787, showing an unaccountable deference to the dignity and authority of the Court: "The Court of General Sessions of the Peace and the Court of Common Pleas, by the late resolve of the General Court were directed to be holden at Springfield on the 26th ult. In the morning of that day a number of armed men took possession of the ground near the Court House, with an avowed design to prevent the Justices entering the house. A committee from the insurgents waited on the Justices with a request that the courts might not be opened, and intimations given that very disagreeable consequences would follow in case of non-compliance. And sentinels were placed at the door of the room where the Justices had assembled. As no Jurors had been summoned, and no business was proposed to be done if there had been no opposition, except choosing a Clerk, and so no force had been collected or attempted to be collected to support the courts, the Justices present thought it prudent and necessary to inform the said committee that the courts would not be opened at that time. The committee requested an answer in writing; the Justices informed them if they expected a written answer, they must exhibit their request in writing; they retired and soon after produced their written request, of which the following is a copy:

Springfield Dec. 26, 1786.

We request the Hon. Judges of the Court not to open said Court at this

time, nor to do any Kind of business whatsoever, but all Kinds of business remain as though no such court had been appointed.

Luke Day.
Daniel Shays.
Thomas Grover.

To which the following was returned:

Springfield, Dec. 26, 1786.

The Justices of the Court of Common Pleas and Court of General Sessions of the Peace now assembled at Springfield, in consideration of the opposition made to the opening of said Courts, have determined not to do any business or open the said Courts this term.

Eleazer Porter

A contemporaneous comment upon this outrage is given by Samuel Lyman, a Yale graduate of 1770, an eminent lawyer of Springfield, who served in both branches of the State Legislature, and in Congress from 1795 to 1801. In writing from Springfield under date of December 27, 1786, to Samuel Breck, a merchant of Boston, he says:

The number of insurgents under arms were about three hundred and more appeared to be constantly flocking in from all quarters. Shays & Luke Day & one Grover of Montague headed this party of madmen. This expedition of theirs was conducted with as much secrecy and precaution as if it was an enterprize of the greatest magnitude and importance,—not more than one hour before these insurgents arrived in town, the Sheriff told me that he had not the least apprehension that the Court would be interrupted by them (altho he knew a number of them were then under arms in West Springfield) and so there were no steps taken to support the Court; neither did they request any support when they saw the necessity of it; but from prudential motives dispensed with that substantial aid which might have been afforded them, & complyed with the illegal & unjust demands of a pack of villains.

In a detailed estimate of the number of insurgents in each of the Hampshire towns except Springfield sent by Major Shepard to Governor Bowdoin, Westfield and Southwick have thirty-five apiece, West Springfield has sixty, and Pelham and Amherst each has fifty. The aggregate number for the county is nine hundred and seventy. General Artemas Ward's estimate for the three upper counties, Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, in a report to Governor Bowdoin, from Shrewsbury, December 16, is that they would assemble thence about fifteen hundred.

An important letter to the Governor from General Shepard affords so intelligent, careful, and detailed a survey of the situation

and a line of policy urged upon the government, as to be worthy of quotation in full:

Westfield, 17 Decemr. 1786.

Sir,—I am now to acknowledge the honor of your Excellency's letter ot the fourteenth instant by Majr Shepard just come to hand. I am aware of the policy of some persons to let the insurgents proceed, presuming that they will undeceive themselves, or precipitate with their own rashness, or that they might be reclaimed with moderate and lenient measures, and in support of such an hypothesis advance that in government as much judgement is necessary to know when to recede as in merchants when to loose, which hypothesis, altho I do not fully admit, I shall not wholly reject.

But I would beg to leave to suggest that it appears unseasonable and ill-timed to either procrastinate or introduce lenient measures untill the government have given proofs of their force and ability, otherwise clemency appears to proceed from inability or pusillanimity, and comes with an ill grace.

It now appears absolutely expedient to enforce the laws since neither the rashness of the insurgents or the mitigating steps of assembly have been productive of the tranquility that many expected.

To begin with supporting the Worcester Court, as Your Excellency mentions, it will be necessary to save the risk of blood that two thousand should march from the lower counties, I should presume, under the command of General Lincoln, whose high reputation would avail greatly in such an expedition.

From this county and Berkshire I can march one thousand; what number can be raised in Worcester County I am uncertain, but should suppose one thousand, which constitutes in all four thousand which under the command of General Lincoln would be amply sufficient to restore order and peace in a very short time. Respecting supplies I believe provisions can easily be furnished from this county, but spirits and some other articles must be sent from Boston; however, it appears that the bussiness would not require a very long time.

I shall take early opportunity to transmitt your Excellency further information and more particular plans if coercion takes place, which, should it be the case, a system for supplying the whole ought previously to be concerted, tho I can furnish provisions for the troops of my division if it is best.

I have mentioned Berkshire above, altho it may not be worth while for them to march, as I can raise one thousand in this county willing to tarry one or perhaps two months in case they should be wanted; however your Excellency will have the opinions of the Generals Lincoln, Brooks, and Cobb capable of better plan than I can be at present, especially at this distance and so little time to weigh the affair.

I am yr Excellency's most obedt hum. servant,

Wm. Shepard, Majr Genll.

His Excellency James Bowdoin.

(Massachusetts Historical Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. VI, pp. 119-20.)

The Boston Chronicle of December 27, 1786, published the following letter from Springfield relative to the exploit of Shays and his rabble:

> There is a stagnation of almost every kind of business among us by reason of the tumults which are so prevalent here. Yesterday we had another visit from the mobility; about 350 men marched in hostile array, with drums beating and took possession of the Court House, commanded by Shays, Day and Grover, in order to prevent the sitting of the court of common pleas, which by law was to have been held here at that time. This they effected as there was no opposition on the part of the government. It was not possible for the court (as they were surrounded by an armed force and a guard placed at the door of the room in which the judges were met) to proceed to do business. They therefore informed a committee who were chosen by the insurgents to wait on them that they would not attempt to open the court. After which, about dark, the insurgents left town.

The citizens of Springfield were greatly amazed by this act of the insurgents, as the authorities at Boston must have been, since no preparation had been made to forestall it. The indignation was so intense and widespread that a local organization was immediately afterward formed to resist further aggression and maintain public order.

It was while Shays had his headquarters at Worcester that his cause began to seem to him hopeless. The attempt to overthrow the government, to make revolutionary changes in the whole civil fabric, substituting for the Constitution which had been adopted a few years before an entirely different one, of just what pattern he himself had but the vaguest idea, in all probability, his lieutenants and rank and file being even more befogged than he, all that seemed more than could be accomplished by any forces which he could feel confident of commanding, and certainly beyond the reach of such as he had already mustered. His despondent attitude is indicated by the result of an interview which it is said that a confidential agent of the government secured with him.

The officer asked him, "Whether, if he had an opportunity, he would accept of a pardon, and leave his people to themselves?" It was left optional with him to answer the question or remain silent. But he promptly replied, "Yes, in a moment." The officer having reported this answer to the Governor and Council, they empowered him to assure Shays that if he would immediately leave the insurgents, retire to his home, and conduct himself in the future as a law-abiding citizen, he might be sure of pro-

tection; and in case he should be convicted he should be pardoned by the Governor and Council. But the commission thus intrusted was afterward returned, there having been found no opportunity to execute it. How different would have been the course of subsequent events had the plan succeeded!

The insurgents were in such need of arms and equipment that they naturally turned covetous eyes toward the arsenal in Springfield, for the protection of which the Continental authorities during the later Revolutionary period had maintained a guard. Fearing for the safety of the valuable munitions there stored, a correspondence was entered into by General Knox, Secretary of War, who appealed for the help of the militia.

A letter from General Shepard to him sets forth the danger of conditions then existing, and shows as well the fiery indignation against traducers and traitors which stirred his righteous soul:

Westfield, December 20, 1786.

Dear Sir, I addressed a letter to you of the 7th inst. since which time I have had information which alarms me. Our insurgents say that they have a letter in their hands, which they give out they found, subscribed by you and directed to me containing directions for me to remove the artillery arms and ammunition from the arsenal and magazine at Springfield. This or something else has given a new alarm in this town and they have sent out already expresses to every quarter.

What their intentions are I cannot determine but the report now in circulation is that they do not mean that the arms and military stores should be moved as they intend to keep them under their own command. I would be much obliged to you to give me the earliest intelligence whether you have directed any letter to me since I saw you at Springfield the 3d of October last. If you have sent any letter no doubt it has fallen into their hands, and I shall at least be able to determine whether this new devil is originated by this accident. If you have wrote none since that date I must suppose this alarm has arisen from their own consciences. You are sensible, Sir, that the insurgents are in a desperate situation, they must either carry their point or lose their lives. They have and will no doubt adopt the most desperate measures to defend and support themselves.

I am surprised that they have not seized the arsenal long before this time and erected their standard at Springfield. I cannot be answerable for those stores, situated as I am without men, money or provisions. I have spent my whole time for three months past opposing mobs and attending the General Court and sending expresses on every occasion when I found it necessary, until I have spent all my money and have no immediate prospect of receiving any reward. In addition to this I have lost eight years hard service to support the lives and property of a set of damned rascals who are daily threatening to cut my throat. I am told

they talk of retaliating on me for the captivity of Shattuck and that I am to be sent to the gaol in Great Barrington in the county of Berkshire. Till which time I have the honor to be with much esteem.

Your most obedient
humble servant
Wm. Shepard.

He has already made application to the Secretary of War for the use of such national property stored in Springfield as might be necessary to equip adequately the militia under his command, and written later to Governor Bowdoin relative to the Secretary's reply and to appeal to the state for supplies denied by the nation.

A final convention in the county was held at Hadley, January 2, 1787, but under a very illiterate president and differing widely in spirit from the long line of its predecessors. Its temper was so mild as to recommend the people to lay down their arms and depend upon the more praiseworthy procedure of seeking redress by petition. To the bolder spirits it seemed so feeble and timorous that they lampooned it in the public prints, and in one instance represented it as the "Robin Hood Club" which had died at Hadley, followed by an elaborate description of its obsequies, the whole a labored and lame attempt at scathing sarcasm.

The Governor and Council, in the absence of the legislature, having been informed of the latest exploit of Shays at Springfield, though lacking some overt features which might have marked it, were thoroughly aroused to the crisis which was upon the Commonwealth. More vigorous and decisive measures than had yet been employed were brought to the maintenance of exisiting institutions. Anarchy stalked grimly across the public domain. The fabric which had been reared at such immense cost of blood and treasure was undermined and threatened with collapse. Only the boldest and sternest policy could save it, and deliver the old Bay State from a doom that would make it a hissing and a by-word throughout the Confederacy.

It was imperative that forces of law and order, which weeks before had been ordered to complete preparations for action, should actually grapple with the great undertaking of repairing the machinery of justice and scattering the hosts which had lifted unholy and treasonable hands for its destruction.

Court was due to convene at Worcester on January 23, and there was danger that the lawless regulators would attempt to interfere with it. As Minot says, "This was to stride over the lines which the government had distinctly marked out for their

defence. It might be said to be passing the Rubicon in this contest, and to involve one or other of these consequences, that the whole constitutional powers of the Commonwealth were to be prostrated at the feet of usurpation and conquest, or that the lives and fortunes of the adventurers were to be forfeited for a treasonable attempt against their country."

It would no longer be sane and justifiable to depend on strictly local forces, civil or military, to preserve the peace and maintain governmental functions. The militia, as the ultimate dependence of the Commonwealth, must be employed in strenuous wrestle with the hosts of disorder and directed to any district that should be threatened. The Council therefore resolved that 700 men should be raised in Suffolk, 500 in Essex, 800 in Middlesex, 1,200 in Hampshire, and 1,200 in Worcester, the whole amounting to 4,400 rank and file, a formidable army in those days and circumstances. Four companies of artillery from Suffolk and Middlesex were to form a part of the force. The several contingents were to rendezvous at three different points, Boston, Worcester and Springfield, according to the districts wherein they were mustered. Major General Lincoln, who was appointed to supreme command, had two special qualifications for the responsible and delicate service demanded; he had an honorable military reputation and a mild and humane temper, in both those respects resembling his capable subordinate, General William Shepard. It was extremely fortunate that the latter was thus endowed, because upon him fell the necessity of bearing the brunt of the conflict and making the crucial decisions of the short campaign. The execution of the government program, as has been seen, required men, and men required a commissariat, for the best soldiers in the world are no better than fresh conscripts if doomed to fight on empty stomachs. Furthermore, in those days rations consisted of food and grog, as General Shepard insisted in one of his urgent dispatches.

But neither men nor rations could be supplied without money, and there was no Legislature in session to vote it. In the general impoverishment of the State and the great bulk of its citizenship then pressing, the problem of ways and means was emergent. Indeed, the question of raising funds instantly needed seemed as staggering as that of the disciples on the lake shore relative to feeding a multitude about the size of the militia force here required. The place of the resourceful Master was in this exigency

taken by some noble and broad minded citizens of Boston who, "from a conviction of the necessity of maintaining good order, and from a consideration of the exigencies of government, voluntarily offered a loan to support the publick cause."

The Commissary General and Quartermaster General were directed by the authorities to use from this loan an amount not exceeding £6000 in meeting necessary expenses. It is pleasing to be assured that the Legislature at its next session provided for the full payment of this timely loan.

While the forces of the militia were gathering, on the 12th of January, Governor Bowdoin issued an address to the people of the Commonwealth setting forth with considerable fullness existing conditions, the reasons for recent decisions, and the plans of action put into operation.

"Men of principle, the friends of justice and the constitution, were enjoined to unite, and by their union, if it should be as firm as the insurgents had been obstinate in trampling justice and the constitution under their feet, it was observed, a regular administration of law and justice would be established without the horrors of a civil war, which were ardently deprecated, and which the utmost endeavours would be used to prevent. But unless the force appeared, the greatest calamaties seemed inevitable." (Minot, Insurrections in Massachusetts, pp. 96-7.)

The decisive action of the authorities, when once thoroughly aroused to the critical state of public affairs, disturbed the insurgents and filled them with concern for the immediate future. Without relaxing military preparations, they sent a petition to the authorities at Boston, stating conditions upon which they would preserve the peace, namely, that state prisoners should be liberated, that the Courts of Common Pleas might be adjourned to the next election, and that a general pardon should be granted to all insurgents. They protested that the petition was devised and presented, not from any fear of death or penalties which might be inflicted for lawlessness, but moved solely by a desire "to prevent the cruelties and devastations of civil war." It was, of course, rejected.

Three days later, January 15, Shays and four other leaders dispatched a document to their various officers throughout Hampshire pressing them to muster their respective commands, fully armed and equipped, with ten days' rations, and that they should rendezvous near Dr. Hind's in Pelham by Friday the 19th inst.

It contained also the declaration that "the Governor and his adherents" were resolved to support the Courts "by the point of the sword" and besides "to crush the power of the people at one bold stroke, and render them incapable of ever opposing the cruel power, Tyranny, by bringing those who have steped forth to ward off the evil that threatens the people with immediate ruin, to an unconditional submission, and their leaders with an infamous punishment." (Hampshire Gazette, January 24, 1787.)

Dr. Nehemiah Hinds kept a tavern on Pelham east hill, where the insurgents were summoned to gather by the call of Shays, and there many of them were quartered before the retreat to Petersham. The tavern stood on the site of the present parsonage of the Congregational church in Prescott. The sign of the tavern contained a painting of a horse held by a groom, and was hung on a post set into the bed-rock in front of the building. The hole into which the post was set may still be seen, about six inches in diameter and two feet in depth.

Two plans were earnestly considered by the insurgent leaders, one involving a movement upon Boston for the release of Shattuck, Parker and Page from confinement there; the other an attempt to seize the arsenal at Springfield and the valuable military stores which it contained as preliminary to the attack on the Capital. It will be recalled that it was on account of the prevision of General Shepard that such a plan was frustrated in the previous occupancy of the city by the Shays mob. Meantime the General had not been unmindful of the danger to that property of the national government which at any moment might become imminent, and had secured orders for its protection from the Secretary of War.

Four days after the Shays manifesto was dispatched to his subordinates, looking forward to a concentrated movement upon Springfield, the following orders were issued to General Lincoln:

Boston, January 19, 1787.

Sir, You will take command of the militia, detached in obedience to my orders of the 4th instant. The great objects to be effected are, to protect the Judicial Courts, particularly those next to be holden in the county of Worcester, if the Justices of said courts should request your aid;—to assist the civil magistrates in executing the laws; or in repelling or apprehending all and every such person and persons, as shall in a hostile manner, attempt or enterprise the destruction, detriment or annoyance of this Commonwealth; and also to aid them in apprehending the disturbers of the publick peace, as well as all such persons as may be named in the state

warrants, that have been, or shall be committed to any civil officer or officers, or to any other person to execute. * * * On these attempts to restore system and order I wish the smiles of heaven, and that you may have an agreeable command, the most perfect success, and a speedy and safe return; and am with much esteem,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

James Bowdoin.

Hon. Major General Lincoln.

Two days later he wrote to General Shepard expressing satisfaction that he had taken possession of the arsenal with so respectable a force, and referring him to General Lincoln to learn about "supplies of beef, bread, rum, forage and fuel." He explains that the money advanced by the merchants of Boston and vicinity was to be used *solely* for supplies, not for the pay of the militia, and suggests that in case of necessity the gentlemen of fortune and ability in these parts would be equally ready to advance money for the same patriotic purpose, but he reckoned without his host as the later desperate appeals of General Shepard, based on his inability to raise either funds or rum hereabouts, show. The Governor concludes, "As to the arsenal at Springfield it is expected that you defend it at all hazards; the particular measures for that important purpose must be left with you as exigencies require."

In response to letters from General Lincoln and General Shepard to the Governor, the Council advised him to give such further orders as should enable him to apprehend all persons dangerous to the public peace and welfare, particularly in the Counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire where the disturbances were most general and the danger was most imminent.

Just at this point, immediately preceding the engagement which proved to be the crucial point of the widespread and long-continued conflict between the established order and the forces of discontent and revolt, it is natural to attempt an analysis of the elements which constituted the lawless force.

It was a strange and heterogeneous combination of diversified factors. Many people united against the government who differed widely among themselves in their attitude toward specific questions at issue and specific ends sought. The apparently intimate relationship between particular grievances rankling in many breasts, and the various courts which purported to administer justice and correct abuses, led many to wink at high-handed outrages against the duly authorized mechanism of legal procedure, who, but for the

aggrieved state of their minds at that epoch, would have abhorred such anarchistic attacks. "The discontented of every class, therefore, united at this important stage of the contest, without much attention to the difference between their several complaints, or their proposed systems of reform. Many who only wished for an alteration in the Judicial Courts were entangled with others who intended, if possible, to prevent the administration of justice in any way."

So those moderate reformers, who wished for some changes in statutes and methods which would relieve undue burdens from the backs of citizens overwhelmed with debt and incapacitated by poverty, were swept away by the tide of insurgency with the extreme radicals who demanded wholesale repudiation of financial obligations and a desperate overthrow of the very Constitution itself.

Tories who had intrigued against, insulted and exasperated the self-sacrificing patriots, now drilled shoulder to shoulder with them under Shays in Pelham and Day in West Springfield with sprigs of hemlock in their hats and bludgeons or muskets in their hands. Verily, "misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows."

"Thus," Minot concluded, "was formed a chequered but numerous body, some have supposed a third part of the Commonwealth, to aid, or at least not to contend against, the resistance made to the sitting of the courts." He estimated that another third of the population was neutral. If his conclusions were substantially correct it is readily seen that the existing state of affairs was momentously serious, demanding a large amount of wisdom and power in dealing with the menacing forces of disintegration. The times were seriously out of joint, and a skillful hand was needed to articulate them again and restore their functional utility.

On the 10th of January, 1787, warrants were issued by Governor Bowdoin to the Sheriff of Hampshire County for the arrest of the following ringleaders of the insurgents in that county, declaring "that the enlargement of the above named persons is dangerous to the Commonwealth, its peace and safety."

Captain Asa Fisk of South Brimfield, Alpheus Colton of Longmeadow, Luke Day of West Springfield, Captain Gad Sacket of Westfield, Captain Aaron Jewett of Chesterfield, Captain John Brown of Whately, Samuel Morse of Worthington, Captain Daniel Shays of Pelham, Joseph Hinds of Greenwich, Captain Joel Billings of Amherst, Obed Foot of Greenfield, Captain Abel Dinsmore of

Conway, Captain Matthew Clark of Colrain, Samuel Hill of Charlemont, Captain Thomas Grover of Montague, John Powers of Shutesbury.

Sheriff Elisha Porter announced in his report to the Governor, "Day, Colton, Clark and Brown, jailed,—the others not found." Evidently, Day at least managed to secure his freedom within the fortnight succeeding, wherever he had been incarcerated.

It is a noteworthy fact that the list of names in the schedule above corresponds exactly, name for name, with the Committee appointed some time previously to raise and organize a body of troops composed of six regiments.

Captain Gad Sacket of Westfield, included in the list, was a son of Daniel and Mary (Weller) Sacket, born April 13, 1748, and married to Lucy Williams, February 11, 1773, by whom he had eight children, six of them born before this date.

His brother, Captain Daniel Sacket, was one of the prominent citizens and patriots of the town, who had represented the town as delegate to several of the county conventions called to consider grievances. Gad served several months during 1775 in the defense of his country.

Notorious as Shays became as the chief promoter of insurgency and open rebellion, it is perplexing to study carefully his attitude toward the whole movement revealed by his replies to General Rufus Putnam as fully reported by the latter to Governor Bowdoin, January 8, 1787. They were given in Rutland, and at that time, only about a fortnight before his bold approach to the Springfield arsenal, he insisted that his earnest effort had been to restrain the insurgents from bloodshed; that his name had been signed in his absence by Grover to the order to the Justices at Springfield; that the Committee had ordered forces to march against his wishes; and that he was not nearly as prominent in the general movement as was commonly supposed. It may have been that he wished to mitigate the bitterness of the prejudice against him of the man who had been captain of the company in which he first enlisted and fought at Bunker Hill and elsewhere.

In the early part of January, General Shepard did not realize how serious the situation was to become within a fortnight. Indeed, he wrote from Northampton as late as the 12th assuring General Lincoln that two or three hundred men would be ample for the defense of the arsenal, and that he himself with the balance of his command might be spared to march to Worcester to aid in

defending the Courts there. He declared, "I can apprehend no danger of so desperate and senseless a measure as burning towns or an attack on unembodied inhabitants; and Springfield, besides containing stores of exceeding great consequence, is in the line of intelligence and perhaps of march, and has buildings to accommodate a considerable part of the men, which are to be found nowhere else in the country." He urged that rum and other spirituous liquors must be forwarded from Boston since very little of such supplies could be found in Hampshire County, and enforced the necessity of providing them by the plea that "the men cannot be kept together, especially in the season, without a daily allowance of spirituous liquors."

During the following week, on the 18th, he took possession of Springfield, and soon found how difficult, and a little later how desperate his situation was. With about 1100 men to provide for he lacked wholly or partly three essentials, money, supplies and equipment. No funds had been forwarded to him from Boston out of the amount made available by the special loan of the merchants. As already noted he was in pressing need of liquid rations, and his correspondence shows that the forces under him were not adequately provided with arms.

He tried in vain to secure a loan of £2000. On the day after taking position in Springfield he wrote to General Lincoln, "It will be very disagreeable to be defeated by such a wicked banditti when I am guarding the arms of the Union, and command for the purpose of supporting the dignity of the government, when I had no arms to defend myself even from insult."

As the crisis approached there were five different bodies of combatants under arms: General Shepard had about 1200 at Springfield; General Lincoln with some 3000 men was moving from the east toward Springfield; Shays with some 1200 men was on the march from Rutland; Eli Parsons with about 400 had come from Berkshire and taken possession of the north parish of Springfield, now Chicopee; Luke Day with about the same number of well-drilled men and boys held West Springfield under martial law. He had the presumption to arrest, examine and imprison travelers and citizens of Springfield and Longmeadow, two of whom while resisting such outrageous treatment were severely wounded. Ezra Starkwether of Worthington was held in prison two or three days. General Warham Parks and Dr. Paul Whitney of Westfield were seized in their sleighs. Day was the most

arrogant and offensive of the leaders at that time. On the 21st Shepard sent an urgent appeal to Lincoln at Worcester for a flying column to follow in the rear of Shays to harass and hinder him.

Shepard's position was truly alarming, cut off on the west by Day, on the north by Parsons, with Shays approaching from the east. A train of provisions of which he was in direct need was captured by Parsons, and he had but a five days' supply, with no chance to secure more. Lean as his own purse was, he became personally responsible for fuel and forage.

Major Levi Shepard of Northampton was his commissary and Colonel William Smith was his quartermaster, each of whom, at his wits' ends, realized that his office was no enviable sinecure. General Shepard, having had no answer from any of five dispatches sent to Lincoln, sent a final one, resolute but pathetic, saying, "If you cannot grant me any reinforcements or relief I shall try to work out my own salvation before it is too late. Shays' and Day's forces are about two thousand strong. Before to-morrow morning I expect the trial will be made to force me from this post. It is no time for delay; your operations must be quick and spirited, or they will answer no purpose. That man's party is increasing fast."

General Shepard could not change his position, since it was inexorably fixed by the arsenal which he was pledged to defend. He could simply stand his ground and await the hemming in of the three threatening forces under Shays, Day and Parsons respectively, the aggregate of which was nearly double that of his command. On the 23d Shays reached Palmer and held a council of war with his officers. Their proceedings were overheard by a friend of the government, and when the decision was reached to hasten to attack the arsenal before Lincoln could unite forces with Shepard, Lieut. Aaron Graves of Palmer hastened to inform General Lincoln of their plans.

On the 24th Shays sent a messenger to inform Luke Day at West Springfield of his intended attack on the arsenal on the 25th, and ordered him to co-operate with him on that day. For some reason the plan did not suit the captain at West Springfield, and he sent back a reply to the effect that he could not attack on the 25th but would be ready on the following day. The messenger returning with this important document was so foolish as to succumb to the allurement of a Springfield tavern which could supply

him with a glass of grog and a brief shelter from the severity of the weather. While there he excited the suspicions of some young men who were in sympathy with the government. They hospitably plied him with liquor till they could search his clothing and possess themselves of his dispatch and leaving him to sleep off the fumes of his potations, they bore it speedily to General Shepard, thus furnishing him with information of the greatest moment to both himself and Shays.

Copy of the reply sent by Day to Shays:

West Springfield, Jan. 25, 1787.

Sir—I have dispatched Capt. Walker with my resolutions. Have ordered Colo. Parsons to treat with Gen. Sheppard and in case Gen. Sheppard does not comply with the terms, shall put all the troops under my Command in motion to support my demands precisely 4 o'clock the time is prefixt. But shall not expect them to Come to Action this day.

To Capt. Shays. Luke Day.

A later letter without date from Shays:

To Genll. Shepherd or the Commanding Officer in Springfield:

Sir, I Desire you to Send my Dead and Wound men by My Flagg So that I can Burye My Dead Men and Take Care of my Wounded if not my Wounded the Dead and Names of the Wounded by Lt. Williams who is the Bearer of this Flagg.

I am yours,
Daniel Shays, Capt.

Having received no intimation of Day's decision, Shays pursued his plan, as he probably would not have done had he been in possession of the intercepted message.

The crowning act of presumption of the whole insurrection was perpetrated by Day, who evidently aspired to play the part of dictator, which indeed may have been evidenced by his cavalier reply to Shays' message. The following ultimatum was sent to General Shepard:

Head Quarters, West Springfield.
Jan. 25, 1787.

The body of the people assembled in arms, adhering to the first principles of nature, self-preservation,—do, in the most peremptory manner, demand:

1st. That the troops in Springfield lay down their arms.

2d. That their arms be deposited in the public stores, under the care of the proper officers, to be returned to the owners at the termination of the present contest.

3d. That the troops return to their homes on parole.

On the same day Shays sent a less arrogant but still presumpt-

uous document to General Lincoln wherein he proposed that the militia which he commanded should be disbanded at once, that every one who had taken any part in any act of insurgency should be indemnified in person and property until the Legislature should convene again, and be spared molestation or injury on account of any lawless action, and that all prisoners should be released without further penalty.

The very absurdity of these conditions, in view of the adequacy of Lincoln's force to deal with all the recruits which the insurgents had been able to rally to their standard, is good evidence that Shays sent the communication with no other purpose in mind than to delay the advance of General Lincoln until the rebels could have a chance to capture the arsenal. But undeceived by his knavery, and realizing the hazardous position of General Shepard, General Lincoln hurried forward and sent orders to General Brooks to march with the Middlesex militia to Springfield with all possible speed.

On the evening of the 24th Shays reached Wilbraham and billeted his troops upon the resentful inhabitants. A consultation was held by several loyal citizens, Asaph King, at that time deputy sheriff, Dr. Samuel F. Merrick, Deacon Noah Warriner, and Col. Abel King, to decide upon the best way of notifying General Shepard of the proximity of the enemy.

Holland says: "It was at last decided that the job belonged to the sheriff. On the 25th Shays moved toward Springfield, when King mounted a splendid young horse that stood stalled in his barn and started him across the fields to the 'stony hill road.' The snow, knee-deep to his horse, was covered with a crust, and he was obliged in some instances not only to break a path for his horse but to pull down or leap fences. When he came out upon the road the legs of his horse were streaming with blood. He was far ahead of Shays, and spurring on reached the arsenal in forty-five minutes from the time he left Wilbraham. From him Shepard learned all the particulars which he had not before known, and ascertained that the force of Shays was on the march." (History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. I, pp. 263-4.)

It was not, however, until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon that Shays appeared on the Boston Road.

General Shepard was prepared for Shays with all his force except a detachment posted on Main Street about where the Boston & Albany railroad now crosses it on an elevated grade, as a

defense against any possible advance of Day or Parsons.

One of the officers whom General Shepard sent to warn the approaching hordes had been an associate of Shays in the Massachusetts line. In their interview the officer claimed to be acting in defense of this country, to which Shays replied, "then we are on the same side." "We shall take very different parts, I imagine," retorted the messenger, to which Shays rejoined that "the part he should take was the hill on which the arsenal stood." To another messenger Shays boasted that he should lodge in the barracks that night. The messenger warned him that if he undertook it he would lodge either in heaven or hell, he did not know which, but he hoped it would be heaven.

The events which immediately followed are clearly described in the official report made by General Shepard to Governor Bowdoin, which is justly characterized by James Russell Trumbull as "altogether the best description of the fight that has come to hand." It is certainly the fullest and most accurate account of that decisive skirmish, showing marked ability on the part of the writer, whose school education had been interrupted so early in his life, and showing also the fine humanity and tenderness of heart of the man who had been a soldier through two long wars, which would naturally have blunted his gentler sensibilities. That humanity was still further exercised in the staying of his hand from bloodshed as soon as the decisive blow had been struck.

Springfield, January 26, 1787.

Sir—The unhappy time has come in which we have been obliged to shed blood. Shays, who was at the head of about twelve hundred men, marched yesterday afternoon about 4 o'clock toward the public buildings in battle array. He marched his men in an open column by platoons. I sent several times by one of my aids and two other gentlemen, Capts. Buffington and Woodbridge, to him to know what he was after or what he wanted. His reply was he 'wanted barracks, barracks he would have and stores.' The answer was he 'must purchase them dear if he had them.'

He still proceeded on his march until he approached within 250 yards of the arsenal. He then made a halt. I immediately sent Maj. Lyman, one of my aids, and Capt. Buffington to inform him not to march his troops any nearer the arsenal on his peril as I was stationed here by order of your excellency and the secretary-at-war for the defense of the public property; in case he did, I should surely fire on him and his men. A Mr. Wheeler who appeared to be one of Shays' aids, met Mr. Lyman after he had delivered my orders in the most peremptory manner and made answer that that was all he wanted. Shays immediately put his troops in motion and marched down rapidly near one hundred yards. I then ordered

Maj. Stevens who commanded the artillery to fire upon them; he accordingly did. The two first shot he endeavored to overshoot them in the hope they would have taken warning without firing among them, but it had no effect on them. Maj. Stevens then directed his shot through the center of the column. The fourth or fifth shot put the column into the utmost confusion. Shays made an attempt to deploy his column but in vain. We had one howit which was loaded with grapeshot, which when fired gave them great uneasiness. Had I been disposed to destroy them, I might have charged upon their rear flank with my infantry and the two field pieces and could have killed the greater part of the whole army within twenty-five minutes. There was not a single musket on either side.

I found three men dead on the spot, and one wounded who is since dead. One of our artillerymen by inattention was seriously wounded. Three muskets were taken up with the dead which were all deeply loaded. I enclose to your excellency a copy of a paper sent to me last evening.

I have received no reinforcements yet, and expect to be attacked this day by their whole force combined.

I am, sir, with great respect, your excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

Wm. Shepard.

His excellency, James Bowdoin, Esq.

(Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 190, p. 137.)

The paper to which he refers in the latter part of his report was the impudent demand of Luke Day which has been cited already.

The names of the four victims of that day's folly were Ezekiel Root of Gill, whose body was claimed by his brother Solomon on the following day; Ariel Webster of Gill, whose brother William claimed the body; John Hunter of Shelburne; and Jabez Spicer of Leyden. One more man, Jeremiah McMillen of Pelham, was wounded and missing.

An interesting incident of the attack on the arsenal concerned a small boy who afterward became a prominent citizen of Pittsfield. One of the commanders of the Hampshire militia was Major Solomon Allen of Northampton, who had important business transactions with drovers from Philadelphia. He was in that city when the critical condition of affairs in this region rendered it imperative for him to hasten home to attend to his military duties. His eight-year-old son was with him, and they reached Springfield in time to take part in the action against Shays. During the encounter, the little lad, made conspicuous by his suit of red broadcloth, sat upon a horse in the rear of the government troops. Greatly excited by the firing of the cannon, the youngster rose in his stirrups, and in his childish treble shouted out a hearty cheer,

which so delighted the troops that they took it up with prolonged shouts of loyalty for their cause and admiration for their youthful ally. In mature life he was Hon. Phinehas Allen, the founder of The Pittsfield Sun.

The routed insurgents pressed helter-skelter forward until they reached Ludlow, about ten miles distant, and on the following day affected a junction with the force under Eli Parsons at Chicopee.

A personal impression of the affair at Springfield is given by Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap in a letter to Ebenezer Hazard, written at Boston, February 2, 1787, a week after the attack upon the arsenal:

"Now for politicks. The interposition of divine Providence in favour of the Continental Arsenal at Springfield is worthy of notice. You will see by the papers how the force of the insurgents was divided. *Shays* had written to *Day* that he would make an attack on *Shepard* Thursday P. M., at 4 o'clock, on one side, and desired him to attack at the same moment on the opposite side. Their united force was superior to Shepard, and by dividing his attention they might have succeeded by a *coup de main.* Day wrote an answer that he should not be ready for the attack till Friday, but would then commence it at the same hour P. M. This letter of Day's was intercepted and brought to Shepard. Shays advanced at the time *he* had appointed, expecting a co-operation, but found the whole force of Shepard directed against him alone, and retreated.

"When Lincoln's troops were crossing Connecticut River to West Springfield, the sheriff *read the Riot Act.* Whether the insurgent guard on the shore *heard* this animating lecture, is uncertain, but on *sight* of two pieces of the *ratio ultima* they took to their heels.

"The two armies, by the last account, were within ten miles, *sending messages.* I suspect that Lincoln is too much fettered by his instructions. The General Court are now coming together, and, if they do not increase his embarrassment, it will be well. They ought to *declare,* what everybody knows to be a fact, that a rebellion exists, and then to 'let loose the dogs of war,' who, from the animation they have already discovered, will soon seize and worry those ravening wolves. This expedition is supported by a loan to Government from the merchants of Boston and the other sea-ports. £5000 was subscribed here in about a week. From your former connexion at Jamaica Plain, I think you must know John Typer; he is adjutant-general under Lincoln, and led the van

at West Springfield meeting house. He advanced within pistol-shot of the enemy before they gave way. I hear he had made prize of Luke Day's sleigh and pair of horses. These insurgents appear to be governed by an enthusiastic frenzy. They intended to arm and equip themselves out of the Continental magazine, to subsist by plundering the country, and to pay themselves out of the Boston Bank. Was there ever a scheme so romantic? Is not their attack on the arsenal a declaration of war against the United States, and, ought not Congress to take them in hand, if this Government should fail of its duty? They appear to be far more dangerous than the Ohio Indians, against whom the United States are sending a force. Let us have peace at home before we engage in war abroad!" (Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. II, Fifth Series, Belknap Papers, Part I, pp. 453-4.)

In this account there will be noticed several important and interesting details not included in any other which has been cited.

There are three muster rolls preserved at the State House of Captain James Taylor's company of the third regiment in the fourth division of militia, called out from Westfield at different times by General Shepard. The first was for a service of four days "for the support of Government at Springfield, September 26, 1786."

James Taylor, Captain; Moses Dewey, Lieut.; Benjamin Dewey, Lieut.; Pliny Moseley, Lieut.; Frederick Fowler, Sergt.; Ruggles Winchell, Sergt.; Moses Drake, Silas King, David Moseley, William Moseley, John Moseley, Gad Palmer, Charles Shepard, Levi Streeter, Jedediah Taylor, and Benjamin Winchell, Privates.

The second includes those who were raised for the defense of the arsenal. They were mustered in January 18, 1787. The first four officers on the list served 23 days, and most of the remaining officers and privates served 21 days.

James Taylor, Captain; Benjamin Dewey, Lieut.; Pliny Mosely, Lieut.; John Campbell, Lieut.; Daniel Green, Sergt.; Frederick Fowler, Sergt.; Ruggles Winchell, Sergt.; Simon Smith, Sergt.; Ashbel Eazer, Sergt.; Silas King, Corp.; Noah Loomis, Corp.; Daniel Lee, Corp.; Peter Harwood, Drum Major; Eli McEntire, Fifer; Moses Allen, Luis Attleton, Benjamin Barber, Ebenezer Baldwin, Enoch Bush, Edward Bush, Joshua Brooks, Stephen Bartlet, William Brown, Warham Cooley, Elias Dewey, William Day, Titus Ely, Horrace Ely, Medad Fowler, Joseph Freeland, Chancy Hitchcock, Elijah Harmon, Martin Holcomb, Reuben Har-

rison, Warrin Huntly, John Ives, David Lord, Isaac Lyman, David Moseley, Medis Morgan, Elisha Prentice, Abraham Story, Charles Shepard, Isaac Smith, John Stiles, Levy Atwater, Roger Savage, Gideon Shepard, Simon Stiles, Solomon Stephens, Jedediah Taylor, Samuel Tiffany, Aaron Wharfield, and Justis Winchel, Privates.

This was sworn to, May 22, 1787, by James Taylor, Captain, before David Moseley, Justice of the Peace, the whole bill thus rendered amounting to £86.0.5, for the fifty-four officers and men. The pay of a Captain was £8 per month, that of a private just one quarter of that amount.

The third muster roll covers a service of three days from Westfield to Great Barrington, dated March 25, 1787:

James Taylor, Captain; Zecariah Bush, Lieut.; John Phelps, Israel Ashley, Silas King, William Ashley, Russell Atwater, and Joseph Tinker, Privates.

It was sworn to by Captain Taylor, December 12, 1787, before William Shepard, Justice of the Peace. There are a few other Westfield names scattered among several muster rolls. Insurgency and loyalty thus wrestled for supremacy among the citizens of Westfield.

A pay roll of the General and Staff Officers of the 4th Division from August, 1786, to March, 1787, shows that up to that time General Shepard had served 96 days, his pay being a pound a day. It seems most probable that he was in the field enough longer to make his continuous service at that time cover nearly a whole year.

In a detailed account of expenses of "Military Expedition to Worcester in January 1787" many interesting items appear: "6 bbls. New England rum £22. 3 bbls Brandy, £15.2.2. 9 bbls. Rum, £30.3.5. 20 bbls. flour, £37.10. 2800 lbs. fresh beef, £35. 6 bbls. N. E. Rum, £18.14. David Devens bill for flanil &c £2.14.11. 90 bbls. Rum, £290.3.4. I Cask of Wine for General Lincoln's use supplied at Worcester, £9. Daniel Vose for I Rheam paper to make cartridges for cannon, £2.8. Jona. Edwards for purchasing rum to wash his wound which he rec'd at N. Hampton, 4s.4d. Sundries supplied the General & his family £5.0.9. Sarah Snow for the board of Jona. Edwards & his attendant James Locke, £1.16.0. Major Gen. Shepard, £32.2.7. Gen. Shepard (for Doc. Mather), £3.15.4."

The account runs from January 10, 1787, to March 18, 1789, the final settlement of claims not having been made until then. The

aggregate amount of bills paid is £8273. The Commissary's account for January, February and March totals: "Bread, 200,432 lbs. Beef, 235,331¼ lbs. Pork, 23,509 lbs. Rum & Brandy, 6,211¾ gals. Beans & pease, 707¾ lbs. Potatoes, 648 bush. Candles, 892 lbs. Soap, 731 lbs."

Russell Dewey served four months, February 22 to June 24, 1787, as Lieutenant in Captain Azariah Alvord's Company, Col. Ezra Bedlam's Regiment.

What effect on Luke Day and his troops was produced by the booming of the cannon on the hill about a mile and a half distant in a straight line across the river, is not recorded. It certainly did not arouse him to investigate its meaning, and by the time reports of what had occurred reached him they must have included news of the precipitate retreat of Shays and his demoralized battalions, rendering impossible any co-operation of the two leaders at that juncture.

The position of General Shepard, though for the time relieved, seemed to him by no means freed from peril. The aggregate of the insurgent forces was reduced by the loss of less than a half dozen men who had fallen in the skirmish, and there were ample grounds for the expectation that in spite of the fiasco of that late afternoon an attack might be made on the next day by the combined force of the insurgents which was still about double his own. General Lincoln was yet a day's march away, leaving the enemy ample opportunity to attempt to retrieve the disaster of the 25th. But for some reason that attempt was not made. General Lincoln finally arrived to relieve the situation on the 27th. "Four regiments, three companies of artillery, a corps of horse and a volunteer corps appeared on that day at noon, and the remainder in the evening. The enemy were found posted as we have described, and Day had placed guards at the ferry house, and at the bridge over Agawam river, so that all communication from the north and west, by the naval routes, was cut off."

General Lincoln felt the necessity of hasty action, and leaving his troops scant time for rest he ordered them forward on the same afternoon, four regiments with four fieldpieces crossing the river upon the ice while the Hampshire forces under General Shepard were sent up the river on the east side to prevent a junction between Shays on that side and Day on the other. The troop of light horse was sent up the river on the ice. Why the larger of the two bodies was ordered across the river, where the enemy had

far fewer contestants than the combined force of Shays and Parsons, is explained in General Lincoln's official report to have been due to his purpose to so overawe Day by a vastly superior force as to frighten him to submission without bloodshed, realizing that defensive action would be hopeless.

As the government troops advanced across the ice the guard at the ferry house retreated, and after a slight show of resistance fled with their comrades to Northampton, a few of them having been taken prisoners by the light horse. So feverish was their stampede that, according to Holland, they left their bread and their pork and beans baking in the ovens of the inhabitants and fled by way of Southampton to Northampton, often casting away all impediments to their progress and strewing their path with muskets, knapsacks, and ammunition.

Shays having learned of the rout of Day's forces retreated before General Shepard through South Hadley to Amherst, losing an adjutant who was shot through the blunder of his men, supposing that their own rear guard was the van of Lincoln's army. They foraged for food among the inhabitants as they hurried onward. From the house of Major Goodman in South Hadley they took two barrels of rum, sundry articles of furniture and bed clothing, besides breaking windows. It really seems like an act of poetic justice upon the Major for withholding such an ample supply of rum from General Shepard's troop while parched before the arsenal a few days earlier. Other houses also were looted by the desperadoes.

With this complete collapse of the organized rebellion, conditions became so favorable to the government as to justify the dissolution of the body of Middlesex militia, which to the number of 2000 had marched into Worcester county on the way to reinforce the governmental troops in Hampshire.

The advance of General Shepard, which had begun at two o'clock in the morning, General Lincoln having joined him later in the day, was continued until, arriving in Amherst, it was found that Shays had pushed on to Pelham, whither Day had preceded him, passing over from Northampton with numbers reduced from 400 to 240 men. Information reached General Lincoln at Amherst to the effect that ten sleighloads of provisions from Berkshire had also pressed on to Pelham for the use of the insurgents. Having interdicted any further supply from Amherst, General Lincoln retired to Hadley to secure shelter and rest for his troops. On the morn-

ing after reaching there word was brought to him that some of General Shepard's men had been captured at Southampton and that a considerable force of the enemy was in control there. Colonel Baldwin with the Brookfield volunteers to the number of fifty, in sleighs, with a hundred horsemen under Colonel Crafts, were dispatched thither to find that the insurgents numbering about eighty had gone westward in ten sleighs. They were followed to Middlefield where they were quartered for the night. The pursuing party reached there about midnight and fifty-nine of the rebels, with one Ludington their captain and ten sleighloads of provisions, were captured. The conquerors returned next day, with the proceeds of their successful venture, to the army at Hadley.

The following letter was sent from Hadley on January 30, 1787, by General Lincoln, to Captain Shays and the officers commanding the men in arms against the government of the Commonwealth:

> Whether you are convinced or not of your error in flying to arms, I am fully persuaded that before this hour, you must have the fullest conviction upon your own minds, that you are not able to execute your original purposes.
>
> Your resources are few, your force is inconsiderable, and hourly decreasing from the disaffection of your men; you are in a post where you have neither cover nor supplies, and in a situation in which you can neither give aid to your friends, nor discomfort to the supporters of good order and government,—
>
> Under these circumstances you cannot hesitate a moment to disband your deluded followers. If you should not, I must approach and apprehend the most influential characters among you. Should you attempt to fire upon the troops of government, the consequences must be fatal to many of your men, the least guilty. To prevent bloodshed, you will communicate to your privates, that if they will instantly lay down their arms, surrender themselves to government, and take and subscribe the oath of allegiance to this Commonwealth, they shall be recommended to the General Court for mercy. If you should either withhold this information from them, or suffer your people to fire upon our approach, you must be answerable for all the ills which may exist in consequence thereof.

Shays sent the following reply on the same day:

> Pelham, January 30th, 1787.
>
> To General Lincoln commanding the government troops at Hadley—
>
> Sir. The people assembled in arms from the counties of Middlesex, Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, taking into serious consideration the purport of the flag just received, return for answer, that however unjustifiable the measures may be which the people have adopted, in having recourse to arms, various circumstances have induced them thereto. We are sensible of the embarrassments the people are under; but that virtue

which truly characterizes the citizens of a republican government, hath hitherto marked our paths with a degree of innocence; and we wish and trust it will still be the case. At the same time the people are willing to lay down their arms, on condition of a general pardon, and will return to their homes, as they are unwilling to stain the land, which we in the late war purchased at so dear a rate, with the blood of our brethren and neighbors. Theerfore, we pray that hostilities may cease, on your part, until our united prayers may be presented to the General Court, and we receive an answer, as a person is gone for that purpose. If this request may be complied with, government shall meet with no interruption from the people, but let each army occupy the post where they now are.

Daniel Shays, Captain.

(Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 190, p. 335.)

The next day three of the insurgent leaders delivered the following letter at headquarters:

The Honorable General Lincoln—

Sir. As the officers of the people now convened in defence of their rights and privileges, have sent a petition to the General Court, for the sole purpose of accommodating our present affairs, we justly expect that hostilities may cease on both sides, until we have a return from our Legislature. Your Honor will therefore be pleased to give us an answer.

Per order of the committee for reconciliation—

Francis Stone, Chairman.
Daniel Shays, Captain.
Adam Wheeler.

Pelham, January 31, 1787.

The following brief and trenchant reply was made:

Hadley, January 31st, 1787.

Gentlemen: Your request is totally inadmissible, as no powers are delegated to me which would justify a delay of my operation. Hostilities I have not commenced.

I have again to warn the people in arms against government, immediately to disband, as they would avoid the ill consequences which may ensue, should they be inattentive to this caution.

B. Lincoln.

To Francis Stone,
Daniel Shays,
Adam Wheeler.

In forwarding to the Governor copies respectively of his letter to Shays dated Hadley, January 30, 1787, and Shays' reply, General Lincoln sent also the following letter:

Head Quarters Hadley, Jan. 30th, 1787.

Dear Sir—Soon after closing my last, I received information that Shays was at Amherst; we moved about two o'clock on Monday morning in

hopes that we should overtake him there sometime in the day;—a little after noon we arrived in that town, but not till Shays had retired from it to Pelham, a very strong mountainous country, we then fled off to the left, and took post here & in Hatfield.

The inclosed paper No. 1 is a copy of my observations forwarded to Shays this morning by General Putnam, Mr. Cabot & Mr. Cushing, the paper No. 2, is his answer which came to hand about 8 o'clock this evening. I have had many applications from towns pretty much in the language of those which have been made to your Excellency & Council; I have given them all the same answer, that I cannot suspend any operations, & if they wish to prevent the shedding of blood, they must apply to Shays to disband his troops.

He is receiving daily supplies of provision, & some few recruits, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to put an end to such disorders, unless a rebellion is declared to exist. Shays & his abettors, must be treated as open enemies, the sooner it is done the better. For if we drive him from one strong post to another, he could not be supported in those movements, if he was not comforted by the many disaffected in these counties.

I hope the General Court will not hesitate, but come to the point at once, & act with that decision, & firmness which in my opinion, a regard to the well-being of the State so manifestly demands.

In a postscript he requests that a few copies of the rules for governing the militia in the field, and a copy of the Constitution, might be forwarded to him.

The disturbance in Berkshire county became so grievous that a force of three hundred men under General John Patterson at Stockbridge on the 29th of January gathered in eighty-four prisoners and still felt obliged to send to General Lincoln for reinforcements, reporting that the "deportment of the Faction in this county against government had induced a kind of frenzy." Three days later, in Hadley, there was an outbreak of lawlessness among General Lincoln's troops and seven of them were sentenced by court-martial to march before the army on parade bearing on their breasts placards on which was printed in capital letters FOR PLUNDERING, their crime having been looting the houses of private citizens.

Nor were conditions in Springfield as secure as could have been desired. Colonel Burt warned General Lincoln that it would not be safe to withdraw the light horse from there, since both east and west of the town there was bitter animosity against the government. He had discovered that a hundred and twenty armed insurgents were seen on the road between Southwick and Westfield. He found it hard to hold the soldiers at Springfield, since they were impatient to return to their homes. He says, "It is

very difficult for me to obtain men who I can confide in to bring & carry Intelligence & horse who will parole Roads."

A Baptist Church was formed in New Salem in January, 1722. It gradually increased until 1785, when it had 38 members. In the winter of 1787 the insurgents marched into the region and on to Petersham. Rev. Samuel Bigelow, the pastor, wrote to a friend August 31, 1787; "Church travel and ordinances have ceased here ever since the people took up arms against government; though at present we are better united as to public worship. There is a general good agreement between me and the body of the people about worship. I have said but little about the family quarrel that has been in this Commonwealth the year past; but what I have said has been to condemn both sides. I think the political fathers have provoked their children to wrath, and by oppression wise men have been mad, and the children have been unruly and rebellious." (Backus History of the Baptists, Vol. II, p. 470.)

The disorderly stampede to the northward of the several bodies of the enemy so changed the aspect of affairs that it seemed perfectly safe to discharge 2000 of the militia, but when Shays made his stand at Pelham it seemed necessary to increase again the government force though the action was soon afterward proved to be unwarranted. The Governor therefore called out 2600 of the militia of the middle counties. It was really impossible to forecast just what power of resistance the insurgents might develop or where their hostility would become violent. It was better to have ample forces in the field if actually needed than to have to await their mobilization after depredations had been committed.

Shays, however, did not tarry long at Pelham, but short as was his stay it was utilized as a chance to frame and dispatch a petition quite admirable in its phrasing but lacking the ring of sincerity and making preposterous demands.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

To the Honourable the SENATE, and the Honourable House of REPRESENTATIVES, in General Court at their next Session.

A PETITION of the OFFICERS of the Counties of Worcester, Hampshire, Middlesex and Berkshire, now at arms.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners being sensible that we have been in an error, in having recourse to arms, and not seeking redress in a constitutional way; we therefore heartily pray your honours, to overlook our failing, in respect to our rising in arms, as your houours must be sensible, we had

great cause of uneasiness, as will appear by your redressing many grievances, the last session; yet we declare, that it is our hearts' desire, that good government may be kept up in a constitutional way; and as it appears to us, that the time is near approaching, when much human blood will be spilt, unless a reconciliation can immediately take place, which same strikes us with horror, let the foundation cause be where it may;

We therefore solemnly promise, that we will lay down our arms, and repair to our respective homes, in a peaceable and quiet manner, and so remain, provided your honours will grant to your petitioners, and all those of our brethren who have had recourse to arms, or otherwise aided or assisted in our cause, a general pardon for their past offences;—All which we humbly submit to the wisdom, candour and benevolence of your honours, as we in duty bound shall ever pray.

Francis Stone, Chairman of the Committee
for the above counties.

Read and accepted by the officers.
Pelham, January 30, 1787.

That was the document to which reference was made in the communication borne by three officers to General Lincoln on Jan. 31 as noted above. Owing to the disturbed condition of affairs, the Legislature, which should have convened on Jan. 31, did not hold its first formal session until Feb. 3.

In his speech at the opening of Court, Governor Bowdoin rehearsed with considerable elaboration recent public events and existing conditions, emphasized the fact that he had sought faithfully to conform to the resolution of the Court of Oct. 24 preceding, which urged him to persevere in his attempts to restore and preserve order in the Commonwealth, and suggested that further means might be employed to discriminate between good citizens and insurgents, "the former as their country's friends to be protected; and the latter as public enemies, and to be effectually suppressed," and insisted that at such a time every man ought to show his colors, take his stand and not vibrate from one side to the other.

The spirit of that session differed widely from that of the body which had met during the preceding autumn. There was no weakness or shilly-shallying in its course relative to the insurgents arrayed against law and order. "Vigor, decision and energy" marked its proceedings. The Senate passed promptly a declaration of rebellion, and the lower House concurred therein. At the same time the clemency and forbearance of General Lincoln toward the rank and file of the hostile forces were warmly approved, while approving also of the positive action of the Governor in dealing with the malcontents, and of the spirited conduct of General Shep-

ard in defending the arsenal and maintaining the authority of the Commonwealth, in a resolve quoted in a previous chapter.

And when, after mature consideration of the petition from Pelham, an answer to it was framed, there was no mincing of matters, or delicate diplomacy on the part of the General Court, with a view either to conciliate the armed rebels or to spare their feelings. It was voted that the petition "cannot be sustained" and seven cogent reasons for such action were urged. Among the reasons cited were the attempt of the petitioners to justify themselves, in part at least; the threat of great effusion of blood in case their plea should not be granted immediately; their avowed purpose of continuing armed resistance to the government unless all who had been in any way concerned with them should be pardoned unconditionally; and finally the fact that so many falsehoods had marked their previous negotiations as to bring under suspicion any promises then proposed.

This reply was not formulated until Feb. 8, and without waiting for a revelation of its character, Shays, on the very day that saw the Legislature convene, withdrew his forces from Pelham and led them across the hills to Petersham, where it was possible to secure better shelter and more ample supplies for his troops. General Lincoln having heard of the movement at noon of that day, and supposing that it was merely a shifting of camp from one hill to another in Pelham, still being on the alert for anything more serious on the part of the enemy, immediately ordered his army to prepare provisions for three days and to be ready to march at a moment's notice. More definite reports reached him at six o'clock, and two hours later he had his whole command on the move. The conditions, unfavorable at the start, soon became serious, and after reaching New Salem at two o'clock the next morning they became terrible. The cold had been extreme, and the march over the bleak hills had been exhausting, but from then on it was pursued in the teeth of a blinding snowstorm which rendered their progress almost impossible with cannon to be forced through deepening snowdrifts. There was practically no shelter, and the men could not stop to bivouac even long enough to take needed food and rest. They had no recourse but to keep plodding on amid increasing difficulties and hardships. Their only alternative was to drop perishing by the roadside; even as it was, General Lincoln reports, "the greater part of our men were frozen in some part or other."

The insurgents, snugly quartered beneath the roofs of Petersham, had apparent reason for complacency over the distance separating them from their opponents. When at nine o'clock that morning word was brought to Shays that the advanced guard of light horse had entered the town, no surprise could have been more complete and incredible, since he had no reason to doubt that the government forces were resting comfortably in Hadley and would not move thence for several days. He and the bulk of his followers had only time to snatch their arms and some scant provisions before beginning a wild stampede along back roads toward Athol. General Lincoln in his official report says, after describing some of their hardships: "We approached this town nearly in the center where Shays had covered his men; and had we not been prevented by the steepness of the hill and the depth of the snow, from throwing our men rapidly into it, we should have arrested very probably one half of his force, for they were so nearly surprised as it was, that they had no time to call in their own parties or even their guards. About 150 fell into our hands, and some escaped but by the most precipitate flight in different directions; but most of their men fled to Athol."

Many of them sought their several homes. The privates who were captured after having been disarmed and taken the oath of allegiance were allowed to depart whither they would.

When all the conditions of that movement through the cold, the storm and the night, over thirty miles of snow-laden paths, are considered, it does not seem strange that an able historian has characterized it as "one of the most indefatigable marches that ever was performed in America."

That heroic effort scattered the forces of Shays permanently; they never reformed under his leadership. Three days later at Winchester, Vermont, only three hundred out of those two thousand followers attended him.

From this time forward, the conditions of the conflict were changed, no considerable number of rebels having united in any formidable resistance to the government forces. They acted in scattered bands at various points, committing petty depredations, disturbing, and in some cases making captives of, loyal citizens, and making themselves generally pestiferous in various communities. The primary task of the government was, therefore, to limit, and as far as possible to prevent, such lawless proceedings. A secondary task, more delicate and hardly less difficult, was to deal

wisely but effectively with those insurgents who had been captured, as well as to devise politic measures of treating with those who still eluded arrest. It would not have been safe for the authorities to inflict upon offenders, even such as had been ringleaders in the rebellion, penalties more severe than the sentiment of the better part of the public would have approved. There was still widespread hostility to the government and its regular methods of administering affairs, and it was essential to pursue a policy which would not intensify into bitterness and hatred the prejudices of moderate opponents who were demanding, not the overthrow of the government and the Constitution, but simply various reforms which might ameliorate hard conditions under which multitudes of worthy citizens smarted. The whole question of disfranchising citizens of the Commonwealth was a new one, full of perplexities and complications. It was not until Feb. 16th that a decision was finally reached by the Legislature, and in view of the fact that it related to political criminals, who had been in armed and organized rebellion against the authority of the sovereign state, its terms were less drastic than might have been expected. That decision was actually based on the broadest and most enlightened grounds of public policy, encouraging wrongdoers to cease from their hostility and deterring malcontents who had not yet formally leagued themselves with the rebels from making their opposition open and violent.

The terms of indemnity finally offered to non-commissioned officers and privates were that they should lay down their arms, take the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth, and keep the peace for three years, during which period they should be debarred from serving as jurors, holding any town or government office; neither should they be allowed to engage in the occupation of schoolmasters, innkeepers, or retailers of spirituous liquors, or to vote for any civil or military officer within the Commonwealth. Authority was delegated to the Governor to absolve from any or all of these restrictions such privates as had, after bearing arms against the government, taken up arms in its support previously to Feb. 1; and such as had, within three days after its promulgation, voluntarily laid down their arms and taken the oath of allegiance in response to the proposals of General Lincoln dated Jan. 30 and 31.

It was in response to this Legislative Resolve that seventeen Westfield insurgents took action as shown by the following docu-

ment, recorded on a loose sheet in the town archives:

A List of the Names of the Several Persons who have taken & subscribed the Oath of allegiance & fidelity belonging to the Town of Westfield—

Gad Kellogg, Zebadiah Williams, Jacob Noble Junr., Nahamiah Carter Junr., Ichabod Lee, Ezra Clap & ——— Gun, Stephen Lee, Ebenezr Williams Junr., Thomas Williams returned his Gun, Naboth Williams returned his Gun, Army Mein, John White, Nehimiah Carter, John Loomis returned two Guns, William Carter returned Gun, Eager Noble returned Gun, Benjamin Bewell returned Gun.

Westfield, March 26th, 1787.

Coram S. Mather, Just. Pacis.

To the Town Clerk of Westfield.

The exceptions to the act of indemnity included several classes which it is important to note. Such as had taken up arms without having been citizens of the State; such as had been members of any General Court of the State, or of any State or County Convention, or had held any commissioned office, civil or military; such as had taken up arms again after having laid them down and taken the oath of allegiance; such as had wounded or even fired upon any citizen of the Commonwealth; such as had acted on committees or as advisers or counselors of the rebels; such as in former years had been in arms against the government as officers and later had been pardoned. This last provision was aimed at the Tory element in the rebel forces, though how considerable it actually was we have no means af ascertaining.

This list, quoted above, does not include all the insurgents of the town, though there are no data for the completion of the roll. Gad Sacket's name does not appear, neither does that of Killum whom General Shepard specifies as one of the most notorious offenders. Of the seventeen persons enumerated it is noteworthy that only five of them had served as Revolutionary soldiers: Gad Kellogg, Jacob Noble, Junior, Army Mein, John Loomis, and William Carter, to whom must be added Gad Sacket and Richard Nimocks.

That the former, though proscribed, was not the most culpable of the town's rebels in the estimation of its Major General is evident from an appeal which General Shepard sent to Governor Bowdoin from Northampton, Feb. 21, 1878:

"Sir,—Gad Sacket of Westfield has desired liberty to surrender himself, if he may be admitted to bail. He was appointed one of the committee to organize the militia under Shays, but never knew

of his appointment till after he joined him in the course of hostilities. As Noble and Killum of that town, who acted as his lieutenants, and have in my opinion discovered more malevolent dispositions and more active conduct than this man, you will allow me to intercede that he might be encouraged to surrender himself on that condition, as he had a chargeable family, which is supported by his industry, and the town will be burthened with their support if he is committed. We have some privates in Westfield who are more criminal than Sacket, particularly Ezra Clap and Richard Nimocks, who ought I think to be apprehended."

He proceeds with an account of the experience of Captain Buffington, who went with twenty horsemen to Brattleboro to make some arrests of fugitive insurgents, and though officially supported by the magistrate, met with such opposition, insult and threats of capture and detention by a rabble, some seventy of whom were armed, that he had to return empty handed.

General Shepard also suggests that the Governor should make an immediate example of Parmenter who had killed Walker in Bernardston, and his soldiers who had aimed at the government party but misfired. He also reports the appointment of Mr. Samuel Mather, Jr., as his aid de camp, in place of Major Lyman who had been appointed Lieutenant Colonel. Captain Buffington's own report of his expedition to Brattleboro to apprehend Luke and Elijah Day is given with ample details and includes an additional report of the Bernardston affair.

On Feb. 15 a warrant was issued for the arrest and commitment "to any Gaol or other safe place within this Commonwealth" of Samuel Noble and Thomas Killum of Westfield.

Copy of Parole given by Shays to a number of those whom he had made prisoners:

> We the subscribers, inhabitants of said county of Hampshire, do upon the parole of honour solemnly engage and declare, that we will not in future take an active part in favour of government against the people who stile themselves Regulators, either by bearing arms, aiding and assisting with provisions, or giving intelligence, or by counsel, or any way, directly or indirectly, to aid or assist the government troops, or adherence for and during this termination of the present contest between said Government and the Regulators. In witness whereof, we have voluntarily set our names, this 30th day of January 1787, at head-quarters, Pelham.
>
> N. B. If any exchange of prisoners should take place, and the under named are exchanged, they are no longer holden by virtue of this paper. (Hampshire Gazette, Feb. 7, 1787.)

The following Proclamation ordering the arrest of the ringleaders of the Insurrection was issued Feb. 9:

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
By his Excellency James Bowdoin, Esq., Governour of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—
A Proclamation—

Whereas the General Court of this Commonwealth did, on the fourth of February instant, declare, that a horrid and unnatural Rebellion and War had been openly and traitorously raised and lined against this Commonwealth, with a design to subvert and overthrow the Constitution and form of Government thereof—and Whereas it appears that Daniel Shays of Pelham, and Luke Day of Westspringfield, in the County of Hampshire, Adam Wheeler of Hubbardston in the County of Worcester, and Eli Parsons of Adams in the County of Berkshire, have been the Principals in, and Abettors and supporters of this unnatural, unprovoked and wicked Rebellion against the dignity, authority and Government of the said Commonwealth—

I have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of the Council, and at the desire of the General Court, to issue this Proclamation: hereby requiring all Judges, Justices, Sherifs, Grand Jurors, Constables and other Officers, civil and military, and also recommending it to all other good Subjects within this Commonwealth to use their utmost endeavours, for discovering and apprehending the said Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler and Eli Parsons and them to deliver to the high Sherif of the County of Suffolk, that so they, or either of them, may be rendered to Justice; and for the Encouragement of such persons as shall apprehend the said Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler and Eli Parsons, or either of them and deliver them to the Sherif as aforesaid,—It is hereby declared that he or they shall be entitled to receive out of the public treasury for that service a Reward of one hundred and fifty pounds for Daniel Shays, and one hundred pounds each for Luke Day, Adam Wheeler and Eli Parsons—and all persons whatsoever are strictly commanded not to harbour, entertain or conceal the said Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler or Eli Parsons as they will answer the contrary at their Peril and avoid the Penalties in this case by Law provided.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston this Ninth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, and in the Eleventh year of the United States of America.

James Bowdoin.

By his Excellency's Command,
John Avery, jun. Secretary.

(Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 189, pp. 121-2.)

The action taken respectively by various towns incident to the discomfiture of Shays and the disbandment of his forces, is interesting as evidence of the diverse attitudes of near neighbors toward the rebellion. Shays had swept down through the town of Granby in the flush of his unholy ambition to defy the government forces

and appropriate, for an extended campaign of license, the national munitions stored in Springfield. He had hurried back across its territory, not a conqueror, and not an abject fugitive, which he was to become so soon. A town meeting held there passed resolutions appealing to General Lincoln to restrain pursuit and "prevent awful destruction of Mankind."

A petition from Leverett to Lincoln and Shepard was similar in its tenor, deploring the fact that some, by "a misguided Zeal have fermented, and Kindles Coles of strife the flame of which has slain a Number,," hoping for the "interposition of Heaven," and the smile of the "God of Sabboath," upon means employed to restore peace. Colrain petitioned Lincoln for clemency, "a most daring attribute when connected with Power and Legal authority," "to insure against cuting off the members of the natural body." The selectmen of Williamstown, with fine judicial discrimination between the respective claims of the contending parties, sent resolutions which on the one hand recognized the necessity and importance of the government, and on the other "the equal importance" of attempting the "Redress of all Grievances of the People."

The appeal to Lincoln of Conway is peculiarly significant, since the town was a hotbed of sedition and defiance. It depicted the results of the civil war in the region as having thrown the people "into a State Little short of that where the offenders against the Majesty of Heaven are Doomed to suffer according to their crimes," and he is asked to lift his "eyes up to him who in the Heaven beholding the Follies of men overlooks their Crimes and bestows his Favours on the most undeserving."

Green secured the above citations for his History of Springfield from papers cherished by the family of General Lincoln, and adds a protest of the redoubtable commander himself against what seemed to him the excessive severity of the Legislature in dealing with the insurgents.

When the question of pardon for the rebels was under consideration, Samuel Adams, then President of the Senate, opposed it very strenuously, one of his pleas having been that "in monarchies the crime of treason and rebellion may admit of being pardoned or lightly punished; but the man who dares to rebel against the laws of a republic ought to die." Just before the capture of Shays Adams proposed in the Senate that Congress should be informed of the condition of affairs so as to secure help from the Confederation if necessary, but the lower House, through the influence of

western members tinctured with insurgency, defeated the measure, using the incredible argument that it was incompatible with the dignity of Massachusetts to allow United States troops to set foot upon her soil. Congress, alarmed at the condition of affairs, had in October preceding called upon the States for a Continental force, but not daring to declare its true purpose said it was for service against the Indians.

The remarkably moderate action on the part of the federal authorities, as we must consider it, was not reached without stemming a tide of determined opposition from various quarters. Petitions poured in from more than a score of towns in favor of the liberation, without further penalty, of all the State prisoners, and some of them went so far as to appeal for the immediate recall and dismissal of the State troops for the purpose of preventing further bloodshed. But the absurdity of that latter plea was immediately emphasized, for while the general question of policy was still under debate, General Lincoln received an express from General Patterson with an appeal for reinforcements on the ground of the obstinacy and malignity of the rebels in Berkshire. General Lincoln had already dismissed three companies of artillery and ordered two regiments to Worcester, because seeming to be no longer needed after the insurgent stampede from Petersham.

In response to that appeal from Berkshire, General Lincoln with his diminished force on Feb. 7 marched from Petersham to Hadley, reversing the movement of that awful night of his forced march after Shays. On the following afternoon he bivouacked in Northampton and thence proceeded through Chesterfield, Worthington, Peru, Hinsdale, and Dalton to Pittsfield.

General Patterson at the head of 500 volunteers, among them many of the most prominent citizens, had dispersed a party of 200 insurgents under Hubbard at the intersection of three roads in West Stockbridge, greatly aided by the personal appeal of Theodore Sedgwick, afterward a judge of the Supreme Court, who rode boldly without support to the front of the line of the insurgents and urged them as old acquaintances and neighbors to lay down their arms. There was another gathering of insurgents in Adams who scattered at the approach of Capt. William Francis, to assemble again in Williamstown and disperse again when he appeared there.

While Lincoln was marching to Berkshire 250 insurgents collected at Lee for the purpose of preventing a session of the courts,

and they were met and opposed by a party of citizens of about an equal number. Peter Wilcox, Jr., was the leader of the outlaws, having his habitation in a log cabin which stood on the present site of the public library building. He is said to have given the order to fire the "cannon" at Patterson's forces in East Lee. According to tradition his men were on Perry Hill and the government party was on Hamblin Hill. The rebels had secured Mrs. Perry's yarn beam, mounted it on a pair of wheels and drawn it back of the house on the hill. A ramrod was flourished and all the motions of loading were made, then while a lighted tar-rope was swung the order to fire was given and Patterson's men beat a retreat. In a subsequent parley the two parties finally agreed that the insurgents should disperse, and in case any of them should be captured General Patterson promised to use his utmost endeavor to have them tried within their own county.

Peter Wilcox, Jr., and Nathaniel Austin were taken, confined and later sentenced to be hanged, but escaped from jail by the aid of saws and women's garments furnished them by their respective wives, who were allowed to visit them. Wilcox hid in a cave for a while and was never again molested.

From time to time traces of the fugitive leader came to light. In a letter dated Durham, Feb. 13, 1787, Gen. John Sullivan, then Governor of New Hampshire, sent to Governor Bowdoin the following items: "Last evening I received advice from the western part of this State, where I have a gentleman now in waiting who bore my dispatches to the officers in that quarter, that on Wednesday morning last Mr. Shays crossed from Westmoreland in this State over Connecticut River into Vermont; that on Tuesday he beat up for voluntiers in his own party to accompany him to Pultney in Vermont, where he said he would erect his standard, but only three followed him; the residue laid aside their arms and are gone to labor in the neighborhood of Westmoreland for their support. Captain Day with another party remained at Westmoreland on Wednesday evening (his intentions are unknown)." He closed the letter with an assurance of zeal in ferreting out and handing over to the Massachusetts authorities all fugitive rebels wanted for punishment.

Shortly afterward General Lincoln reported to Governor Bowdoin from Pittsfield that Shays and a number of his officers were at Bennington and Shaftsbury and "that they expected to continue some time there & at White Creek, where Shays has a

sister, within the State of New York & a little distance from Bennington."

After having returned from his expedition with General Lincoln in Berkshire, General Shepard reported to Governor Bowdoin some results and impressions worthy of consideration.

"Westfield, Feb. 18, 1787.

Sir,—We returned from our rout in the northwestwardly part of this country to Northampton last Friday evening, after receiving the submission of many people in each town of those who had borne arms or furnished provisions or in any way contributed to annoy the government.

"The most criminal in almost every town has absconded, insolent menaces have been and still are in circulation in those places at least where none of the troops of government have appeared, and inflammatory letters have been handed about to prevent the evil spirits of sedition and rebellion from evaporating. We expected a forcible opposition in several places where we have been, which probably was really intended by some imprudent and inconsiderate persons. In many places they threaten still to protect, as they would call it, the more considerable fellows of their party. A transfer of real and personal property hath been made in many instances, some who have fled have drove away their cattle, and by various artifices these people attempt to defraud the public of a compensation for their crimes.

"Thus it appears that many of the insurgents who suppose they are unable to cope with the government by force are devising every method to embarrass, to intimidate, to revive the dying spirit of rebellion, and to continue to injure the State as far as is in their power from revenge, from despair and from malevolence. We have taken the arms of these deluded people who were in possession of them; but great numbers left their guns in the course of a lengthy and circuitous flight, as fear suggested the danger of returning to their families with arms. Such are to reclaim and resign them. The greater part of those to whom the oath has been administered appeared to be fully convinced of their foolish and wicked conduct and I believe will not resume their opposition. I have not received any return from the Justices who acted with other detachments of the troops whose operations were under my direction, but the people in general who have not fled into Vermont, or elsewhere have taken the oath of allegiance, and have resigned their arms in all those places where the troops of government have passed.

"From present appearances and prospects much decision and vigour will I think be necessary on the part of the Legislature, and this vigour and decision will undoubtedly produce the desired events. Effectually to rivet in their minds a compleat conviction of the force of government and the necessity of an entire submission to the laws, these malcontents must see a considerable force in each of these three upper counties. Removing too soon that force by which alone they have been quelled, before the idea of their inferiority has become familiar and established in their minds, might be productive of pernicious consequences. Five hundred in each of these counties may suffice, with what force may be raised occasionally of the well affected inhabitants.

"Whether it hath proceeded from the desire of avoiding the payment of the duties of excise solely, or not, the tavern keepers and retailers have generally been very seditious, their houses have been the common rendezvous for the councils and the comfort of these people. A total disqualification for a limited time or for ever of enjoying those privileges ought certainly in my opinion to be the subject of serious discussion with the General Court.

"Nothing very particular as yet hath been communicated from General Lincoln to me.

"I have written a very similar letter to this to the Speaker of the House, and am, Sir, with must respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

"Wm Shepard.

"His Excellency James Bowdoin Esq."

(Massachusetts Historical Collections, Seventh Series, Vol. VI, pp. 142-3.)

That report certainly reveals in General Shepard high qualities of statesmanship, which must be added to other evidences of a similar kind and to his ability as a martial leader in all efforts to make a fair estimate of his character.

General Shepard having returned to the valley made his headquarters at Northfield, where he would be a check upon the rebels who had fled across the line into New Hampshire and Vermont, and might plan incursions then back across the borders.

On Feb. 16, the day of Captain Buffington's failure at Brattleboro, General Shepard dispatched a small party to Bernardston in order to secure a notorious ringleader of the insurgents, Capt. Jason Parmenter. Jacob Walker of Whately on horseback accompanied the squad. In the eastern part of the town they came

suddenly upon Parmenter and two companions in a sleigh. The rebel captain hailed the other sleighload and receiving no reply ordered his man to fire but their priming was wet and their pieces were silent. Then Walker and Parmenter fired simultaneously at each other and the rebel's aim proved deadly. The trio hurried away and had gained such a start on the pursuers after Walker had been cared for that they were not then followed, the snow being three feet deep. They were captured, however, the next day in Vermont by Captain Buffington and a body of infantry, and lodged in jail at Northampton.

Mr. Walker was buried with military honors at Hatfield. Rev. Mr. Wells of Whately preached the funeral sermon, and Rev. Mr. Williams of Northampton made the prayer. That was one of the few instances of bloodshed in the rebellion which for many months brought men with arms in their hands and animosity in their hearts into conflict. The wonder is that the actual loss of life was so small as to be almost negligible. It is, indeed, inexplicable, and well-nigh incredible.

The terms of service for which the militia had been ordered into the field having expired Feb. 21, and the later detachment not having arrived in great numbers, there was a time when General Lincoln had barely thirty men under his command at Pittsfield, not sufficient to be a competent bodyguard for him against any considerable force of the enemy. But the fact seems to have escaped the attention of the rebels, though they really cherished hopes of capturing him and other prominent personages in the conduct of their guerrilla warfare.

At a sale of autographs, etc., of Dr. Thomas Raffles at Libbies' in New York, Feb. 3, 1892, the following document was included:

"Williamstown, Feb. 24, 1787.

"Col. Parsons is in Stamford with About 150 Men and threatens to make an attack upon the friends of Government in Williamstown this day.

"Col. Thomson J. Skinner.

To General Lincoln."

Two weeks before the final conflict of the rebellion was fought the following circular letter was sent out to the lower towns of Hampshire:

Berkshire, Feb. 15, 1787.

Friends and fellow sufferers: Would you now tamely suffer your arms to be taken from you, your estates to be confiscated and even swear to

support a constitution and form of government, and likewise a code of laws which common sense and your conscience declare to be iniquitous and cruel? And can you bear to see and hear of the yeomanry of this commonwealth being marched and cut to pieces by the cruel and merciless tools of tyrannical power and not resent it even into relentless bloodshed? Would to God I had the tongue of a ready writer that I might impress on your minds the idea of the obligation that you as citizens of a republican government are under to support those unlimited rights and privileges that the God of nature hath entitled you to. Let me now persuade you by all the sacred ties of friendship, which natural affection inspires the human heart with, immediately to turn out and assert your rights. The first that I would recommend is to destroy Shepard's army, then proceed to the county of Berkshire as we are now collecting at New Lebanon in New York State, and Pownal in Vermont state, with a determination to carry our point if fire, blood and carnage will effect it.

Therefore we beg that every friend will immediately proceed to the county of Berkshire and help us to Burgoyne Lincoln and his army.

Eli Parsons.

The following official report shows the continued confidence of the rebels, the methods to which they resorted, and the spirit of the loyal portion of the community. A copy of it has been preserved among the papers of the late James Russell Trumbull and has been now offered for publication by their custodian.

Northampton, Feby 27th, 1787.

Sir—I beg leave to inform your Excellency that by official accounts from the State of Vermont as late as Friday last at Brattleborough were seen the infamous characters, Obed Foot, one Gale an aid to Shays, Eli Parsons, Joel Billings, Reuben Dickinson, Genl. John Nash and many others. Luke, Elijah & Thomas Day were at New Marlborough, where they remain under the protection of the rabble raised in the town of Brattleborough and places adjacent, who are to be commanded by one Fosdick, who not long since belonged to the County of Worcester, and was very seditious there. Many of the Insurgents, who have been in arms against the Government, and will not return to their allegiance, are daily joining those Culprits, who have absconded. There is a letter in circulation in this County, signed by Obed Foot, White & Anderson, the contents of which are to encourage the people to come and join them, and by no means to give up their arms to the force of government, as they will be able with those collected and collecting, with the assistance of Vermont and those coming from Canada for that purpose to defend themselves. The regulators (as they call themselves) give out without the least hesitation that they shall be able to carry their point and overthrow government as soon as Spring opens and the snow is gone. They shall be able, they say, to march in what direction they please, and not be confined to particular routs. Many of the people who have not joined them again, are carrying their arms into Vermont and either deposit them, or make a sham sale of them, for the vile purpose of obtaining them again, in case a favorable opportunity should

offer for destroying this government. As I have heretofore observed to your Excellency, they are removing their live stock, household furniture and all the moveable property they have. Some of them are making *conveyance of their real estates.* It appears to me that those insurgents who have fled into the State of Vermont, and those who are disaffected in that State, if they are wholly uninterrupted, will raise a considerable force by the time the Spring will open, which will be very troublesome to the Northwesterly part of this County, and doubtless will murder and plunder unless they are prevented by an armed force. I have also mentioned that the gaols are filled with criminals. I would only suggest to your Excellency, whether it would not be prudent and expedient to have some of those capital offenders tried and executed immediately (if they deserve it) as an example to others.

* * *

Mr. Perry of Bristol County is in Gaol in this town on warrant.

I am this moment informed by Mr. Shaw of Cummington, a man to be relied on, that Shays, Hinds, and some others were in Pittsburgh Vermont, on the 19th Instant. A certain 'Squire Hamilton of Vermont State was taken at Colerain and is in gaol in this town for his seditious conduct.

If your Excellency could forward a few copies of the Militia law you would oblige me.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient humble servant,

Wm. Shepard.

His Excellency James Bowdoin Esqr.

(Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 190, pp. 379-381.)

During the night following Feb. 26, a party numbering eighty or ninety, under Capt. Perez Hamlin, who had been hovering just over the border in New York, entered Stockbridge, pillaged many dwellings and made prisoners of some of the most prominent citizens, and started for Great Barrington early the following morning with their prisoners and booty. Hearing of their advance on Great Barrington some forty of its citizens under two Captains, Elijah Dwight and Thomas Ingersoll, the latter a settler there from Westfield, started in sleighs for Suffield, hoping to co-operate with men there for the common defence, the Great Barrington men taking lead with them to melt up for bullets to eke out their meager supply.

The rebels reached Great Barrington about the middle of the forenoon and regaled themselves upon such household supplies as they could find, while the people in panic hid their valuables, even pewter platters, which were in demand as material for bullets. Soon after noon the Sheffield men under Captain Goodrich moved to join the Great Barrington contingent, the combined body, under command of Col. John Ashley, another settler from

Westfield, numbering somewhat less than a hundred. They proceeded in sleighs to look for the rebels, and for a time mistook the road along which they were advancing. Deserting their sleighs as the evening finally appeared they attempted a company formation. There was a hot but brief skirmish, in which two of the rebels were killed, more than thirty wounded, Captain Hamlin among the number, one of whom died sometime afterward, and fifty were made prisoners by the co-operation of Capt. William Walker and a body of troops arriving late from Lenox.

The loss to the militia was two killed, Mr. Porter of Great Barrington, and Mr. Solomon Gleazen, schoolmaster at Stockbridge, who had been taken prisoner there and was brutally thrust forward by the rebels as a shield from the rain of bullets when the firing began. The wounded man was Hugo Burghardt, afterward a physician in Richmond. He had been seeking recovery from illness at his home on the Stockbridge road, and on that morning had started back to resume his studies at Yale College, but joined the Lenox Company under Captain Walker and took part in the pursuit of the rebels. That engagement between the two forces is now marked by a monument on the road between Suffield plain and Egremont, across the highway from the road leading to the Goodale quarries. It bears this inscription: "Last Battle of Shays Rebellion was here Feb. 27, 1787"

Several amusing incidents of the raid have been sedulously cherished by tradition.

A party of rebels visited the jail at Great Barrington for the purpose of liberating the prisoners. The keeper, Ebenezer Bement, had gone with the company to Sheffield, and the keys were demanded of Mrs. Bement, "a bright black-eyed little woman" who, having unlocked the door, sang to them while they crossed the threshold:

"Hark, from the tomb a doleful sound,
My ears attend a cry,
Ye living men, come view the ground
Where you must shortly lie."

adding in explanatory warning, which proved well grounded, "for we will have you all in here before tomorrow morning." A party of the insurgents called at the house of Gen. Thomas Ives, who likewise had gone to Sheffield, leaving his wife ill in bed and the house in charge of a spinster neighbor. He charged her that when the expected visit to his house was made by the rebels she

should treat them civilly, keep close watch upon them, and try to ascertain who they were. Finding a large haircovered trunk containing his papers, they insisted upon opening it to search for arms, but the plucky custodian having finally convinced them that it did not contain any, by prevailing upon them to measure its length with one of their own muskets, they committed no further depredations than to satisfy themselves with such viands as the larder afforded, and copious potations of cider which a boy brought up by the pailful from the cellar. The General returned late in the day, and having learned from his temporary housekeeper the identity of some of his visitors repaired to the jail to look them up. Inspecting the crowd of prisoners he asked who of them had been at his house that day, but every one of them denied the implication. Then the General declared that he knew that many of them had been there, and that in view of the respect which they had shown his property and family he had come to express his appreciation by treating them. Instantly they plead guilty to a man, and he treated them as proposed.

At the session of the Supreme Judicial Court at Great Barrington, held in March, 1787, many of the most prominent rebels were tried, and Nathaniel Austin of Sheffield, Peter Wilcox of Lee, Aaron Knapp of West Stockbridge, Enoch Tyler of Egremont, Joseph Williams of New Marlboro and Samuel Rust of Pittsfield were sentenced to death for high treason; and the first five for the aggravation of murder. For seditious words and practices a citizen of Great Barrington was sentenced to pay a fine of £100, to suffer imprisonment for seven months, and to give bonds of £300 for his good behavior for five years. The death sentence was in no case inflicted.

The ease with which the rebels could elude the pursuit of the militia by taking refuge across the border line of the Commonwealth in neighboring states, and the frequency wherewith such a course was pursued, had a twofold result, the habit not only exasperated the authorities here, but it also spread broadcast the seeds of discontent and sedition. The name of Shays became a slogan of the disaffected in each of the bordering states, north, south and west, and what had hitherto been a local disturbance threatened to become a general uprising of the people against their several governments, with an outreach toward vague and indefinable regions of the Confederacy. It was, therefore, not alone to vindicate the honor and restore fully the authority of

this Commonwealth, that the Governor was directed by the General Court to appeal to the Governors of adjoining States for their co-operation in apprehending the fugitive criminals; it had, besides, a wider purpose, no less than the protection of those neighboring governments from the distressing conditions of defiant rebellion and civil strife which had been prevailing so long within our borders.

But in spite of the manifest force of these considerations, replies to neighborly appeals were in some instances gravely delayed, even after several communications had been dispatched by General Bowdoin.

The incursion of Hamlin into Berkshire from beyond its western border was such an overt breach of interstate comity and so defiant of the articles of confederation as to spur the General Court to demand that the Governor take instant and decisive action in the matter. But General Lincoln had already acted, as is evidenced by the following letter published in the Hampshire Chronicle of March 20, 1787, and to good effect:

New York, 4th March, 1787.

Sir—Mr. Williams of Pittsfield arrived in this city on the evening of the 2d inst. with a dispatch from Gen. Lincoln, representing to the Governor of this State the continuance and support which had been afforded to the fugitives from Massachusetts by the people inhabiting a district within this jurisdiction and adjacent to the county of Berkshire, and giving information of the incursion made from this state into that county on the 26th ult. As your excellency will undoubtedly have received official information of this event before this reaches you, we forbear the communication of any particulars on that subject. The intelligence received from Gen. Lincoln was by the Governor laid before the Legislature yesterday morning; and it is with real satisfaction that we now have the honour to inclose to your Excellency a resolution which they adopted in consequence thereof. * * *

We have the honour to be your Excellency's obedient and very humble servants.

Rufus King
Nathan Dane.

His Excellency Governor Bowdoin.

A copy of the action of the Legislature follows:

State of New York. In senate. March 3, 1787.

Whereas it appears from undoubted information communicated to the Legislature by his Excellency the Governour, that a number of Insurgents from the State of Massachusetts have fled to the adjacent parts of this state and are there embodied in arms—Therefore,

Resolved, if the Hon. the Assembly concur therein, that it be rec-

ommended to his Excellency the Governour to repair as soon as possible to the place or places within this State where the said Insurgents shall be, and to call out such military force from the militia of this State, and to take under his command and direction within this State any of the militia or other troops of the State of Massachusetts, and to take such other legal measures as he shall deem necessary and proper for apprehending and securing such of the said Insurgents as shall be found within this State, and for preserving the peace of this State against the designs and attempts of the said Insurgents, their aiders and abettors; and that the Legislature will provide the expense. And further, that the legislature do consent that his Excellency may on this occasion be out of this State, from time to time, as exigencies may require.

In Assembly, March 3d, 1787.

Resolved that the House do concur with the Honourable the Senate in the said Resolution.

An extract from the journals of the Assembly.

John McKesson-Clerk.

Copy of a letter from General Lincoln to Governor Bowdoin:

Pittsfield, March 9th, 1787.

Dear Sir—I have the honor to inform your Excellency that as a result of the inclosed resolve of the Legislature of New York, his Excellency Gov. Clinton commenced his journey for New Lebanon on the 4th inst. On the 7th I met him there; he took lodgings with us at Pittsfield that night; the next morning I accompanied him to New Concord, where were assembled a number of his officers, both civil and military. In a masterly, spirited and animated manner he stated their duty respectively, and urged them to a faithful and punctual discharge of it; his sentiments I think were perfectly just, and many of them may be read in his General Orders.

Prior to his Excellency's arrival the insurgents were dispersing; his approach increased their alarm, and there does not now remain in that state any considerable bodies of them. The civil officers are directed to call on the militia of that state, or on our officers for such militia force as they may need in apprehending or dispersing the Insurgents.

The state of New York are perfectly disposed to serve us, and no person is better qualified or better inclined, to execute their friendly intentions than his Excellency the Governour. The insurgents are making their way into Vermont. I hope that State will adopt such a system as shall prevent any ill consequences from the insurgents finding an asylum within their borders.

I have the honour of being, dear sir, with the highest esteem, your Excellency's most obedient servant.

B. Lincoln.

His Excellency Governour Bowdoin.

Decisive action had been taken also across the northern border, as shown by a letter from Governor Chittenden of Vermont to Governor Bowdoin under date of Bennington, March 3, 1787, expressing deep regret that a State for which his own had such high

regard should have had "its constitution and form of government struck at and deeply wounded by some of her wicked and ungrateful citizens, and it adds much to the uneasiness that we feel on this occasion to know that the frenzy for insurrection is rapidly spreading in other states, threatening a general introduction of anarchy." He adds assurance that the civil and military authorities of Vermont will co-operate in every possible way with those of Massachusetts to restore and maintain order and preserve duly constituted authority.

On the 11th of March Governor Bowdoin issued a proclamation warning against the purchase of "any real estate from such persons as are or have been concerned in the present Rebellion; except from such of them as are or shall be entitled to the benefit of an Act passed by the said General Court, on the sixteenth day of February last, describing the disqualifications of certain persons; and except to those to whom indemnity shall have been promised in behalf of the General Court; Inasmuch as such conveyances, if the person conveying such estate should be convicted of Treason, are, and will by law, be considered fraudulent and illegal."

The Proclamation thus proceeds:

"And in further pursuance of the said Resolve, I do hereby direct the Commanding Officers of the Government troops, in the counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, respectively, to arrest all persons concerned in the present Rebellion, who shall be moving out of this State with their property and effects, except those who are entitled to the benefits of the Act aforesaid, untill such persons shall be acquitted of the imputation of Treason by a due course of law; or until they shall receive in behalf of the General Court, a promise of indemnity by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose."

The Proclamation of Governor Chittenden to which reference has been made strictly commanded and enjoined all citizens of Vermont "not to harbor, entertain or conceal the rebels, Shays, Day, Wheeler and Parsons, or to take arms in support of insurrection."

That they had been guilty of affording to notorious fugitives such countenance and support is evident not only from the official report of General Shepard under date of Feb. 27, already quoted, but also from the following item in the Hampshire Chronicle of a date two days earlier: "We learn that the noted Daniel Shays,

commonly called General Shays, recently at the head of the 'government regulators' in this State, is now confined in the common gaol at Bennington, for a debt under ten pounds to a farmer of that State."

His incarceration was based, not on any crime in Massachusetts, but on one committed while granted refuge in Vermont from the clutch of officers of his own State.

Such co-operation having finally been secured from neighboring States, the Governor was directed to inform Congress officially that a rebellion existed in Massachusetts, for the purpose of securing federal troops to guard the arsenal at Springfield, in order that the local guard might be relieved. A further request was made to secure the aid of federal troops raised in New York and the States eastward of it in apprehending, and if necessary in destroying, the rebels in any part of the United States. It was still further asked that Congress should commission General Lincoln under the authority of the United States, to employ the Massachusetts forces in any region of the national domain, for the purpose of arresting and bringing to justice the leaders of the rebellion.

This series of official negotiations with authorities outside of the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth is here cited in order to indicate the magnitude and the seriousness of the movement which bears the name of Shays' Rebellion, which is so vaguely understood and so indifferently considered by the generality of people of the present day.

After the most startling menace of organized resistance had been averted by the shattering of its armed battalions the problem of allotting and administering penalties due to its ringleaders and most violent abettors remained a long and perplexing one. Great numbers of captured insurgents were held in prison charged with varying degrees of criminality. Special sessions of the Supreme Judicial Court were called for the counties of Berkshire, Hampshire and Middlesex, and a regular session was due in Worcester the latter part of April. In order to secure fair and unprejudiced juries a law was passed with a preamble relating to the condition in which many rebels had been pardoned, which forbade their service on juries for three years, and also declaring the reasonableness of providing for the relief of any such as might be unwilling to confess their criminality though they had been guilty thereof, but who wished to avail themselves of the

pardon which might be granted: Therefore it was enacted, "that the selection of the various towns to which the venires should be issued for jurors within one year, should withdraw from the jury boxes the names of all such persons as they might judge had been guilty of favoring the rebellion or of giving aid or support thereto prior to their drawing out the names of the jurors that might be called for by the venires. Provided, however, that if such persons should make application to the town to restore their names to the jury box, and could obtain a vote of the town at any town meeting afterwards to be called for that purpose, to have their names so restored again, the names of such persons should be so restored accordingly."

And in order to prevent those who had been guilty of insurgency from serving as jurors in trials for treason or misprision of treason, it was further enacted that if the attorney for the Commonwealth in any such trial should suspect that any jurors had been involved in rebellion he might call the attention of the court to the fact and secure its opinion respecting the disqualification of such persons.

These sweeping enactments proved so effective as to impede the process of law in some towns because so many of their citizens had been concerned in rebellion as to leave too few to fill necessary offices and perform necessary civil functions. It really became expedient to shield from legal penalty many even of those whose conduct had been very obnoxious. The General Court, therefore, appointed three Commissioners early in March to receive applications from any not already indemnified, and after due inquiry as to their character, penitence and loyalty of purpose, to exercise their discretion in granting to them indemnity, "with or without the further condition of the offender's being bound to keep the peace, and to be of good behavior for a term not exceeding three years."

Four offenders, however, were excluded from the scope of this commission, Shays, Wheeler, Parsons and Luke Day together with any persons who had killed or fired upon any citizens in the peace of the Commonwealth, the commander of any party guilty of such outrage, the members of the rebel council of war, and any unliberated prisoners against whom the Governor and Council had issued warrants.

The commission thus provided for, consisted of the Hon. Benjamin Lincoln, Esq., commander of the army; the Hon. Samuel

Phillips, Jr., Esq., President of the Senate; and the Hon. Samuel Allyne Otis, Esq., Speaker of the late House of Representatives.

While thus liberal with those who had not yet been willing to accept of proffered offers of mercy, the General Court purposed to make the execution of justice in cases of extreme heinousness swift and impressive.

That the widespread disaffection and its violent expressions had not been without effect upon existing statutory conditions is evident in changes actually accomplished, in addition to what had been done at the preceding session of the General Court. In response to the widespread popular demand this session was marked by a reduction in the number of terms holding the Courts of Common Pleas and general Sessions of the Peace in the several counties; a new fee bill lessening considerably allowances to public officers; and the appointment of a committee to inquire whether there were any real public grievances under which the people of the Commonwealth labored, which reported three such grievances. The subjects concerned the seasonable and prompt payment of interest due on public securities, the need of greater restriction upon the Treasurer in drawing orders and the excessive salary of the Governor.

In the attempt to put down the Shays Rebellion and punish those who aided and abetted it, a case of local interest was that of Abner Fowler of Southwick, the oldest brother of the Hon. Samuel Fowler. The following court record indicates the penalties which he incurred as an opposer of the established order:

Hampshire s.s. Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

At the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth at Massachusetts begun and holden at Northampton within and for the County of Hampshire, on the Ninth Day of April in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and eighty seven by adjournment to that time from the first Tuesday of the same April by writ in Virtue of an Act by the General Court made in February last past—

Commonwealth vs. Abner Fowler Seditious misdemeanor.

The said Abner Fowler is set to the Bar and has his Indictment read to him, he says that thereof he is not guilty, and thereof for Tryal puts &c. A Jury is therefore impanneled and sworn to try the Issue vgt. Leml Pomeroy, Foreman and Fellow Namely, Jona Clark, Martin Clark, Aaron Fisher, Benjamin Tappan, Joseph Lyman, Simeon Clark, Moses Kingsley, Timothy Mather, Gideon Searl, Leml Coleman, and Josiah White, who after hearing all matters and things concerning the same return their Verdict, and upon their Oath say that the said Abner Fowler is Guilty.

It is therefore considered by the Court that the said Abner pay a fine to the use of the Commonwealth of Fifty Pounds, suffer Imprisonment

for Twelve months, Recognize in £150, with sufficient Surety of Sureties in the like sum for keeping the Peace and being of good Behavior for Five years, pay Cost of Prosecution and committed until Sureties be performed.

Extracts from the Courts Minute Book.

Att. Chas. Cushing, Cler.

There follows in the Archives the

Petition of Abner Fowler—

To his Excellency John Hancock Esq., Governour and Commander in Chief in and over the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and to the Honourable the Council of said Commonwealth.

Abner Fowler of Southwick in the County of Hampshire, now an unhappy Prisoner in Gaol at Northampton—

Humbly Showeth

That your Petitioner was convicted at the Supreme Judicial Court holden at Northampton in the County aforesaid in the month of April last post of aiding and abetting in the late unhappy Rebellion tho never in arms against the Government of this Commonwealth, and was sentenced by the said Court to pay a Fine of Fifty Pounds, to be imprisoned for one year and to find Sureties for Good behaviour for Five Years. Your Petitioner is now duly sensable of his unjustifiable Conduct, and is sincerely sorry for the same and hopes & believes his conduct for the future will be that of a peaceable member of Society, That he has Suffered a part of said confinement vigt. for about two months, in a loathsome Gaol; Your Petitioner therefore most humbly prays Yours Excellency & Honours interposition to exercise those powers vested in you by the Constitution and Grant your unhappy Prisoner a Discharge from imprisonment with a Remission of the Fine aforesaid, and the injoyment of a Free Citizen altho' Justly Forfeited his right thereto; or otherwise order as shall seem most Just and reasonable and your Petitioner as in duty Bound will ever pray.

Abner Fowler.

Northampton, June 4th, 1787.

(Mass. Archives, The Shays Rebellion, Vol. I, pp. 392-4.)

The clemency of the authorities toward those who had offended thus was shown in this as in many another case. The prisoner was released from confinement, but there was no response to that part of his petition which related to the fine of fifty pounds, which probably had to be paid. There is a tradition in the family that Abner and his brother Silas, who was also involved in trouble due to resistance of governmental authority, were assisted by their loyal brother Samuel to migrate to the Western Reserve and make trial of life in that virgin territory.

The following letter written nine and a half years before the skirmish at the arsenal gives a defininte impression of the extreme

illiteracy of Shays. It was sent to his old friend at the familiar lounging place:

Putnam Heighth's, June 25th, 1778.

Mr. Conkey, Sir—After my Kind Requist to you I wish to inform that I am well & in good health, hoping that these will find you & your family as well as these leave me. I have wrote to you once before but hearing you have not Rec'd my Letter from me & understand that you have been Drafted with these last men I write to you now for you to inform the selectmen of the town by showing them this Letter that you have hired Jacob Toorell for to do eighteen months service for you on consideration of your paying him ten pounds for that space of time which I saw you pay him the money.

Thinking that these few lines will be sufficient for to clear you for the present time I thought I would embrace this opportunity to write to you for your Security. Having nothing Remarkable for news & hoping these will find you and yours well I must Conclude.

Your Friend and Servant,

Daniel Shays.

To Mr. William Conkey, Tavern Keeper in Pelham.

The grave of Shays was discovered not long since at Sparta, Livingstone Co., N. Y., with a small slate marker rudely inscribed "D. Shays," the work of a late-day friend of his, Samuel Craig, a blacksmith. He died at Sparta, Sept. 25, 1825, aged 85, eight years after General Shepard died. Millard Fillmore, afterward President, visited him late in life, when Shays was old and feeble, and expressed surprise that he should have been able to secure such a following. Shays was a farm hand at Hopkinton, where he was born, and entered the army when he was thirty years old.

During the recess of the Legislature seven hundred and ninety persons accepted the benefit of the commission, and the Supreme Judicial Court convicted of treason six persons in Berkshire, six in Hampden, one in Worcester county and later, one in Middlesex, all of whom were sentenced to death. Many besides were convicted of seditious words and practices, among them a considerable number of "persons of consequences, and some of them in office."

Holland in his History of Western Massachusetts gives a detailed account of the persons convicted of the most serious offenses, from which citations will here be freely made:

Those who were condemned to death in Berkshire were Samuel Rust of Pittsfield, Peter Williams, Jr., of Lee, Nathaniel Austin of Sheffield, Aaron King of West Stockbridge, Enoch Tyler of Egremont and Joseph Williams of New Marlboro. Several others

were condemned to pay fines and to give recognizance in various sums to keep the peace for from three to five years.

At the session of the Supreme Judicial Court held at Northampton from April 9 to 21, Jason Parmenter of Bernardston, Daniel Luddington of Southampton, Alpheus Colton of Longmeadow, James White of Colerain, John Wheeler of Hardwick and Henry McCullock of Pelham were sentenced to death.

Seven others were sentenced to suffer various penalties for "exciting and stirring up sedition and insurrection in this Commonwealth." Moses Harvey, a member of the Legislature, was condemned to pay a fine of £50 and to sit on the gallows for one hour with a rope around his neck. Silas Hamilton, Esq., of Whittingham, Vt., for stirring up sedition in this Commonwealth, was sentenced to stand for one hour in the pillory and be publicly whipped with twenty stripes on the naked back. Samuel Rose received a similar sentence. The one condemned to death in Worcester county was Henry Gale of Princeton, and the one in Middlesex was Job Shattuck of Groton, who had resisted arrest so fiercely and been so severely wounded in the previous autumn. Holland notes the fact that of all the sentences thus passed the only one actually inflicted to the full in its original form was that imposed upon Moses Harvey.

Death warrants were issued early in May in the case of Parmenter and McCullock respectively, which fixed the 24th of that month as the date of their execution. Earnest efforts were made to secure a pardon for McCullock, and he, with Parmenter, was reprieved by the Governor to June 21. Petitions for his pardon were signed by many citizens, including 73 from Hatfield and 44 from Hadley.

A large majority of those from Pelham in their petition dated May, 1787, had been active insurgents and had taken the oath of allegiance during March and April preceding.

Gen. Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., of Amherst sent an earnest appeal to Lieut. Gov. Thomas Cushing for the pardon of McCullock. The condemned man himself also sent a petition to the Governor in which he pressed an earnest plea for pardon.

On the day before that set for their execution, McCullock and Parmenter were reprieved for four weeks, and as the expiration of that period drew near formal preparations were made for a most impressive execution of their sentences. Great crowds of spectators from all the surrounding country were naturally ex-

pected to gather, and to preserve order and prevent any mad attempt of the crowds to interfere with the legal proceedings the volunteer companies of the town were strengthened and a detachment of militia under command of General Shepard was ordered down from Northfield. Early in the morning of June 21, the day appointed for the execution, the expected multitudes began to pour into town. The usual religious services had been arranged. The prisoners, under a strong guard, were marched from the jail to the meeting house but the multitude being far too large to be accommodated within its walls, the prisoners and their guard were drawn up in front of it and the officiating clergymen stood in one of its windows. The opening prayer was made by Rev. Enoch Hale of Westhampton, and the sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Baldwin of Palmer from the text, Rom. 7:21, "I find then a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me," suggesting a more forbearing and charitable treatment of the case of the prisoners than was often shown. Trumbull, in his "History of Northampton," thus described the scenes which followed:

> Then the procession with the sheriff and his deputies escorted by the soldiers, resumed its mournful way through the ever increasing crowd to the scaffold. At the foot of the gallows, where all was in readiness for the closing scene, and when everybody was waiting in anxious expectation of their final taking off, the high sheriff produced the reprieve and the criminals were remanded to their former quarters in the jail. The government had shown its hand, had proved its power to carry out the decrees of the courts, but, at the last moment had also established the fact that its justice was tempered with mercy.

In the Hampshire Gazette of May 30, it was intimated that such clemency on the part of the government might have been due to its fear of a threat of the insurgents to take the lives of two reputable citizens of Worcester County held by them, in reprisal for the death of these prisoners.

Judd, in his Diary, thought the proceeding "unaccountable," and added, "People are much chagrined at the Prisoners being reprieved." The date then set for their execution was Aug. 2, subsequently postponed to Sept. 20, and finally they were pardoned, as were the dozen other offenders under capital sentence.

An interesting sidelight on the sturdy character of one of the insurgents is recorded in a local history of western New York:

William Hencher of Brookfield had been a sergeant in Capt. Daniel Gilbert's company of Col. Job Cushing's regiment, and was in active service from July 30 to Sept. 2, 1777, one month and three

days. The company marched from Brookfield to Bennington and Half Moon on the Hudson, July 30, 1777.

In "Phelps & Gorham's Purchase" (Orasmus Turner, pp. 41) it is recorded that Hencher became one of Shays' men and while transporting provisions to the insurgents he was called to account by the military forces of the government. Forsaking his team he fled to western New York and was there joined by his family a year later. In February, 1792, he moved upon ox sleds by way of Seneca Lake. Late in March they occupied a hut at the mouth of Genesee River, the first habitation of a white man on the shore of Lake Ontario between that river and Fort Niagara. He purchased 600 acres of land, prospered by trading, reared a family of children, one son and seven daughters, all of whom married and settled in the neighborhood before his death soon after the war of 1812.

Although the collective assaults upon the existing order had well-nigh ceased, still some of the leaders of the insurrectionary movement were very busy trying to secure help outside the borders of the Commonwealth, in neighboring States, and even in Canada, whither some of them went and made strenuous efforts to gain that end but without success. They represented there that the predatory outbreaks which had already occurred were but preliminary to a general uprising, and were loud in their threats of disaster to all who should oppose them. It was to an extra session of the General Court, the fourth of the year, that the Commissioners presented their report, and it was from that session that Governor Bowdoin took formal leave, expressing the best wishes for the welfare of the Commonwealth and the hope "that the people might have just ideas of liberty, and not lose it in licentiousness, and in despotism its natural consequences." John Hancock had already been elected to succeed him by the preponderating vote of the rebels and their sympathizers. They had also changed very materially the complexion of the new Legislature which was about to convene, and upon these results of the election they based ardent hopes that their cause would reap decisive benefits. But in his opening speech Governor Hancock, expressing full acquaintance with the disturbed condition of affairs, submitted the question whether it would not be expedient and necessary to continue in the field an adequate force of militia until all opposition had been overcome and all disorders had been quelled in Hampshire and Berkshire. It was finally decided that

not less than 500 and not more than 800 men should be kept in the field in the western counties, and that all excepting nine men, who should take the oath of allegiance before Sept. 12 ensuing, should be pardoned. A vote on a general pardon in the House was defeated by a majority of 26, standing 120 to 94. Nor was the question of a repeal of the bill to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus carried through though vigorously supported.

"Thus did the Governor and Legislature condemn the policy and the sentiments which had placed them in office, and thus did they indorse and confirm the policy of Gov. Bowdoin." (Holland, History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. I, p. 289.)

Hancock, the newly elected Governor, at an early date met the demands of the insurgents for a decrease in the salary of his office, by sending to the General Court a message voluntarily offering the Commonwealth for its use and benefit, £300 of his salary. The gift was gratefully accepted with the statement of a determination to consider, at some future day, the question of the constitutionality of the reduction of the Governor's salary by that body. It was a further indorsement of the policy and attitude of Governor Bowdoin and the General Court which had been convened from time to time during the incumbency.

Instead of gratifying the radical desires of the dissatisfied citizens who had secured the election of the new Legislature by repealing previous acts and subverting previous policies, it astonished the public and disappointed many constituents by ratifying and repeating previous actions. It condemned the issue of paper money, continued the tender act and coercive measures against the insurgents, and voted supplies for the troops in the field. According to Holland, "such a rebuke to the prejudices of a popular constituency has no parallel in the legislation of the State."

Affairs had become so settled that on Aug. 13 the Governor reduced the number of troops in active service to 200, and that remnant was finally discharged on Sept. 12, giving unquestionable evidence that the authorities were convinced that the safety and peace of the Commonwealth were no longer menaced by the forces of disorder and treason.

In February, 1788, just beyond the first anniversary of the attack upon the arsenal, Daniel Shays and Eli Parsons presented a petition for pardon, making most humble and earnest asservations of penitence for their errors and misdeeds and assurances of good behavior in the future. They had long realized their

wrongdoing in not trusting for relief from grievances to the wisdom and integrity of governmental authorities. They claimed at the same time that their previous course had been the result of misapprehension and had not been due to abandoned principle.

The act of general amnesty finally passed by the Legislature on June 13, 1788, justified all officers and others who had arrested suspicious persons who had used property in the course of public duty, who had entered or quartered troops in houses while attempting to suppress rebellion and support the government. It indemnified all gaolers and sheriffs from whom prisoners had escaped, or had been prevented by rebellious persons from serving executions.

The resolution also granted immunity from punishment of all citizens who had been concerned in the insurrections, not convicted thereof, except against private suits for damage done to individuals, on condition of their subscribing to the oath of allegiance to the government within six months. The nine persons excepted from the indemnity of the year before, June 13, 1787, were bound besides by the condition that they should never hold any civil or military office in the Commonwealth.

In no better way could the care and accuracy of account-making by the military officials of those days or their reasonableness in claiming pay for public service be illustrated than by quoting from the pay-roll, now in the archives:

Pay Roll of the General and Staff Officers of the 4th Division of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, For Services Done From August, 1786 to March, 1787.

William Shepard, Major General	£96.		
Robert Oliver, Deputy Adjutant General	15.		
William Lyman, Aid de Camp	25.	6	8
Abel Whitney, Aid de Camp	27.	13	4
Samuel Mather, Junr, Aid de Camp	6.	13	4
William Smith, Deputy Quartermaster General	18.		
Samuel Mather, Esq., Surgeon General	8.	1	4
Warham Mather, Surgeons' Mate	3	17	0
	£200.	11s.	8d

N. B. The Original Sworn To Before Mr. Justice Spponer.

William Shepard, Majr. Genll.

(Massachusetts Archives, Shays Rebellion, Vol. 4, p. 82.)

Hannah Adams' quaint little school book published 1807, called "Abridgement Of History Of New England," gives a most interesting composite of her own shrewd opinions and those of the

historian Minot, under the chapter-heading "Difficulties After The Peace."

The spirited conduct of General Shepard, with the prudent firmness of General Lincoln drove the leaders from the State and restored tranquillity. Even the leaders who were held responsible afterwards petitioned for and obtained pardon on condition that they should never accept or hold any office, civil or military under the Commonwealth. These events were overruled for great national good. For, from the obvious defects in the Articles of Confederation, the people were induced to see the necessity of establishing a form of government equal to all the exigencies of the Union.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HAMPSHIRE AND HAMPDEN CANAL

Development of Inland Transportation By Water, 1822—In a newly-settled and rapidly-developing country of magnificent distances, the need for all kinds of transportation becomes early apparent. Attempts to supply any form of this need are always resisted by that considerable portion of any community which is forever "under arms" at the first appearance of any innovation—no matter how helpful the improvement might be to the general public; and who are ready to defend conditions as they are against conditions as they ought to be.

The stage-coach, even as late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, on a moderately good highway was considered too advanced. But a freight tariff based on a rate of a hundred dollars a ton between Albany and Buffalo was not calculated to foster trade; and the spirit of progress demanded something better. When the necessities of traffic became so urgent they could no longer be ignored, the next step was towards canal construction. This seems to have had its American beginning with the visit of General Philip Schuyler who went to England in 1761 to settle the accounts of General John Bradstreet; and who was profoundly impressed with the famous Bridgewater canal, then just opened. Immediately upon his return to Albany he was first to propose a canal to connect the Hudson River with Lake Champlain. The idea attracted great public attention. The South Hadley and Montague canal, two and one-half miles long, around the Connecticut River rapids at South Hadley was the first canal actually operated in the United States. The early attempts of the citizens of Pennsylvania, in 1762, to secure a charter for a canal connecting the Schuylkill and Susquehanna rivers, had failed, but when put through in 1794 it became the earliest projected and chartered canal in the country. After a conference with General Washington about canals, Elkanah Watson made some explorations in 1788 convincing him that an artificial traffic-waterway was feasible, one involving the Mohawk River and the other Lake Ontario and territory adjacent to it. In four years of hard work, Watson, Schuyler, and others worked up sufficient popular enthusiasm to secure from the New York

Legislature charters, in 1793, for both projects. From one of these schemes the famous Erie Canal was ultimately evolved.

Those who are to consult this "Western Massachusetts History" can rely upon having embraced in this Canal Chapter the most complete and most reliable collected data on this tremendously important factor in the early development of the Eastern States. This is true because the account of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal, which follows, is almost wholly taken from the material collected in years of patient research by Rev. John H. Lockwood, D.D., and embodied in his exhaustive history, "Westfield and Its Historic Influences" (1922).

A New Waterway for Old Hampshire—First reference to the Canal is found in the public records of December 2, 1822, when it was voted:

> That the Inhabitants of the Town of Westfield approve of the Petition of Samuel Hinckley and others praying for a Charter to make a Canal from Connecticut River through the Towns of Northampton, East Hampton, South Hampton, Westfield and Southwick to Connecticut Line to connect with the contemplated Canal running from New Haven Northwardly thro the State of Connecticut to the line of said Southwick in Massachusetts and the Inhabitants of said Westfield having had seasonable notice and considered the same, request that the subject be acted upon definitely at the next session of the General Court in January next.

An earlier undertaking of that character was instituted in the latter part of the preceding century, which was very notable for that period. Holland speaks of it as "one of the most remarkable enterprises that had, at that day, been planned in America." It was no less than the construction of the canal around the falls at South Hadley, and another around Turners Falls at Montague.

The Legislature, February 23, 1792, passed—"An act, incorporating the Honorable John Worthington, Esq, and others therein named, for the purpose of rendering Connecticut River passable for boats and other things, from the mouth of Chicopee River northward throughout this Commonwealth, by the name of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Connecticut River." Among the twenty-two incorporators were Samuel Fowler, of Westfield, and Justin Ely, of West Springfield.

The price of tolls was to be four shillings and sixpence for each ton of weight, and an equal amount for every thousand feet of boards, at South Hadley Falls, and at Montague a shilling more

OLDEST MASONIC MONUMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, LOCATED ON ARMORY HILL SPRINGFIELD, BY LT. COL. WAIT, KILLED IN REVOLUTIONARY WAR 1776

a ton and two shillings less for boards. The capacity of the locks was to be sufficient to permit the passage of a raft twenty feet wide and sixty feet long. This, owing to the great difficulties encountered, was afterward reduced to forty feet in length and sixteen feet in width.

The lower canal was cut two and a half miles long, much of the way through solid rock, in 1793, though the bed was not low enough to get as deep a channel as was needed. It was the first enterprise of the kind in the country, though followed soon by others in different regions. The Turners Falls work was completed in 1796. The engineer of the company was Benjamin Prescott, of Northampton, afterwards superintendent of the Springfield Armory.

The expense of these two undertakings was great, and the difficulty of raising funds requisite therefor was so serious that an agent was sent to Holland to interest investors there, who met with considerable success though to their ultimate disappointment and loss.

Engineering Difficulties Encountered—In order to increase the flow of water through the artificial channel a dam was constructed diagonally part way across the river to divert the current.

The primitive and inadequate character of the locks and machinery employed in the lower canal proves the limited knowledge of such matters then extant, though soon afterward greatly enlarged. A description of the process of getting craft through the cut is given with considerable detail in Holland's history:

> At the point where boats were to be lowered and elevated, was a long inclined plane, traversed by an immense car of the width of the canal and of sufficient length to take in a boat or a section of a raft. At the top of this inclined plane, were two large water wheels, one on either side of the canal, which furnished, by the aid of the water of the canal, the power for elevating the car and for balancing and controlling it in its descent. At the foot of the inclined plane, the car descended into the water of the canal, becoming entirely submerged. A boat ascending the river and passing into the canal, would be floated directly over and into the car, the brim of the latter, of course, being gauged to a water level by its elevation aft in proportion to the angle of inclination of the traverse way. The boat being secure in the car, the water was let upon the water wheels, which, by their common shaft, were attached to the car through two immense cables, and thus, winding the cables, the car was drawn up to a proper point, when the boat passed out into the canal above. The reverse of this operation, readily comprehended by the reader, transferred a boat, or the section of a raft, from above downwards.
>
> (History of Massachusetts, Vol. I, p. 306.)

June 16, 1825, the General Court voted six hundred dollars to defray part of the expense of surveying the contemplated route of the canal from Northampton to the south end of the ponds in Southwick at the Connecticut State line.

In the previous February three commissioners had been appointed to ascertain the practicability of making a canal from Boston Harbor to the Connecticut River, with a view of continuing it to the Hudson River to connect with the Erie Canal, which was then almost completed.

The following editorial notice appears in the issue of the "Hampden Register" of March 22, 1826; published in Westfield:

> The Farmington Canal project (as it was first called) has for some time past excited very great interest among all classes of our citizens, and as its execution is progressing, we look forward to the close of another year with a full hope that it will be then completed, and that we shall begin to realize some few of the many advantages, which eventually it must secure to all classes of our citizens, both in the city and country, to which most, it will be difficult to determine.
>
> It is now well settled that this canal will at all events be extended to Northampton, and there be connected with the Connecticut River, a distance of about eighty miles from tide-water. Should this point terminate the enterprise for an inland navigation on the north, it will still be the most splendid work of the kind in New England.
>
> But it should be constantly kept in mind that from Northampton to the north line of the state of Vermont, in the valley of the Connecticut, the inland navigation is to be improved at all events. Two methods of effecting this object have been proposed: one, an artificial canal to be constructed the whole distance, the practicability of which, by the United States engineers, has been ascertained; and the other by erecting dams across the river at all necessary places, and by locking the falls and rapids. Which of these projects to improve the navigation is, or will be the best, it may, perhaps at this time, be difficult to decide; nor is it necessary to spend much time on this topic, as the whole subject has been, or will be laid before the Massachusetts and Vermont Legislatures. Doubtless the best mode of deliberation will be established. It is the fact that we wish to establish that the whole valley of the Connecticut is to be, and unquestionably will be, made navigable in a short period of time—this is certain beyond a reasonable doubt.
>
> Nor is this all; the Governor of the Lower Province of Canada, in a late speech in the Provincial Parliament, recommended in strong terms, and for powerful reasons, to improve the navigation of the River St. Francis. Should this be effected, their inland navigation from Montreal and Quebec would be brought within a short distance of the north line of Vermont.
>
> On the whole, we may rest satisfied that the time is not far distant when the boatmen of New Haven may land their cargoes on the shores of the great river St. Lawrence, and when in return those of Montreal

and Quebec may present themselves in our harbor. [The Port of Westfield.] This stupendous work, when completed, will in extent compare very well with the New York Erie Canal.

In the same issue there is a communication respecting the proposed canal from New Haven to Northampton, containing a prophecy that "it will be the most splendid work of the kind in the New England States."

Canal and River Schemes Clash—Elijah Bates also published a report of the meeting of the corporation of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal the preceding week in Southampton. The books were to be kept open until 2,900 shares had been subscribed for. About 1,800 shares were then taken up, and the remainder were to be divided among the towns to be benefited—Northampton, Easthampton, Southampton, Westfield, and Southwick. The Westfield subscription books were to be opened at the house of Major A. Morgan, under the direction of Elijah Bates; the only item of local news in that issue.

In the "Hampden Register" it was stated December 6, 1826, that:

> The excavation on the northern part of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal was commenced in Northampton on Monday week, and it is stated that the work will be prosecuted in favorable situations during most of the winter.
>
> Several sections between this village and the State line have been let to contractors, and the excavation commenced about a week ago.
>
> The construction of the North or Great river feeder is contracted for, the excavation of which commenced yesterday afternoon. We understand there are about two hundred men to be employed on this part of the work.

Great controversies, with bitterness and invectives, were carried on in the papers over the respective canal and river improvement schemes. On February 21, 1827, "a Committee of the House on the respective merits of River and Canal reported, rather favoring the latter. Estimate of expense of improving the river from Hartford to Barnet, Vermont, two hundred and nineteen miles, $1,071,000."

The canal was an enterprise showing broad and enlightened public spirit. The matter of transportation was as vital then as it is now to the interests of the community, because of the essential dependence of profit in farming and manufacturing enterprises. When there were no railway facilities, and the highways were but little better than the primitive cart paths, there was the

more urgent need of such benefits as the canal promised in conveying merchandise from point to point in the interior regions, and to tide-water for wider distribution.

When the first excavation for the canal was made near the State line in Southwick, November 1, 1826, it was witnessed by a party of gentlemen from Westfield who were deeply impressed by the event, which seemed to give assurance of immense advantage to the town and the region.

It is an interesting fact that the original copy in manuscript of the contract for the construction of the Massachusetts section of the canal is among the papers of the late Hon. James Fowler, still in possession of his grandchildren, Samuel J. Fowler and Miss Frances Fowler, of Cambridge. It covers twelve pages folio closely written, beginning with the following paragraph:

> This agreement made and concluded this thirtieth day of September A. D. 1826, by and between Thomas Sheldon of Westfield in the County of Hampden and State of Massachusetts, and Jarvis Hurd of Royalton in the County of Niagara and State of New York of the one part, and the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company by their President and Directors of the other part.

Contract for the Massachusetts Section—In Article I the contractors agree to make and construct all that part of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal with its feeders from the termination of the Farmington Canal on the north side of Connecticut to the end of Section No. 30 in the survey of Jarvis Hurd, Esq., which survey forms part of the formal contract. That carried it to the line between Westfield and Southampton.

In Article II they agree to construct all the locks needed in that section, in the same manner as those on the Farmington Canal are built.

In Article III they make a similar agreement in regard to aqueducts, the abutments and piers to be of stone laid in water lime and secured by piling, the trunk, or tank reaching across a stream, being all of wood, all to be like the aqueduct across the Farmington River.

Article IV concerns culverts, to be made of stone, the arches puddled with clay, and the flooring to be of hewn timber or plank.

In Article V they agree to construct all bridges for the main canal and all feeders, necessary for the accommodation of public roads and farms, with approaching embankments.

In Article VI they agree to make all excavations, embankments and tow-paths, and do all things necessary to construct a canal according to annexed specifications.

In Article VII they promise to "pay all damages which shall be assessed on the whole of said Canal from the north line of Connecticut to the entrance of the same into the Connecticut River in Northampton in the County of Hampshire in the State of Massachusetts, for lands, water privileges, mills, and for any other injury which may arise from the making and constructing said Canal and the necessary feeders." They are also to pay "the salary of the chief engineer, Jarvis Hurd, Esquire, and all other salaried officers and all employees of every sort." They are to construct all waste weirs and fences and meet all contingent expenses of every sort.

According to the survey of Jarvis Hurd, the first section of forty chains began at the State line near Manatic Mountain and extended over a ridge of land for the first sixteen chains requiring a cutting averaging twelve feet. "This section crosses the principal stream or inlet to Southwick or Congamon's ponds and passes along a high ridge of land dividing it from the ponds. It is not certain, however, that the ponds might not be used as a canal by constructing a towing path along the west bank, which is for further examination to determine." That original plan followed about the present course of the New Haven and Northampton Railroad. The plan through the ponds was adopted.

The first plan also proposed entering the Westfield valley by a cutting through the ridge of the plateau just west of where the railroad now enters it. It would have descended into "Hundred Acre swamp" by seventy six feet of double lockage. That plan is also questioned in the report of the survey and a change was finally made whereby the canal was brought through Little River, and around the base of the hill where the old Indian Trading House stood before the middle of the seventeenth century, continuing along under the base of "W" hill and nearly to the present railroad cutting before turning north to cross Little River and pass through the village of Westfield. It was proposed to cross Little River by a dam, with a guard lock on each side and the river banks diked above to prevent injury to the canal by overflowing of the banks in time of flood. It was decided later to construct an aqueduct.

Route, Locks, Feeder and Tow-paths—The first lock north of the village was built after crossing Sacket's Brook, and had a

lift of seven feet. Ascending the valley of Arm Brook, three locks, with an ascent of twenty-three feet, were required. In the next section, running up the west branch of Arm Brook, four locks were necessary with a lift of thirty-eight feet.

In the following section, ascending twenty feet by two locks, the summit level was reached, on which is Timber Swamp. Before crossing Manhan River by an aqueduct, there was a lock for a descent of ten feet, and not far beyond it was a descent of thirty feet made by three locks.

In the section crossing the line between Southampton and Easthampton there was a descent of thirty-six feet into the valley of the north Manhan, the stream being crossed by an aqueduct sixty feet long. The final section, No. Sixty-one, "is very eligibly located with a view of extending the canal to the north, and terminates on the bank of the Connecticut River, north of Slough Hill, at or near what is called the Honey Pot or Great Bend. At this place will be required, to intersect the canal with the river, forty-eight feet of lockage."

The great feeder which began above Salmon Falls, at what is now Woronoco, and ran around the base of Mount Tekoa, is said to have been six miles long. It was estimated that the amount of water passing in Westfield River at that point, based upon calculations made "at a reasonably low time of water," was twelve thousand cubic feet a minute. The feeder was large enough to float boats to the foot of Tekoa. The lower feeder from Little River came in south of the village.

All trees, logs, stumps, bushes, roots, and timber of every kind were to be removed along a section of twenty-nine feet from the middle of the canal. The canal was to be so constructed with banks so sloped as to make the water twenty feet wide at the bottom and thirty-four or thirty-six feet wide at the surface. All banks were to be ten feet higher than the bottom of the canal.

The tow-paths were to be at least ten feet wide on the surface, never less than two nor more than five feet above the water line.

The bank opposite the tow-path, which canal men call the "berm-bank," was to be at least seven feet wide on the surface and at least two feet perpendicular measurement above the top water-line.

Bound with the document by a homemade process and as a part of its obligations, is a printed report of thirty-six pages made by Jarvis Hurd, and submitted to Messrs. Thomas Shepard, Elijah

Bates, Augustus Collins, and John Mills, "composing the Executive Committee of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal Corporation," dated Northampton, April 3, 1826.

The particular interest of this report is due to the fact that it describes in such careful detail the whole route of the proposed canal with all its feeders, culverts, locks, aqueducts, etc., from the State line to the point in the Connecticut River called "Honey Pot or Great Bend," about two miles above Northampton.

The valley of Westfield presented the greatest engineering difficulty with seventy-six feet of double lockage on the south and eighty-eight feet of single lockage on the north at Timber Swamp. Thence to the river level at Northampton there was required one hundred and thirty-four feet of lockage. The maximum change of level secured by a lock seems to have been ten feet. There were nine locks between Southwick and Westfield. Mr. Hurd's total estimate of the cost was $290,000. The contract price agreed upon by the Directors and Mr. Hurd and Mr. Sheldon was $138,-969.52, together with seven hundred and thirty-one shares of the capital stock of the company for which they subscribed.

May 30, 1827.

PUBLIC DINNER AT WESTFIELD

Agreeably to public expectation, His Excellency Governor Clinton (of New York) and suite arrived in this village on Wednesday afternoon of last week on his tour to examine the line of the projected Canal from Northampton to Barnet. He was previously met on the State line by the Committee named in our last, and a number of Gentlemen who volunteered their services for the occasion, when the following address was delivered by the Hon. James Fowler, Chairman of the Committee, and the reply accompanying given. After the introductory ceremonies of his reception were concluded, the cavalcade proceeded to the Village where his Excellency's appearance was greeted by the ringing of bells and a national salute.

The committee as named consisted of Hon. J. Fowler, Hon. John Mills, Jesse Farnum, David H. Merwin, Elijah Bates, Esquire, Colonel Enos Foote and Colonel Isaac Welles. Mr. Fowler's address eulogized Governor Clinton as the successful promoter of the Erie Canal recently opened, expressing "our full conviction that among all the eminent Patriots and Statesmen which it has been the felicity of America to produce, there is no one of them to whom the friends of Canal Navigation, and the great mass of the community who are reaping such benefits from it, are more indebted than to him whom we have now the honor of addressing."

The Governor made a fitting reply congratulating the people hereabouts upon the opportunity afforded them by nature to carry to success their enterprise and upon the spirit with which they were prosecuting it.

About six o'clock the Governor sat down to an excellent dinner prepared by Mr. S. Allis, in company with a large number of citizens and strangers. After the removal of the cloth the following toasts were drunk to, accompanied by the discharge of cannon: The President of the United States; the Governor of this Commonwealth; The State of New York; the United States; the History of the Present Age; Enterprise; Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacture; Art; True Popularity; Public Opinion; Our Country; Internal Improvement; Our Distinguished Guest. His Excellency rose, and after tendering his cordial thanks for the kind and flattering reception given him on his entrance into the State, proposed The Commonwealth of Massachusetts: "May all her great energies be directed to the improvement of her cardinal interests."

On Thursday morning, after examining the line of the canal through the village, his Excellency took his leave and proceeded to Northampton, where we understand the citizens testified their respect and esteem by suitable demonstrations.

In July following, it was declared that:

> This great and useful enterprise is rapidly progressing in this vicinity, and some portions of it are already completed and others in a good state of forwardness. The two aqueducts in our village, one of which is 330 and the other 300 feet in length, are going on with astonishing rapidity, and afford striking evidence of the almost unnatural triumph of art over nature. The number of workmen employed is about 150, exclusive of about forty teams.

Two months later an interesting item appears:

> Something New! For the gratification of the curious and the satisfaction of the enquiring, we give notice that the new floating bridge of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal which includes Southwick Ponds, intended for a towing path across the same, will be launched to-day, precisely at 11 o'clock A. M. This is something quite novel for this vicinity, and we presume will attract a large collection of people. The bridge is upward of 700 feet long, and the distance from the spot on which it is built to the place it is destined to occupy is about one mile. We learn that the launching is to be accompanied with music and the discharge of artillery.

This curious expedient was doubtless intended to cut off a certain circuit of the regular shore line of the pond, either to economize distance, or because of the nature of the shoreline. It prob-

ably led to a cutting still extant on the western bank, saving some distance which would have been involved in going around a long point projecting toward the east.

July 15, 1829, "The water from Sacket's Brook, a small stream north of this village, was let into the Canal last Friday." A long editorial notice tells of "the completion of the canal from New Haven to Simsbury, within five miles of the great culvert at Granby, which has been twice washed away and is being rapidly rebuilt. The aqueducts across the rivers in this valley were completed last fall. It is expected soon to have the canal completed, with the building of a few bridges and the finishing of the locks north of the village. Great quantities of produce are stored all along its upper course awaiting transportation, and extensive warehouses are being built. Already sixteen boats are plying regularly between New Haven and Simsbury, and double the number could find employment. The day of doubts and fears that it never would be completed is now passed away,—and it is satisfactorily ascertained that a canal *may be made to hold water even in a sandy soil*!"

A sensational event in the history of the great undertaking is chronicled October 7, 1829. "On Monday last, the new canal boat 'Sachem' of Granby, came up to the locks opposite Southwick village, and within five miles of the Basin (Westfield Harbor), in our village, having on board upwards of 150 passengers, accompanied by a band of music. The 'Sachem' departed yesterday on her first voyage to New Haven, with freight and passengers." More thrilling was an event of a month later, November 11, 1829.

FIRST LOCAL BOAT

The new canal boat "General Sheldon" built and owned by Mr. Z. Bosworth, an enterprising citizen of this town, was launched into the Basin in this village. The boat slid into the water in fine style amidst the cheers and acclamations of a large concourse of citizens and a number of strangers which the novelty of the occasion had drawn together. The boat, with about two hundred and fifty on board, was floated to the North Basin, when, after giving three hearty cheers to the prosperity of the canal, and the success of internal improvements, they returned.

Under the heading "First Cruise from the Port of Westfield" the following account was given, December 9, 1829:

Canal Excursion. The Canal boat ('General Sheldon') left this village on Thursday last on her first voyage to New Haven. Owing to the danger apprehended from suddenly letting the water upon new banks, it was de-

layed within the limits of the town until the evening, when again it proceeded upon its course and arrived at Granby at 12 o'clock that night. The crew took supper, or rather breakfast at 1 o'clock, and after a short sleep and another breakfast, recommenced their voyage, passed Farmington at evening, and arrived at Hillhouse's Basin in New Haven, at half past ten o'clock. They were received at Weataug and at Farmington with the discharge of cannon. The boat took in her cargo on Saturday afternoon and arrived at Westfield on her return on Monday evening. The cargo consisted of coal, salt, molasses, oranges, codfish, flour &c.

It was thus more than two years after the enthusiastic reception of the Governor of the Empire State before the weary operations of digging and filling were so far completed as to allow the inauguration of traffic on the artificial waterway. The basin was situated just south of Main Street and east of the H. B. Smith Company's foundry, now filled by the railway embankment. A portion of it was left, with a stretch of the old canal running south to Silver Street until the tracks were raised a dozen or more years ago.

When covered with ice, it furnished fine sport for merry crowds of skaters on many a day and many a moonlight night.

September 2, 1830, "The New Haven Chronicle says that the elegant Canal packet boat, 'New England,' will for the purpose of accommodating the Commencement passengers, leave Farmington the Tuesday before Commencement which takes place on Wednesday the 9th inst."

Among the announcements, headed by a picture of a canal boat drawn by two horses tandem, under the caption "Cleared" are these items:

April 21: "Canal Boat Gen. Sheldon, for New Haven, with merchandise &c. to A. Whitney & Co., Geneva, N. Y., and passengers." Same day, "Boat Warronoco for New Haven deeply laden with freight and passengers."

April 26: "Arrived. Boat Gen. Sheldon, from New Haven, with passengers also Dry Goods, Groceries, Iron &c to merchants in Northampton and Westfield."

April 27: "Boat Warronoco from N. Haven with goods to merchants in this village."

Thus Westfield became a seaport with free access to many harbors in different states.

May 19: "By an advertisement in to-day's paper it will be seen that the Canal boat Gen. Sheldon will in future make two trips a week between this place and New Haven. The boat

went down and returned twice last week, taking each time but little more than twenty-four hours in passing through the whole route. This arrangement combining speed with regularity, we have no doubt will secure to the proprietor a full supply of business. The Captain of the boat, Mr. Barton, is an experienced and judicious manager, attentive and accommodating to his passengers, and we believe in every respect is well calculated for the business in which he is engaged."

May 26. Advertisement: "Canal Boat Excursion. Samuel P. Woolworth would inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of this village and vicinity that his boat will make a trip to the Ponds this morning and he will be happy to accomodate passengers."

Promise of Success and A Celebration—The route of the canal at its lower end is well known by the older residents. It came down across the plains from Southampton. The house occupied by the keeper of the Westfield lock, two miles north of the river is still standing, and is known as "the old lock house." An important feeder ran from "Salmon Falls" around the base of Mount Tekoa, across the plain eastward, crossing the road to Montgomery near what has long been known as the "Simmons place." An aqueduct spanned the Westfield River just about where the New Haven and Northampton Railroad bridge now stands. Another one spanned the Little River near that railway's bridge south of the town. Thence the course of the canal was easterly along the base of the bluff past "W" hill and down through the present hamlet of Little River.

Westfield Register, October 6, 1830:

Annual meeting of stockholders of Hampden Bank, Oct. 4; directors elected, James Fowler, Abner Post, Augustus Collins, Ira Yeamans, Jonathan Taylor, Augustus E. Jessop, Orrin Sage, Charles Douglas, Job Clark; James Fowler elected president.

December 22:

Amount of goods to and from this village, Oct. 18 to Dec. 18, eight weeks.

Articles	Weight
3279 Hides	171,460
1990 bu. Salt	153,150
2136 bu. Wheat	128,166
23 tons Gypsum	51,520
914 bbls Flour	197,532
Cheese	95,497
Merchandise	177,214

13 Cords Wood	40,500
Charcoal	18,720
Hemp	7,650
31,597 feet Lumber	63,194
Leather	7,600
Other Agri. Products	73,200
	lbs. 1,185,403
	nearly 600 tons

The opening of the canal to Northampton in 1835 was an event of great significance and promise to this region. It was celebrated with considerable pomp and immense enthusiasm. The "Democratic Herald," which succeeded the "Westfield Journal" with N. T. Leonard as proprietor and editor, March 31, 1835, in its issue of July 28 following, furnishes a long account of the proceedings, from which extracts are here presented.

Canal Celebration. The delegation from the city of New Haven on their way to Northampton, arrived at this village on Tuesday of last week. On their arrival at the Basin (on Main Street, just east of the H. B. Smith Co. foundry buildings, filled in when the N. Y. & N. H. tracks were raised) they were saluted by peals of artillery, ringing of bells and the acclamations of our citizens. A procession was formed and conducted them to the Coffee House of Mr. Parsons, where the Hon. James Fowler in behalf of the citizens of this place bade them welcome. On Wednesday they left for Northampton, having been joined here and on their way by a number of gentlemen from this town. It was expected the boat would reach Northampton at 10 o'clock A. M., but on arriving at Southampton it was found that some mean, low-spirited puppy, having nothing of manhood about him except intelligence enough to guide his malice, had let off the water from a half mile level. This obstacle being overcome by waiting the arrival of the water, the boat with its cabin filled and its deck covered with passengers, and drawn by five horses, passing through Easthampton, was met by a boat at the South basin in Northampton when the following address was made by Mr. Bancroft.

This was George Bancroft, then thirty-five years old, who became famous as envoy, cabinet officer and historian. The second volume of his great "History of the United States," was written during the three years then just beginning and while he was a resident of the present Haile residence, Chestnut Street, Springfield.

A fitting reply was made by Mayor Flagg, of New Haven. The account proceeds:

After these addresses the boats moved towards the river, and on passing the Mansion House, in the balconies, the beauty and fashion of Northampton there congregated were cheered by those on board the boats. The boat

did not pass through the locks into the river until the next day, as was originally contemplated. The citizens of Northampton accompanied by a large number of invited guests and escorted by the military under General Moseley, proceeded to the new building near the Mansion House, where a fine collation was in waiting. Hon. I. C. Bates, assisted by Messrs. Bancroft, Hinckley, Napier, and Thompson, presided.

Toasting and Felicitations—"Many toasts were presented at table, among them: 'The late President Dwight. His memory is a bond of union between New Haven and Northampton; his life was a blessing to his country; his writings are a bequest to mankind.' 'Farmington and Westfield and all the towns and fields upon the line of the Canal; they embroider it with beauty, and freight it with treasure, we pledge them.' By George Bancroft: 'Edwards, Pomeroy and Hawley, the glory of Northampton in science, in the field, in public law; their memory is imperishable as the annals of freedom.' The following were offered by citizens of Westfield: By Hon. James Fowler: 'The spirit of gratitude which pervades all hearts on this occasion; the best dividend the stockholders can receive, an ample remuneration for all the care and toil which the projectors of the canal have experienced from its commencement.' By N. T. Leonard: 'Among all the other products of the Canal may we have a fair share of the steady habits of Connecticut.' By Dr. J. Abbot: 'The construction of the Farmington, Hampshire and Hampden Canal, effected by the combined influence of monopolies, workingmen and merchants; it has nothing to fear but from the enemies of its *banks*.' By W. G. Bates: 'Samuel Hinckley, a true Yankee who has paid out the *most* money for the *best* ends!"

Thursday morning, July 30:

This morning the boat "Northampton" went again down to the locks in fine style and passed through the locks to the Connecticut River. At last the boat which had left Hillhouse basin in New Haven on Monday floated on the bosom of the Connecticut. The scene was one of joy and gladness. Who did not envy the emotions of the venerable Hinckley, the worthy and active Goodrich, the cheerful and indefatigable Farnum? A salute was fired, the air echoed with cheering; the band played its liveliest tunes in its happiest manner; the waters of the Sound were poured into our river; the union betwen New Haven Harbor and the upper Connecticut was declared to be perpetual. May it be productive of the happiest results!

The Congamond Lakes in Southwick were utilized as far as available, a channel having been cut to join the north and the middle one.

Beginning of Its End—For a few years this expensive waterway maintained an increasingly precarious existence, with a desperate purpose on the part of its administrators to stop the leaks, and keep its embankments from slumping to lower levels. Although its practical permanent value was never established, and though it was never a financial success, it was nevertheless a powerful factor in the commercial development of the four western counties. Undismayed by this failure, there was found in the region traversed by the old canal enough support to overcome the opposition when the time came to establish railroads. There were many wise men and women on both sides!

Plans for more rapid transportation were being considered long before their realization. The boldest minds at that time had no conception of the complete revolution which was about to take place. The board of canal commissioners for New York State put it thus:

> While avowing ourselves favorable to railroads where it is impracticable to construct canals, or under some peculiar circumstances we cannot avoid the opinion that the advocates of railroads have greatly overrated their commercial value. Notwithstanding all improvements which are being made in railroads and locomotives it will be found that canals are two-and-a-half times better than railroads for the purposes required of them... This to counteract the wild speculations of visionary men. Our remarks flow from no hostility to railroads,—for next to canals they are the best means devised to cheapen transportation!

The engineering difficulties which beset the effort to convey the canal across the river without loss of the fluid upon which navigation depended were grievous. Whether the long tank, for it was practically that, in the early days fulfilled its mission perfectly is not certain, but later at any rate it proved to be but a leaky vessel, according to a statement in a local journal:

> For a long time after navigation had ceased this aqueduct spanned the river, neglected and going to decay, and many leaks of varying sizes in its plank bottom sent streams of water into the stream below, where the boys, so our 'oldest inhabitant' says, used to stand under the streams enjoying the primitive but satisfactory shower bath.

At several points along its route, the canal was crossed by bridges for the accommodation of foot or vehicular traffic; these were raised by a rude windlass for the passage of boats, a process of unflagging interest to children.

For several years the waterway which was so valuable when passable, was subject to varying vicissitudes, while nervously

watched by stockholders and a hardly less-interested public. Items like this bouyed up the hopes and dismissed the fears of friends and stockholders.

May 26, 1841. "Our canal basin presented a truly interesting sight on Monday morning when we counted three or four boats deeply laden. The canal fully answers the anticipation of its friends!"

There was actual union of canal and river traffic to some extent, the "Northampton Gazette" being authority for the statement that two river boats had recently lain at the side of the canal stores, loaded with salt for the return trip, having exchanged for it stores brought down from the north to be shipped by the canal to New Haven.

Complications and Diminishing Prospects—In summing up the business for September and October reports showed that eighty-two boats had been in the basin during that period, including, of course, those ending their trips there and those stopping en route north and south. The passenger fare at that time was $2.50 from Northampton to New Haven, and from Westfield $2.25. Whether that included berths and meals is not stated. Boats "handsomely fitted up" were advertised.

The trip along the canal through the country must have been very comfortable for people who had never dreamed of a parlor car, and who were in no nervous haste to reach their destination. They had never conceived of any faster mode of travel except by relays of horses, over roads which made speed bone-racking.

One of the serious disasters to the canal occurred early in February, 1835, when torrential rains caused serious breaks and resulting damage.

The efforts to maintain a navigable canal proved so difficult that the whole project finally came to be considered desperate. Floods and muskrats destroyed its banks; decay weakened the timbers of locks, aqueducts and bridges. The expense of its upkeep absorbed the revenues, leaving the stockholders impoverished, and finally they became hopeless of profit from the enterprise.

Soon there began to come to the surface rumors of coming and greatly improved methods of transportation, sufficiently tangible to somewhat console those deeply interested in the failure of the waterway, and to convince the skeptical that railroads were about to supersede canals. In 1846 Connecticut granted the right

to build a railroad which should follow the route of the Hampshire and Hampden Canal. One great point in its favor was that it would utilize much of the difficult grading done for the earlier enterprise. At a meeting of the canal stockholders, February, 1846, it was voted that the directors be authorized to petition the Connecticut Legislature for permission to build a railroad to take the place of the canal. A charter was immediately granted; and construction began in January, 1847. One year later the "Canal Railroad" was opened as far north as Plainville, Connecticut; and a little more than one year later it was opened to Collinsville. The Northampton and Westfield Railroad was incorporated May 22, 1852, passing over the old canal bed. Not until May, 1855, was the "Canal Railroad" as people for years insisted on calling it, completed. Slight traces here and there may still be seen of the old waterway which was called by the older generation the "Farmington Canal" long after it had ceased to exist as a thoroughfare. But the old depressions are fast filling up and disappearing; and trees of large size are thriving in many places where the well-trodden tow-path used to be.

CHAPTER IX

MILITARY HISTORY—CIVIL, SPANISH-AMERICAN and WORLD WARS

Beginning with the Civil War period (1861-1865) inclusive, the following chapter will treat briefly of the part taken in the Rebellion of States, the Spanish-American War and the World War. For the county of Franklin a chapter appears in that history, treating on the local aid rendered in several of the earlier conflicts the country has passed through.

The history of the various organizations which went out during the Civil War from the three river-counties of Massachusetts, and including portions of Berkshire County, is largely drawn from the State Adjutant-General's reports and may be relied upon as correct.

It has been deemed advisable, so long as there was no entire regiment recruited in either of these counties, to include the story of the various organizations in this general chapter covering the whole Valley.

The total number of men furnished by the State of Massachusetts to all arms of the service during the Rebellion was, in round numbers 160,000. This covered a surplus, over and above all calls, of 13,492 men. The proportional quota of the three river-counties, according to population, would have been about 15,000, divided about as follows among the counties; Hampden, 7000; Hampshire, 4500; Franklin, 3500.

It is probable that the 13,000 surplus men were mostly from the seaboard-counties, where large numbers entered the naval service, but were not credited to the State for some time after their enlistment, the counties being called upon to furnish their regular quotas for the army without deducting seamen.

The total expenditure by the State during the war was $27,705,-109, exclusive of amounts raised by cities and towns, and also of all sums contributed by sanitary and aid societies, etc., which amounted to very large figures.

The Tenth Massachusetts Infantry—This fine regiment was largely made up from members of the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment of Militia, which at the opening of the Civil War consisted of eight companies—A, of Shutesbury; B, of Leverett; C, of Northampton; D, of Belchertown; E, of Colerain; F, of Springfield; G,

of Greenfield; H, of Shelburne; five companies being from Franklin County, two from Hampshire, and one from Hampden. Col. J. M. Decker, of Greenfield had command of the regiment. Each company consisted of about forty men each. The records disclose only the names of six men to the call of three months made for the Connecticut Valley counties and Hampden furnished three of them. May 15, 1861, came the long looked for call to arms and one regiment was assigned to the four western counties and the following companies were chosen to form its complement: Springfield City Guard, Capt. Hosea C. Lombard; Capt. Fred. Barton's company, then in camp at Hampden Park, Springfield; the company made up from Holyoke and West Springfield, under Capt. John H. Clifford; the Westfield company, Capt. Lucius B. Walkley; the Northampton company, Capt. William R. Marsh; the Shelburne company, Capt. Ozro Miller; the Greenfield company, Capt. E. E. Day; the Pittsfield company, Capt. Thomas W. Clapp; the Adams company, Capt. Elisha Smart; and the company from Great Barrington, Capt, Ralph O. Ives. The company of Capt. Oliver Edwards, encamped on the park, and the Colerain company, Capt. Nelson, were broken up and divided among the others.

On the 31st of May the company from Great Barrington arrived and went into camp at Hampden Park, making three companies then on the ground.

On the 9th of June, it being Sunday, the three companies, accompanied by the Springfield Guards, attended divine services at the First Church, which was tastefully decorated for the occasion.

By orders from headquarters of the State government, the ten companies composing the regiment were directed to rendezvous at Hampden Park, Springfield, on the 14th of June, there to remain until equipped for the field. All the companies reported promptly, except the Pittsfield company, which, by a mistake in mailing the orders, did not arrive until the 15th.

The companies were sworn into the United States service on the 21st of June by Capt. Marshall, of the regular army.

Thus entered the first soldiers from these River Counties into that awful strife between the North and the South, of what is now a single Union of States. This regiment saw severe fighting, met with great losses and proved themselves soldiers true to the cause. The reader is referred to the published history of the regiment.

The Eighteenth Regiment was raised mostly in other counties, but a portion of company K was from Springfield and Chicopee. Col. James Barnes, of Springfield, was in command. The regiment left the State for the Potomac in August, 1861. It took part in the bloody battles of the famous Richmond Campaign and was present at the Second Battle of Bull Run where its loss was equal to fifty-two per cent of its entire number engaged. Again it fought at Antietam and Fredericksburg; also lost heavily at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg.

The Twentieth Regiment was first stationed on the upper Potomac and was engaged in the disasterous affair at Ball's Bluff, where it lost 208 men, killed, wounded and missing. This splendid regiment saw hard fighting at many of the largest battles of the war—including the Gettysburg Campaign in which half of its officers and men lost their lives. The regiment was recruited and entered into that terrible campaign including the Wilderness, and thence "on to Richmond." It fought its last battle in February, 1865 and was present at the Grand Review at Washington May 23, 1865, having served three years and ten days.

The Twenty-first Regiment had a goodly number of men from Hampden and adjoining counties, though there was no single company from this locality. It was organized at Worcester which place it left for the front August 23, 1861, and numbered in all 1,004 men. It saw service under Burnside, Gen. Pope, was at Second Bull Run fight, and took part at South Mountain, where gallant General Reno was killed. It fought at the greatest battle of the Rebellion, Antietam; saw hard service at the battle of the Wilderness, Cold Harbor and other points in that memorable campaign of Grant. The remnant of this command finally joined the Thirty-sixth Regiment.

The Twenty-seventh Regiment—This regiment was raised in the four western counties of Massachusetts—largely in the three River Counties. Horace C. Lee, of Springfield, was its first colonel. It was mustered into the United States service September, 1861 and was then styled the "Second Western Regiment," and its officers were from various militia commands of Massachusetts. It formed a part of the Burnside Expedition. During the remainder of the war this regiment was constantly on long marches and participated in many of the greatest battles of the Rebellion. The casualty list shows a loss of 100 in Rebel prison-pens, commissioned officers killed, six; died of wounds, two; taken prisoners,

nine; wounded, twelve; died of disease, three. Enlisted men—killed, seventy; died of wounds, forty-seven; died of disease, 128; wounded, 272; died of disease, 250; taken prisoners, 430.

Thirty-first Regiment—This regiment was raised in the western part of Massachusetts and was known as the "Western Bay State Regiment." Company E was largely from Hampden County; also many of the men in Company K were from Hampden County. It left Boston in February, 1862 with General Butler and staff on board their boat, headed for New Orleans. Later it was engaged in the disastrous Red River Expedition in Texas. It remained in active service until September, 1865, when it was discharged.

Twenty-fourth Regiment—While this regiment was largely recruited from Worcester County, companies D and G were from Hampden County. It left the State August 15, 1862 for Arlington Heights, near Washington. It was also placed under command of General Banks. It saw hard service and was mustered out June, 1865 having lost many officers and men.

Thirty-seventh Regiment—This regiment was mostly raised in Berkshire County, but companies A, D, L, and K were largely from Hampden County. It was recruited at Camp Briggs, Pittsfield, and left the State September, 1862 for Washington. It then took part in many of the fearful conflicts of the war. It was at Gettysburg, at all the important battles along the Potomac; fought at the Wilderness battles, was famous in the Winchester fights, captured Stonewall Jackson's regimental flag; was present at Appomattox Court-House; was reviewed at Washington and discharged July 1, 1865.

Forty-sixth Infantry—This command included five companies from Hampden County, A, B, C, D, and E. It arrived at Newbern, North Carolina, in November, 1862. This was raised as a nine months regiment. It was useful for the purpose for which it was formed and was at one time in the Army of the Potomac. It served its time and was discharged at Springfield, Massachusetts by Captain Gardner. The total loss of men during its existence was 215 men, 38 of whom died of disease.

Fifty-second Regiment—This was another nine months regiment recruited from Hampshire and Franklin counties in 1862, serving until August, 1863. It was organized at Camp Miller, Greenfield, under Colonel H. S. Greenleaf. It embarked on the steamer "Illinois," November 19, 1862, headed for the mouth of the Mississippi River near New Orleans. Its history is told in a

most charming manner in a book written by its color-guard, Rev. J. K. Hosmer, of Deerfield.

The Fifty-seventh Regiment was represented from Hampden County. It was formed in Worcester County in the spring of 1863-64. It was at the battle of the Wilderness and lost 251 men, killed, wounded and missing. At what was known as the "Crater" affair seven officers and 91 enlisted men were sacrificed. The regiment saw severe fighting and was honored with numerous promotions for gallant conduct.

The Sixty-first Regiment was organized in 1865 as a battalion of five companies, at Boston Harbor. It went to the front and fought at Fort Sedgwick, where they had to bayonet thirty-five men.

Artillery—Company I, of the Third Regiment Heavy Artillery, was mostly recruited at Springfield. It was on detached service during its term of enlistment and had great success building bridges and pontoons as well as in cutting 2,000,000 feet of lumber for army use. These men never faltered, but rain or shine were ready to respond to duty's call.

Cavalry—The Third Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry had one company from Springfield and vicinity—Company M. It was originally formed as the Forty-first Infantry in 1862 and saw service under Banks. It was reorganized in June, 1864 as the Third Massachusetts Cavalry. This regiment was sent to Fort Kearny, Nebraska where it was discharged August 28, 1865. It traversed fifteen thousand miles of territory and was in thirty engagements. It was an honor to the United States government.

While all parts of these four counties did their part manfully and well in sending men and means to put down the Rebellion, the figures for a summary are obscure, except in the case of the City of Springfield and Hampden County. This city paid out for soldiers' bounties $116,924, paid the State on account of bounties $49,722; paid for recruiting expenses, $14,070; paid for State aid to January 1, 1866, $98,652; number of men furnished, 2,625.

Soldiers in the Spanish-American War—The following is a list of the soldiers serving from Hampden, Hampshire, and Berkshire counties in the army, navy and marine departments, during the War with Spain in 1898-99. The greater part were made up from National Guard men in several different commands. The death loss was not large, and mostly from disease and exposure. The roster here given states the names of the county, and town from

which they went into United States service. (See Franklin County section for its soldiers.)

BERKSHIRE COUNTY

Adams

Ainslie, Horace H.
Alderman, George W.
Barry, Jerry M.
Bratchey, John T.
Bruce, Richard W.
Brunall, Frederick
Cadigan, James C.
Campbell, James A.
Cassiday, Edward H.
Cliff, Sydney H.
Coones, Jasper
Crockwell, William H.
Crosier, George J.
Daniel, Charles
Dunn, Charles E.
Duggan, William H.
Dupnea, William J.
Dwier, Bryan
Favrean, Charles U.
Ferguson, David C.
Foote, Alexander
Gadway, Frederick J.
Gravel, Joseph, Jr.
Gravel, Levi
Hamburg, John
Harris, Frank R.
Hathaway, Charles H.
Hicks, Herbert
Hiser, Samuel
Hodecker, William
Kershaw, Abraham
King, Victor
Laferriere, Ernest J.
McGlynn, Matthew D.
Marshall, Harry
Mercier, Fred
O'Brien, William F.
O'Shea, Daniel J.
Packard, Lawrence A.
Patterson, Malcolm D.
Peabody, A. M.
Plumbley, Harold E.
Reuillard, Arthur H.
Riley, Arthur T.
Roberts, Harry A.
Shaw, Harry L.
Shea, Daniel M.
Thayer, Albert H.
Thayer, Glenroy
Tobin, John J.
Tower, Arthur C.
Trensblay, James A.
Tyler, John
Walden, John R.
Whitehouse, Andrew J.
Whitton, William W.
Wilder, Leslie S.
Williams, Henry L.
Williston, Edgar P.
Whitesell, Harry L.
Young, Almon D.
Young, Joseph M.

South Hadley

Brown, George H.
Chamberlain, H. H.
Daum, Henry A.
Devine, Daniel S.
Dickeman, Louis R.
Dingman, Frank F.
Donahue, Michael J.
Donavan, Michael
Draper, Robert D.
Dubuque, John H.
Duggan, Michael
Dunn, Albert L.
Dunn, John H.
Dunse, John H.
Edson, Frank L.
Ellis, Henry T.
Elwell, Edwin A.
Emery, Wilson C.
Englehardt, Richard F.
Franrean, Paul
Ferris, James F.
Ferris, William
Field, Horatio M.
Fish, William J.
Fisher, Harry D.
Fiske, Ralph F.
Fitzgerald, Edward
Frye, William T.
Fuller, Herman N.
Fulton, John B.
Gardella, Natiline
Gates, Ernest A.
Genereaux, Joseph
Gibbons, James A.
Gibbs, William J.
Glancy, James W.
Glenier, Eugene E.
Grinowetz, Moovis
Guinney, Thomas
Jackson, Lester R.
Kilkelly, Patrick, Jr.
McElwain, Alex
Milliman, Burdette D.
Montville, Joseph
O'Brien, Edward F.
O'Brien, William
Paradise, Walla
Partridge, Harry A.
Pierce, Frank A.
Rafferty, Robert
Reardon, John T.
Reynalds, George T.
Riley, Benjamin
Smith, Arthur H.
Sime, W. A.
Simmonds, Fred A.
Sisco, Frederick J.
Sitcer, David
Smith, James M.
Smith, Jim R.
Snell, Milton C.
Stone, Charles
Sturm, John B.
Sullivan, John
Thiel, Alfred A.
Thompson, John J.
Tracy, Michael E.
Welsh, John J.
Weir, John
Whipple, George E.

Whipple, Reuben A.
Wiser, Joseph E.

Town of Becket

Rice, Sydney F.

Town of Hinsdale

Quinn, Frank W.

Town of Lenox

Clark, Job C.
Clark, Frank J.
Clark, William H.
Dunn, William H.
Millard, Daniel A.

Town of North Adams

Arnold, Harvey
Smith, Frank L.
Tinkham, George S.
Tinkham, Joseph A.
Walton, James E.

Ware

Connor, John
Graves, Orrin D.
Lapierre, Stanisler
Mooney, Patrick H.
Renand, H. M.
Renand, Louis

HAMPDEN COUNTY

Agawam

Meyrick, Howard S.

Chicopee

Babsin, George W.
Bondrean, Charles E.
DeGray, George
Fennesey, Thomas J.
Judd, Robert J. F.
Keating, Frank C.
King, Robert P.
Logan, Henry
Lemonreaux, D. P.
Liebeck, John C.
McElhone, Thomas J.
Mahoney, Thomas F.
Morse, Sheridan A.
Preble, Guy A.
Rumville, Davis E.
Sagers, John A.
Sullivan, Patrick P.
Sullivan, Sylvester J.

East Longmeadow

Malmstrom, Alex.

Hampden

Burke, William J.

Holyoke

Abraham, Richard
Aspin, William, Jr.
Austin, Charles A.
Abrams, Oscar
Barsalow, Frank I.
Bazinet, William
Bermier, Edward W.
Bingler, Eugene
Blanchard, William
Bogart, Samuel C.
Bonneville, Joseph
Boutin, Emil
Bamford, William W.
Bisco, John G.
Bouvier, Saul
Boyd, Samuel
Briggs, Keller H.
Brown, Carroll
Brown, Harry C.
Brown, Hugh F.
Boyd, Henry J.
Brown, Thomas F.
Buckard, George
Cahill, William J.
Cain, Earl J.
Canavan, Timothy J.
Chamberlain, Allen B.
Chamberlain, George
Cleveland, William M.
Coit, Ruel H.
Collier, George A.
Conroy, Anthony H.
Corridon, John J.
Courtney, James
Crosby, George D.
Crosier, William J.
Carey, Arthur L.
Davis, Arthur
Davis, Walter W.
Dunmoody, Charles E.
Damour, Edmond
Davis, Louis
Donlan, James F.
Dugas, Anatole
Eaton, Joseph W.
Eger, Otto
Emery, Napoleon B.
Estin, Melvin W.
Fallon, Patrick
Fay, Albert E.
Floyd, Grove H.
Frisch, Lewis L.
Fisher, George A.
Foote, Alford F.
Fostier, Quincey E.
Fortier, Ulysses
Friel, John F.
Gelinas, Alfred N.
Goodrich, Paul M.
Gould, James
Graham, Walter B.
Groves, Robert
Gelinas, Theodore
Harriman, Winfield D.
Hall, George B.
Handy, Theodore
Hannon, Frank M.
Hawker, Julian B.
Hawkins, Paul R.
Hayes, Patrick J.
Hayes, William C.
Healey, Jerry F.
Hendrick, Frank B.
Hathaway, James W.
Honrahan, Timothy T.
Higgins, Albert F.
Hillier, George
Hoadley, Charles
Hanrihan, Thomas P.
Howes, Edson P.
Hubbard, Edward R.
Hunt, Frank N.
Hurley, John C.
Ingersoll, Robert N.
Jenks, Fred A.
Johnson, Irving J.
Jones, Frank P.
Kane, Patrick H.

Kelleher, Michael F.
Kelley, John L.
Kelley, Robert G.
Kennedy, John
Kernan, Thomas F.
King, Frank E.
Kingston, Paul J.
Knapp, Harry H.
King, Harry R.
Ladburg, Henry F.
La Rock, Frederick
Lathrop, Edward K.
Lathrop, Ward
Lawler, Henry H.
Leary, Eugene C.
Le Doux, Frederick A.
Leonard, John J.
Leyden, Edward J.
Lee, Eugene E.
Linnehan, James A.
Little, Andrew
Loveley, Joseph N.
Lovett, Christopher L.
Lusk, Ross L.
Luther, Everett H.
McCarthy, Dennis F.
McCullough, William C.
McDonald, Henry
McFarland, Hale
Mack, William J.
McHale, Michael J.
McKeown, George J.
McLeod, Charles E.
McPhee, Donald A.
Madison, Burdette R.
Malone, John J.
Malone, Patrick J.
Mack, Edward J.
Mathews, Clarence M.
Meade, William J.
Murray, Frank
Mandeville, John B.
Marble, Ernest P.
Markham, George H.
Marsden, Albert
Mason, William L.
Mattoon, Frank C.
Maynard, Myron W.
Merchant, Henry E.
Montivedo, Louis
Moody, Frank E.
Morehouse, John L.
Moriarty, Daniel J.
Morrell, Fred H.
Mueller, Carl A.
Munroe, John E.
Munson, Homer G.
Murphy, Joseph A.
Nelson, Charles A.
Nesbitt, Samuel W.
Nichols, Bert
Noone, Patrick J.
O'Brien, Richard T.
Page, Alfred M.
Pero, Joseph L.
Perroult, Elmer E.
Prentice, Robert W.
Rassmar, Walter F.
Rongean, Louis E.
Tobian, Thomas J.
Vadnais, A. A.
Whipple, Frank B.
Wood, Augustus

Pittsfield

Badger, Edward L.
Barber, William P.
Barnett, James E.
Beron, John K.
Benedict, Roy P.
Britton, James
Britton, Thomas
Brodie, Joseph
Burbank, Robert A.
Butler, Patrick
Cavanaugh, Maurice J.
Coggswell, George T.
Condon, Dennis E.
Condon, Patrick F.
Connell, Owen
Coty, Elmer E.
Devarney, William H.
Ensminger, Charles
Farrell, S. P.
Fisher, Franklin D.
Flynn, John D.
Foley, James
Foley, Ellsworth B.
Germain, Theodore
Goss, John E.
Goutherat, Emil J.
Grady, Jerry
Grant, Edward J.
Graves, Warren A.
Grise, Arthur R.
Griswold, Burton E.
Harper, Edward A.
Harney, John H.
Harte, Michael
Herrick, James A.
Hookinson, John A.
Hopper, John
Howe, Job
Howe, Ralph B.
Herring, Adolph
Hunter, Robert W.
Julian, Arthur
Jemison, Herbert W.
Kenney, Edward H.
Kern, William A.
Kie, Frank J.
Knight, Robert H., Jr.
Keane, Anthony F.
Keith, H. George
Kube, Rudolph
Langlelier, Henry
LaPointe, George J.
Lempke, Henry
Lippmann, Charles F.
Langdon, Homer J.
LeBarnes, George
McGrath, Michael
Magner, Charles F.
Manning, Frank W.
Michael, John B.
Miller, Charles E.
Miskle, John H.
Macdolald, Alexander
McBride, David
Mackey, Richard
Marion, Alfred
Markert, Herman
Mattice, Frank G.
Mennier, Emile
Morrison, Edward J.
Muirhead, Andrew
Murphy, Anthony
Murphy, Samuel A.
Normoyle, John
Nelson, James B.

Nugent, Frank H.
O'Leary, Richard J.
Owen, Frank B.
O'Connell, John J.
O'Connell, Patrick J.
O'Brien, Charles
O'Dea, Michael
O'Donnell, John J.
O'Leary, John J.
O'Neil, John J.
Osgood, George B.
Owens, Charles
Packard, Arthur H.
Packard, Walter A.
Parkhurst, Harry H.
Partridge, Arthur M.
Peterson, Jacob P.
Phillips, George R.
Piper, William C.
Potter, Adrain L.
Potter, George W.
Powers, Philip C.
Phillips, Francis D.
Powers, Joseph D.
Provost, Clarence E.
Potter, Charles S.
Powell, Edward J.
Read, Charles D.
Reed, Alfred F.
Reno, Nelson
Roscoe, Alfred J.
Root, Harry E.
Ransom, Melvin H.
Reardon, Walter J.
Reapell, Wilmore L.
Reynalds, John
Richmond, George A.
Richter, Alvin B.
Riordan, Christopher J.
Rivers, Frank X.
Roberts, Henry P.
Robinson, Ernest E.
Robinson, Philip
Rooney, William J.
Roat, William J.
Rose, Alfred E.
Ross, Clarence B.
Ross, Albert A.
Regan, James C.
Ryan, Matthew
Sawtelle, Matthew
Sculley, Edward E.
Shandoff, William
Seaman, Benj. A.
Spea, Jerry J.
Shaw, Charles R.
Shepardson, Jason I.
Smith, Peter
Stedman, Oliver
Taffe, Thomas
Ward, Herbert P.
Winnard, Edward
Kelleher, William A.

Tyringham

Keegan, Daniel

West Stockbridge

Kersey, William J.
Leahey, Michael

Williamstown

Casey, Alex J.
Durnin, Peter J.
Forscythe, Walter F.
George, Warren
Myler, Ernest W.
Seannell, Jerry
Sheehan, Dennis J.
Slate, Edmond J.
Slate, Frederick W.
Small, Harry L.
Smith, David A.
Sugrue, Thomas
Sullivan, John
Sullivan, Jere W.
Tatro, Willis H.
Train, Edward R.
Turattle, Frank T.
Urmson, John E.
Vigneux, Fred
Vogel, George
Wagner, Edward
Wagner, Herman
Wall, Austin J.
Welwood, John C.
Weymouth, William L.
White, Bertie

Ludlow

Lanon, Halaire
Leonard, James
Mayo, William
Shean, Daniel J.
Shean, James W.

Monson

Alonzo, Angelo
Shean, James R.
Shirfelt, Cyrus W.
Slattery, Henry J.
Smith, John J.
Smith, Samuel E.
Snell, Edgar W.
Sollace, George E.
Southmayd, G.
Stephens, William E.
Stetson, Fred S.
Stone, Alfred
Sweet, Oscar
Sullivan, James
Sullivan, Michael F.
Symonds, Harry J.
Terrell, Robert B.
Therow, John
Thompson, Fred A.
Tobin, John E.
Turner, David A.
Turner, William E.
VanPatten, Charles H.
Vassiley, Nicholas D.
Veroneau, Edward
Vesper, Harry J.
Vesper, Paul
Wakefield, Frank A.
Wakefield, Harry C.
Welsh, W. J.
Waters, Frederick
Ward, Walter W.
Warner, Frank P.
Warner, Walter H.
Warriner, William S.

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY

Amherst

Frost, Arthur F.
Hart, John J.
Linehan, J. J.
Redding, Robert M.
Smith, Lindsey G.

Belchertown

Aldrich, Don A.
Flemy, John E.

Easthampton

Callahan, Patrick
Carter, George E.
McCarthy, John
Peabody, William J.

Northampton

Adams, Albra
Ahern, Michael
Allen, John C.
Allis, George L.
Allis, John L.
Arnold, Clarence H.
Atkins, Harvey R.
Barbour, Frank E.
Baribolt, Edward S.
Beckman, Albert G.
Bellville, Alfred N.
Bishop, Harry A.
Brass, Wesley S.
Brown, Perry T.
Burke, John L.
Campbell, John L.
Carroll, John J.
Casey, Lewellyn D.
Cashman, Daniel B.
Cashman, Royer J.
Chamberlain, H. H.
Cole, Eugene F.
Gould, Albert J.
Joyce, John F.
McKerrin, Edward J.
Sheehan, Douglas

Palmer

Atkins, Allen W.
Clark, Farley G.
Cooley, Clarence E.
Moore, Eugene W.
Sherman, Henry H.
Sullivan, John
Sullivan, Michael
Wing, Clarence M.

Russell

Spear, John

Southwick

Saunders, Edward B.

Springfield

Aiken, Edward M.
Alberts, Owen
Alderman, Ernest L.
Allen, Horace W.
Allen, William R.
Anderson, Frank A.
Anderson, Sven
Ashley, Charles H.
Austin, Timothy T.
Avery, Hyatt W.
Baker, Arthur
Barkman, Ralph A.
Berry, Arthur J.
Bates, George L.
Barrett, Michael
Bellamy, Richard
Bearse, Richard
Barrowchiff, Elmer B.
Blauvelt, Arthur W.
Bright, Weston F.
Brundett, William H.
Burnes, Herbert E.
Blamey, Richard B.
Boone, Thomas C.
Boule, Frank H.
Bowen, Henry C.
Boyer, Peter F.
Bracken, Patrick
Brassard, Wilbur J.
Brazeil, James A.
Breck, Michael E.
Brenan, Patrick J.
Britton, James W.
Broderick, Jeremiah
Braulette, Arthur N.
Brown, Joseph P.
Brown, Wallace H.
Brownell, Alfred C.
Brunell, Albert J.
Bryson, John
Bargess, John E.
Burke, Francis A.
Burke, Thomas
Burke, Thomas F.
Burnham, Arthur M.
Betement, William
Cameron, A. A.
Campbell, George W.
Carey, Daniel J .
Carey, John M.
Cargill, Robert D.
Carr, Frank L.
Carter, Edward
Castaldine, Louis P.
Champaigne, T. J.
Chapman, Arthur L.
Chapman, Clarence E.
Childs, William F.
Clark, Matthew J.
Clark, E. P.
Coffey, Charles J.
Curtis, George F.
Clark, Webster C.
Cohn, William O.
Conlin, John W.
Collins, Henry C., Jr.
Cranston, Charles H.
Crowley, John R.
Culver, Francis B.
Crosier, Charles E.
Crosier, Winford W.
Crossman, Henry S.
Cummings, Martin J.
Deerden, William A.
Dexter, Janness K.
Daley, Thomas F.
Degutis, Paul
Derose, Charles O.
Dragon, Ernest F.

Dragon, R. F.
Dwyer, Martin W.
Eastwood, Daniel W.
Ericsson, Lawrence G.
Ewing, Albert E.
Fagan, James
Farnum, Frederick S.
Ferry, Winthrop H.
Fisher, Arthur J. C.
Fiske, Charles K.
Flynn, Jerome J.
Foy, Patrick
Frawley, James F.
French, Aiden S.
French, Chester W.
Gilbert, Ernest B.
Goodale, Robert C.
Guygott, Frank E., Jr.
Gallivan, James H.
Gilfillan, James R.
Goddard, Percival
Goodsell, M. W., Jr.
Gould, Wilbur V.
Hill, Walter
Hillenbrand, Harold F.
Hitchcock, Albert W.
Hitchcock, John S.
Jennings, Curtis H.
Jackson, John A.
Jamieson, Matt F.
Johnson, Walter C.
Kennedy, John J.
Kildish, Charles
Kilkirvich, William
Koone, Albert P.
Knowles, Walter H.
Kennedy, Timothy J.
Ladd, Frank C.
Lamont, Harry B.
LaCrosse, Oliver L.
Laro, Wilford
LaMont, Earl F.
Lombra, Irving C.
Long, Ward H.
Loomis, Howard C.
Lucas, Albert N.
Lyman, George W.
McGregory, Charles C.
Makepiece, Walter D.
Miller, Charles B.
Newcomb, Ralph H.
Nobers, George H.
Nugent, William
Owens, William H.
Patnode, Gaulding
Plase, Martin A.
Prouty, Charles A.
Sabin, Winfield A.
Smith, Edwin S.
Steele, Fred E.
Sullivan, Cornelius
Turnbull, James A., Jr.
Warburton, Robert B.
Webb, William A.
Wells, Eli
Wells, Frederick
Whitcomb, Ernest C.
Whitmore, Harry B.
Wilcox, Ernest W.
Wilkins, Harry O.
Wilkinson, Arthur L.
Wilson, Samuel
Woodbury, Joseph G.
Wright, Edwin W.
Wright, George F.
Wright, Henry, Jr.
Young, William L.

Tolland

Smith, Charles G.
Whalen, John C.

Wales

Stewart, George M.

West Springfield

Chadbourne, Wm. W.
Clark, Louis B.
Colgrove, George H.
Colvin, William C.
Comey, Benard E.
Cone, Charles F.
Conlin, Thomas M.
Conrod, Henry T.
Coolidge, William E.
Cornell, Timothy
Crelly, George C.
Crawley, Timothy J.
Dearden, Charles W.
Dillon, William R.
Easton, George E.
Fisher, Charles R.
Loiselle, Arthur J.
Lupine, Edward J.
McCarthy, Patrick F.
Magee, Frank H.
Mahoney, Michael J.
Meehan, James J.
Miller, Herbert A.
Moynihan, Daniel J.
Mahoney, John J., Jr.
Meade, Walter H.
Nichols, Paul
Nolan, James A.
O'Brien, James
Patnode, Gilbert G.
Richards, Harry H.
Streeter, McClellen E.
Wheeler, Robert H.

Westfield

Burlingamer, William
Carleton, Joseph
Chinskey, Alex.
Matak, Joseph
Provost, George E.
Rooney, Thomas L.

During the war with Spain, the officers of the Second Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry, made up from National Guards, chiefly, were as follows: Colonel—Embury P. Clark, of Springfield; Lieutenant-Colonel—Edwin R. Shumway, of Worcester; Majors—F. G. Southmayd, Springfield; Reuben A. Whipple, Adams; H.

B. Fairbanks, Worcester; Surgeons—H. C. Bowen, Springfield; E. A. Gates, Springfield; Chaplain—John C. Welwood, Holyoke; Captains—E. G. Barrett, Worcester; Henry McDonald, Springfield; Frank L. Allen, Worcester; W. J. Crosier, Holyoke; John J. Leonard, Springfield; H. L. Williams, Northampton; W. S. Warriner, Springfield; Fred E. Pierce, Greenfield; H. O. Hicks, Adams

The companies composing this regiment included company A—from Worcester; B—from Springfield; C—from Worcester; D—from Holyoke; E—from Orange; F—from Gardner; G—from Springfield; H—from Worcester; I—from Northampton; K—from Springfield; L—from Greenfield; M—from North Adams.

The World War—It is not within the purpose of this record to give a general sketch of the World War. It is, however, necessary to keep in mind a few of the dates relating to this great conflict. A few of these are given, simply as mile-stones.

The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife, were assassinated at Sarajevo, in Bosnia, on June 28th, 1914. On the 28th of July Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, and the next day Russian mobilization was ordered. On the 1st of August, Germany declared war on Russia, and on the same day France ordered mobilization. On August 2nd, Germany demanded free passage of her army through Belgium, which had long before been decided upon as the course by Germany would strike France, even regardless of the treaty guaranteeing the inviolability of Belgian territory, which Germany treated as a "scrap of paper." On the 3rd of August France declared war upon Germany, after calling attention to the treaties of 1839 and 1870. Then came the sudden attack upon Belgium, in which twenty-four army corps, divided into three armies, poured into Belgium, with France as the objective. On the 4th of August, Great Britain declared war against Germany and Lord Kitchener became Secretary of War. On the 26th of August, Louvain was sacked and burned by the Germans. From the 6th to the 10th of September, there took place the battle of the Marne, in which Von Kluck was defeated by General Joffre, and the Germans were driven back. On the 20th of the same month came the shelling of the Rheims Cathedral by the Germans. The English occupied Ypres on October 13th, and the next day the Canadian force of 32,000 men landed at Plymouth.

On the 24th of January, 1915, the British fleet put to flight the

German squadron in the North Sea. The German submarine blockade of the British Isles began on February 18th, 1915. The Germans first made use of poison gas on the Allied army on April 22nd in the attack upon the Canadians at Ypres. The "Lusitania" was sunk by a German submarine, off the Irish coast, May 7th, in which 1152 lives were lost, among whom were 102 Americans. On the 19th of August, the "Arabic" was sunk by a German submarine, 44 lives lost, 2 Americans. October 12th, Edith Cavell, English nurse, shot by the Germans, on the charge of aiding English prisoners to escape from Belgium, and the next day London was bombarded by Zeppelins—55 killed and 114 injured. On February 21st, 1916, the Battle of Verdun commenced. On the 19th of April, 1916, President Wilson warned Germany to abandon the submarine policy. On May 15th the British gained Vimy Ridge. June 5th, Lord Kitchener lost his life when the "Hampshire" was sunk off the Orkney Islands. July 1st the French and British made the attack north and south of the Somme.

On February 3, 1917, Count Von Bernstorff was given his passports and diplomatic relations with Germany were severed. On the 15th of March the Czar Nicholas, of Russia, abdicated. On April the 1st the "Aztec," an American ship, was sunk by a submarine.

On April 2d, 1917, President Wilson went before Congress and asked that war be declared against the German Government. In part, he said:

> The present German warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. Armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable.
>
> There is one choice we cannot make; we are incapable of making it: We will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are not common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life. I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States, that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.
>
> Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by

organized force, which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of the people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances.

We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a concert of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. The world must be made safe for democracy: Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish aims to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make.

It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts —for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

The address was regarded as a great historic document worthy to rank with the messages of Washington and Lincoln. The American people rose to the call of the President.

On April 5th the "Miss Ourian," an American steamer was sunk in the Mediterranean, and on the 6th the United States declared war against Germany. On the 18th of May, President Wilson signed the Conscription Bill, and on the 5th of June there was held the first registration day for the new draft army. July 3rd, 1917, the American expeditionary force of the United States arrived in France, where General Pershing, the Commander-in-chief, had preceded it early in June.

These dates are but a few of the mile-stones in the history of

the events leading to the entrance of Western Massachusetts into the great conflict which swept over the world like a devastating scourge, the effects of which will persist for years to come.

Western Massachusetts was largely represented in the One Hundred and Fourth Infantry regiment, and the "Yankee Division" having been the first to embark from this country to take part in the overseas war, it is but natural that more than a passing word should be had concerning these troops, the roster of which we regret to state cannot here be given.

The author is indebted to Mr. J. H. Fifield, who was on the editorial staff of the "Springfield Union" during these trying years, and above all other reporters was in a position to glean the inside facts concerning the formation and movements of the 104th Regiment, as well as the facts concerning the "Yankee Division." Through his generosity we are permitted to draw from his correspondence many valuable bits of history which should here be inserted. We pause here long enough to extend to him our thanks for the data his items have afforded us.

The headquarters of the Second Massachusetts Infantry had been in Springfield for a long time. The officers and men here were in readiness for whatever might happen. One battalion was in camp at Greenfield; a second in Worcester and a third in Springfield and the regiment was soon brought to the military standard of war-fitness.

August 13, 1917 a telegraphic order from headquarters of the Northeastern Department announced the formation of the 26th Division of the New England states. The 2nd Massachusetts Infantry was included. The next day orders came to proceed to Camp Bartlett, in Westfield. The first to arrive were four plumbers to lay water-pipes for a large camp. The first battalion to arrive was the troop in camp at Greenfield; next came the battalion from Worcester and the supply and machine-gun companies from Springfield. Four days after the first tent had been erected at Camp Bartlett, the entire 2nd Regiment was together. Within another week, men were coming in from all points of the compass. On the second Sunday of the camp's existence at Westfield, more than 15,000 soldiers were on the Plains. A City under canvas had sprung up as if by magic. Word came that National Guard lines were to be swept away and that there was to be an amalgamation that would bring new commands with new tables of organization demanded by European warfare. The welding pro-

cess was painful, the men felt much hurt, but they took their medicine like true soldiers. Camp Bartlett was placed under command of Brigadier-General Charles H. Cole. Into the camp flocked men from all over New England. On the heels of the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry came a lone cavalry command from New Hampshire, Troop A, that was to become a part of the 103rd Machine Gun Battalion. Next came rushing in men from Maine, the Second Infantry. Then came two cavalry troops from Rhode Island. The Sixth and Eighth Massachusetts Regiments were added and Massachusetts contributed a few more men when two hundred coast artillerymen arrived. Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts, with Rhode Island each and all were being well represented. But State troops soon lost their identity—all was changed—the Second Massachusetts Infantry formed the base for the Sixth and Eighth Massachusetts Regiments to bring it to embark for foreign shores. They reached Europe fully three weeks ahead of the Rainbow Division. Early in September the first unit left Camp Bartlett for duty overseas. It was the Field Bakery Company, who left by night. The big event was saying farewell, the parades, reviews, etc. of the 104th at Springfield, September 12, 1917. There were 3,600 men with a strong personnel that indicated the best that Massachusetts could muster was on hand, and that all other New England States making up the "Yankee" division were ready for action. They were certainly as fine, robust, intelligent a group of men as ever paraded the a total strength of 3,600 officers and men. The Second Maine became the 103rd Infantry, though made up of men from Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island. The Sixth Massachusetts furnished headquarters for training and Military Police for the 101st Regiment.

Next came the new rifles and steady drills, parades and reviews. Governors from all the New England States inspected the troops and Westfield became a double city, one of khaki and the other "civvies."

Finally when all was ready came the sad farewells, the departure for "somewhere in France" and the race for overseas. It was believed that the western troops from the Mississippi Valley and beyond, known as the Rainbow Division, would be the first to be transported, but upon being asked if they were ready, Massachusetts and all New England replied "Yes." Hence it was that the Yankee Division including the 104th Regiment, were first to

streets on like occasion. The line was formed at Forest Park and marched across the City of Springfield. They were reviewed at the arch-way at Court Square by the Governor and other military and civilian dignitaries. On the left of the reviewing stand stood the veterans of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, who watched the "boys" pass by, as they had in 1861-65 and in 1898-99. Not a few "lumps" were felt in the throats of these old veterans, for they knew full well what was ahead for these soldiers so recently enlisted and conscripted.

Two battalions went to Hoboken and sailed for New York; another went to Montreal and on to Halifax where a convoy awaited them. The departure of the 26th Division marked the first major troop movement of any note, from the American Army. New England soldiers formed the first complete division at war strength to be sent to France and their departure before the Rainbow Division, by several weeks, put them in the seat of war that much earlier—but they were anxious to go! The voyage to France was an experience that was repeated later by hundreds of thousands, although with variations. The 104th went in British ships, food was bad and the activities of the submarines had not been curbed as it was later. October 17, 1917 the battalion arrived in England and mobilized in a rest camp, at Southampton, where they remained till the 21st, then embarked for France, crossing the English Channel, landing at Le Havre, October 22. There they drilled constantly for four months before they tasted of real battles, and learned what modern warfare was. It was at Apremont that the 104th gained glory immortal. It there achieved a distinction that has made it noted in American military annals. This regiment withstood the attacks of the enemy and captured many prisoners. Heavy casualties were suffered by the regiment and it was more than once badly cut to pieces by shell-fire; but it was in the hand-to-hand combats that followed the assaults on the trenches, that brought formal recognition for its conduct by the French Government.

The battle of Apremont, so called, took place April 10 to 14 inclusive. Two weeks later the French General Passago decorated the colors of this regiment with the colors of France, the French *Croix de Guerre*, given for regimental bravery. This was the first time the standards of an American regiment had been decorated by a foreign government. This event gave rise, partly, to the anniversary held by the 104th Infantry Veterans Association on

April 28, 1921, since known as "Apremont Day." At the same time the French decorated the colors just named they also decorated 117 individuals with the *Croix de Guerre* for bravery in action. Among these were many men and officers from Springfield and other New England cities. Many received the individual citations and decorations awarded posthumously, having been killed in action.

The first officer killed was Lieutenant John J. Galvin, of Greenfield and the first prisoner taken was Sergeant Patrick Mechan, of Springfield.

Another terrific engagement for the 104th Regiment was of twelve days duration in the Meuse-Argonne region, where the regiment met great losses. But they fought on until the very moment the armistice was being signed on November 11, 1918. Twice on that eventful day this regiment "went over the top" in front of the town of Flabas.

The Westfield Memorial Dedication—April 28, 1921 there was a great reunion of these Massachusetts soldiers at Westfield at their original camp-place. It was the occasion of an anniversary and a splendid monument was unveiled in the presence of twenty thousand persons. This memorial is to pay tribute to the fallen heroes of that awful war in which this division took so active a part. Major General Hayes presided at the dedication of the monument, which was formally presented to the City of Westfield by him.

SPRINGFIELD
HONOR ROLL

(Revised to May, 1924).

Alvord, Hugh H., Sgt., Sr. Grade, Q. M. C. Died Dec. 16, 1918.
Arms, Harold G., Wag., Sup. Co. 104th Inf. Died of wounds July 19, 1918.
Backer, Alexander, Pvt., 23d Infantry. Killed June 22, 1918.
Baker, William L., 1st Lieut., 157th D. B. Died January 31, 1919. Acute peritonitis.
Baribult, Leon A., Cpl., Co. B. 104th Inf. Died of wounds June 16, 1918.
Barrows, Martin M., Pvt. 1st Cl., 7th Field Arty. Killed October 10, 1918.
Batchelder, Ray H., Pvt., Co. F. 1st Engrs. Died of wounds Sept. 12, 1918.
Blake, Joseph, Pvt., Co. C. 327th Inf. Killed Sept. 17, 1918.
Bodah, William, Pvt., Co. B. 26th Inf. Killed July 21, 1918.
Botoras, Peter G., Pvt., 30th Co. 8th Bn. D. B. Died of hemorrhage cerebral Oct. 20, 1917.
Boyle, James H., 2nd Lt., Quartermaster Corps. Died Dec. 11, 1918.
Bragg, Raymond T., Sgt., Co. H. 2nd Bn. Marine Corps. Died Sept. 24, 1918.

Briere, Henry J., Pvt., 34 Co. 154th D. B. Died October 9, 1918 of pneumonia-influenza.
Burke, John F., Pvt., 152nd Depot Brig. Died Sept. 25, 1918 of lobar pneumonia.
Burt, Ray A., 2nd Lt., 38 Field Arty. Died Oct. 26, 1918. Broncho pneumonia.
Byron, Dona, Cpl., Co. G. 104 Inf. Killed October 24, 1918.
Call, Charles S., Pvt., M. G. Co. 104 Inf. Died November 30, 1917. Broncho pneumonia, asthma and dilation of the heart.
Caroll, Michael J., 2nd Lt., M. C. Naval Hosp. Died October 29, 1918.
Chadwick, Clyde L., Hosp. Apprentice. U. S. Navy. Died August 2, 1918.
Chapin, Alfred L., Pvt., Co. E. 327th Inf. Died May 28, 1919 of wounds.
Chapin, Clarence B., Cpl., 96th Co. 6th Marines. Died Oct. 4, 1918 of wounds.
Chenade, Albert J., Cook, Co. A. 9th Inf. Killed July 2, 1918.
Chetham, Howard F., Pvt., 3rd Regt. New Zealand E. F. Died.
Cianni, Antonio, Pvt. 1st Cl., Co. G. 104th Inf. Killed April 11, 1918.
Cignoni, Louis F., Pvt., Co. C. 165th Inf. Killed July 15, 1918.
Craig, Stewart A., Pvt., Medical Corps. Died October 10, 1918.
Clark, James L., Saddler, Supply Co. 104th Inf. Died Dec. 30, 1918 of lobar pneumonia.
Clarke, Alfred B., 2nd Lt., Officers' Reserve Corps. Died Feb. 6, 1918.
Collins, Alfred, Pvt. 1st Cl., Battery D. 102nd F. A. Died Oct. 19, 1918 of wounds.
Cooper, Samuel P., Sgt., Co. B. 16th Inf. Killed May 5, 1917, El Paso, Tex.
Cormier, Jerome, Cpl., 2nd Prov. Co. Died Oct. 5, 1918 of broncho pneumonia.
Crocker, Ralph T., Chief Yeoman, U. S. N. Died Oct. 7, 1918 of pneumonia.
Dauphinais, Harry, Pvt., Co. A. 6th Engrs. Died July 17, 1919 of wounds.
Dawes, Ralph N., Sgt., Band, 104th Inf. Died in railroad wreck, Dec. 5, 1918.
Dawley, Elmer G., Pvt., Co. G. 104th Inf. Killed April 14, 1918.
Desotell, Jerry, Pvt., Bat. D. 2nd Corps Art. Park. Died Oct. 2, 1918.
DeForge, Charles, Cpl., M. G. Co. 328th Inf. Killed Oct. 18, 1918.
Dinneen, Michael J., Pvt. 1st Cl., Co. K. 104th Inf. Died May 29, 1919. Broncho pneumonia.
Dunbar, Donald E., 2nd Lt., Co. L. 101st Inf. Killed July 21, 1918.
Durkin, William P., Pvt., Mil. Police, 26th Div. Killed Nov. 2, 1918. Train wreck.
Ehlert, Henry, Cook, Hqrs. Co. 104th Inf. Died March 26, 1918. Suicide.
Falvey, John W., Cpl., Co. L. 9th Inf. Died Sept. 12, 1918 of wounds.
Finch, Norman W., Seaman, Coast Guard. Lost at sea Sept. 26, 1918.
Ferrier, Alexander, Pvt., 23rd Inf. Killed August 8, 1918.
Finlayson, Robert M., Pvt., 13th Bn. Canadian E. F. Killed August 8, 1918.
Finlayson, Kenneth S. M., Pvt., 101st M. G. Bn. 26th Div. Killed Oct. 24, 1918.
Foren, Charles H., Pvt., Canadian E. F. Killed.
Fowler, Willard H., Cpl., Co. F. 73d Inf. Died Sept. 29, 1918. Broncho pneumonia.
Fraser, Edward J., Cpl., Co. K. 104th Inf. Died Oct. 25, 1918. Wounds.
Frost, Malcolm Z., Seaman, U. S. Navy. Lost at sea Nov. 12, 1918.
Fuerst, Harry E., Pvt., Med. Corps 316th Inf. Killed Sept. 30, 1918.
Fuller, Guy E., 1st Lt., Quartermaster Corps. Died May 31, 1918. Automobile accident.

Cagnier, John C., Seaman, U. S. Navy. Died Nov. 28, 1917. Acute endocarditis pyelitis—incident to service.
Garber, Arthur, Pvt., Co. G. 26th Inf. Died June 3, 1918 of wounds.
Geehan, Patrick, Pvt., Australian E. F. Killed.
Gendreau, Alphonse J., Pvt., Ordn. Corps. Died Oct. 20, 1918 of pneumonia.
Georgantas, George C., Pvt., Co. A. 59th Inf. Died Nov. 27, 1918 of pneumonia.
Gokey, Arthur, Pvt., Co. G. 301st Inf. Killed October 14, 1918.
Goldstick, Harry, Pvt., 1|c Motor Supply Train 472. Died Sept. 29, 1918 of pneumonia.
Green, Lewis, Pvt., Amb. Co. 305th San. Tr. Died Oct. 23, 1918 of wounds.
Green, John F., Supply Sgt., Co. G. 104th Inf. Died August 31, 1917. Automobile accident.
Grieco, Michele, Lt., Italian E. F. Killed.
Greenberg, Nathan, Pvt., Co. K. 23d Inf. Killed Oct. 3, 1918.
Guartha, Charles J., Cpl., Bat. E. 7th Field Arty. Killed May 15, 1918.
Guernsey, Steven, Sgt., 151st Depot Brig. Died Oct. 1, 1918 of pneumonia.
Guiney, Leo P., Pvt., 1|c 65th Balloon Corps. Died Nov. 1, 1918 of pneumonia.
Hammond, James, Pvt. 1|c, Co. D. 9th M. G. Bn. Killed July 15, 1918.
Hannum, George W., Pvt. 1|c, Co. D. 104th Inf. Killed Sept. 13, 1918.
Handley, Walter, Chaplain, Royal Welsh Fusilliers. Killed March 24, 1918.
Harnsworth, Frederick B., Pvt., M. G. Co. 104th Inf. Killed.
Hendrickson, John L., Cpl., Co. G. 104th Inf. Killed April 13, 1918.
Heydt, John L., Sgt. Major, U. S. Marine Corps. Died Nov. 9, 1918.
Hogan, James F., Pvt., 148 Spruce Squadron. Died Jan. 1, 1919.
Huggins, James R., Pvt., Canadian E. F.
Hyde, Theodore A., Seaman 2|c, U. S. Navy. Died Sept. 26, 1918. Influenza.
Jarvais, Lewis G., Pvt., Co. B. 104th Inf. Killed June 16, 1918.
Kane, James P., Pvt., Co. K. 58th Inf. Died Oct. 16, 1918 of wounds.
Karcher, Earl H., Cpl., Med. Corps, San. Div. Died March 25, 1918. Septicomia Streptococci.
Kelly, William J., Pvt., U. S. Air Service. Died Nov. 29, 1918. Fracture base of skull.
Kennedy, James S., Pvt., 42nd Co. 153 D. B. Died Oct. 2, 1918. Lobar pneumonia.
Keysor, Frank, Cook, Co. G. 104th Inf. Died Sept. 4, 1918 of wounds.
Kimball, Alton H., Jr., 2nd Lt., Air Service. Died Nov. 12, 1918. Aeroplane accident.
King, Frederick B., Pvt. 1|c, Co. I. 101st Inf. Died July 18, 1918 of wounds.
King, George, Pvt., M. G. Co. 104th Inf. Killed October, 1918.
Kirkcaldy, Thomas, Pvt., Co. I. 328th Inf. Killed Oct. 7, 1918.
LaCross, William E., Pvt. 1|c, M. G. Co. 104th Inf. Killed July 14, 1918.
Laughlin, Thomas, Pvt., 116th Bn. Canadian E. F. Killed.
Leab, Edgar F., Pvt., Med. Corps, D. B. Died October 20, 1918.
Louden, John J., Pvt., 7th Field Arty. Killed June 6, 1918.
Lynch, Francis J., Pvt., Co. D. 104th Inf. Died Dec. 6, 1918 of wounds while a prisoner of war in Germany.
Madison, Burdette R., 1st Lt., M. G. Co. 104th Inf. Died Oct. 14, 1918. Influenza.

MacReady, James C., Pvt., Radio Co. 2nd Field Sig. Bn. Died Nov. 7, 1918 of lobar pneumonia.
Mathews, Leon R., Pvt., Med. Corps 28th Inf. Died May 21, 1918 of wounds.
McGrath, William J., Jr., Pvt., 2nd Mass. Inf. and Canadian E. F. Killed.
McKenzie, Duncan F., Pvt., Co. K. 310th Inf. Died Oct. 17, 1918 of wounds.
McLean, F. W., Pvt., Inf. Canadian E. F. Killed.
McNair, Robert, Lt., Royal British Flying Corps. Killed.
McNally, Edward A., Landsman, U. S. Navy. Died June 13, 1917 of lobar pneumonia.
Mercier, Joseph L., Pvt., Bat. E. 66th Field Arty. Died Oct. 3, 1918. Influenza and broncho pneumonia.
Marien, Henry C., Sgt., Co. M. 101st Inf. Killed October 24, 1918.
Midwood, William R., Pvt., Co. G. 18th Inf. Killed July 20, 1918.
Mungeon, Rene F., Pvt., Bat. A. 306th Field Arty. Killed August 23, 1918.
Moore, James J., Supply Sgt., 75th Inf. (Supply Co.). Killed.
Moriarty, Thomas J., Pvt., Co. A. 9th Engrs. Died March 10, 1919. Broncho pneumonia.
Munroe, George, Pvt., Co. K. 104th Inf. Killed July 22, 1918.
Nestor, Constantine V., Pvt., Co. E. 127th Inf. Killed Oct. 4, 1918.
Newton, Kenneth G., Pvt., 5th Machine Gun Bn. Died Feb. 22, 1919. Broncho pneumonia.
Nooney, Kenneth W., Cpl., 137th Field Arty. Died.
Norton, John H., Capt., Co. K. 47th Inf. Died Nov. 21, 1918. Broncho pneumonia.
O'Brien, Edward J., Pvt., Co. G. 104th Inf. Killed April 12, 1918.
O'Hara, William J., Cpl., Co. B. 104th Inf. Killed July 23, 1918.
O'Keefe, Garrett I., Pvt., Hqrs. Co. 79th F. A. Died Feb. 18, 1919. Asphyiation (accident).
Oliver, Arthur E., Pvt., British Army. Killed.
Oppenheimer, Carl, Carpenter's Mate 1|c, U. S. Navy. Died Nov. 9, 1918 of acute myocarditis.
Ouimette, Arthur P., Pvt. 1|c, Guard & Fire Co. No. 317. Died Oct. 23, 1918 of broncho pneumonia.
Parsons, Ethel M., Yeoman F, U. S. Navy. Died Oct. 14, 1918 of pneumonia.
Pasahniek, Evan, Pvt., Co. I. 1st Bn. D. B. Died Oct. 15, 1918.
Pelkey, William, Cpl., M. G. Co. 2d Mass. Inf. Killed July 5, 1917 (motorcycle accident).
Payrow, Donald C., Ensign, Naval Reserve Aviation. Died August 24, 1918. Lost at sea.
Perkins, Byron R., Pvt., Hqrs. Co. 1st Engrs. Killed July 20, 1918.
Pessolano, Michael, Pvt., Bat. D. 304th Field Arty. Killed Sept. 10, 1918.
Phelps, Harold H., 2nd Lt., Co. C. 9th Inf. Killed Oct. 3, 1918.
Phillips, Michael S., Pvt., Co. B. 104th Inf. Killed June 16, 1918.
Quilty, Edward W., Pvt., Co. H. 26th Inf. Killed Oct. 12, 1918.
Ramberg, William A., Pvt., Signal Corps Aviation Sec. Died March 5, 1918 of lobar pneumonia.
Reno, Roy W., Pvt., Co. F. 102nd Inf. Died July 22, 1918 of wounds.
Rice, Raymond E., Pvt., Co. G. 104th Inf. Killed July 18, 1918.
Richter, George, Quartermaster 1|c. Aviation Service. Died Dec. 7, 1917.

Rifford, George W., Pvt., Co. B. 104th Inf. Died Apr. 10, 1918 of wounds.
Russell, Michael, Pvt. 1|c, Co. A. 327th Inf. Killed Sept. 30, 1918.
Salvas, Hector V., Pvt., Troop L. 314th Cav. Died Oct. 13, 1918 of broncho pneumonia.
Skinner, Robert L., Pvt. 1|c, Flying Cadets. Died Oct. 5, 1918.
Spear, Graham B., Ordnance Corps. Died Oct. 11, 1918.
Spencer, Frank W., Sgt. 1|c, Med. Corps, 104th Inf. Killed June 16, 1918.
Sullivan, Howard J., Pvt. 1|c, Co. D. 104th Inf. Killed July 22, 1918.
Sullivan, Michael, Pvt. 1|c, 31st Co. C. A. C. Died Sept. 21, 1918 of lobar pneumonia.
Sutherland, Gordon A., Sgt., Co. B. 104th Inf. Died June 17, 1918 of wounds.
TenBroeck, Edward A., Sgt., Co. K. 23d Inf. Died June 10, 1918 of wounds.
Tolkum, John, Pvt. 1|c, Co. I. 6th Inf. Killed Oct. 14, 1918.
Trapp, William F., Cpl., Co. I, 60th Inf. Killed Oct. 14, 1918.
True, Lloyd L., Seaman 2|c, U. S. Navy. Died Feb. 28, 1918.
Vautrain, Levi J., Pvt., Co. K. 30th Inf. Died May 30, 1918 of accident.
Volenec, Frederick W., Seaman 2|c, U. S. Navy. Died Sept. 12, 1918.
Waldron, Charles, Pvt., Co. G. 104th Inf. Killed April 12, 1918.
Watkins, George F., 2nd Lt., Co. L. 165th Inf. Killed July 28, 1918.
Wedin, Gunner N., Pvt. 1|c, Co. E. 27th Inf. Killed Sept. 30, 1918.
Wright, Harrison A., Cpl., Co. M. 372d Inf. Killed Oct. 9, 1918.
Wright, Warren B., Pvt., Co. F. 73d Arty. C. A. C. Died Oct. 7, 1918.
Yianopoulus, George (alias George K. Hamilton), Cpl., Co. B. 104th Inf. Killed July 20, 1918.
Young, David, Pvt., 42nd Black Watch. Killed.

The above list was obtained through the courtesy of George A. Roberts, Soldiers' Relief Commissioner of the City of Springfield.

Taps—"Call to Quarters blows, and soon Taps will lay us to rest for the day. As surely as the bugle calls of the day (save Mess and Pay) are to be damned, those of the night are to be blessed, particularly Taps. No matter how a man wearies of the Army, here is one call he wouldn't mind hearing every night of his life. It seems to us something more than beautiful music. In a way, it symbolizes and humanizes this army that rides your neck all day, whispering at night that, after all, the Army wishes you well, and that it's all for the good of the service. There are men who, if they go to bed before it sounds, lie awake and await it, much as the devout await Benediction. The grind, disgust, the oath and the spur—these it obliterates, saying all of our prayers for us and sending us quietly to sleep, better ready for another day."

PART II

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY

CHAPTER I

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY'S BEGINNINGS

Fifth Of The Bay Colony's Original "Sheires" Recognised, And Invested With Special Powers.

For the first twenty years of the existence of the Massachusetts Bay Colony its seat of Government was at Boston. The "Bay" was the eastern bound-mark of the territory thirty-five miles wide, reaching "from sea to sea," as granted to John Endicott and his colleagues by Charles the First, in 1628. In the same act the king granted his "trusty" subjects full and complete authority as to who should make the laws, when the "courts" should be held, and who should be the first governor in all the magnificent territory embraced in this really kingly grant. It should be remembered that, if literally carried out, the land included in this royal "sea to sea" grant (reaching north and south from the mouth of the Charles to the mouth of the Merrimac) would also mean not only the ownership of Haverhill, Lawrence, Lowell, Fitchburg, Greenfield, and Pittsfield in Massachusetts, but Albany, Troy, Ithaca, Dubuque, Sioux City, Fort Robinson, The Nebraska National Forest, the Twin Falls of Idaho, Oregon's superb Indian Reservation, and nearly all within the range of Cape Blanco and Cape Sebastian on the Pacific Coast! The king's moral right to grant to anybody such a generous section of the earth's surface may well be questioned!

Within three years thereafter more than a score of "ships," such as they were, had brought over upwards of 1700 immigrants. Before many months had passed constant arrivals from England had increased the number of settlements to thirty. For administrative convenience as well as for answers to numerous requests constantly arising from the settlers themselves, it was decided by the chief men to divide original Massachusetts into "sheires" (or "counties") after the English fashion. According, the General Court of the "tenth day of the Third Month, A. D. 1643," ordered that the whole "Plantation within this Jurisdiction is divided into four 'sheires.'"

Thus, Boston and seven other neighboring settlements became

"Suffolk" county; Salem and seven of its neighbors became "Essex;" "Charlestowne" and seven more towns became "Middlesex," and Haverhill with its five nearest villages became "Norfolk Old," —in contradistinction to "Norfolk New." But neither the growing settlement of Springfield nor that of Plymouth were considered, apparently, in this first listing of the original "sheire-towns."

The Fifth County Is Born—Although the Connecticut valley had already been settled several years, and the chief town in Western Massachusetts had been recognized by the Court as a magistracy, not until nineteen years later was it given separate county priveleges.

May 7th, 1662, the "Court of Election," at Boston, by the following legislative enactment. erected the county of Hampshire;

"Forasmuch as the Inhabitants of this jurisdiction are much increased, so that now they are planted farre into the Country upon Connecticut River, who by reason of their remoteness cannot conveniently be annexed to any of the countyes already settled, and that publicke affaires may with more facility be transacted according to the lawes heere established, it is ordered by this Court & authority thereof, that henceforth Springfeild, Northampton, and Hadley shall be and are hereby constituted as a county, the bounds or ljmitts on the south to be the south ljne of the patent; the extent of other bounds to be full thirty miles distant from any or either of the foresajd townes, & what townes or villages soever shall heerafter be erected within the foresajd precincts to be & belong to the sajd county; and further that the sajd county shall called Hampshire, & shall have and enjoy the libertjes & priviledges of any other county; & that Springfield shall be the shire towne theer, & the Courts to be kept one time at Springfeild & another time at Northampton; the like order to be observed for their shire meetings, that is to say one yeere at one towne and the next yeare at the other from time to time. And it is further ordered that all the inhabitants of that shier shall pay their publicke rates to the countrey in fatt catle, or young catle such as are fitt to be putt off that so no unnecessary damage be put on the country; & in case they make payment in corne then to be made at such prises as the lawe doe commonly passe amongst themselves, any other former or annuall orders referring to the prises of corne notwithstanding."

Thus Hampshire county became the fifth of the mother-counties of the Massachusetts Bay colony. As originally bounded, it in-

cluded all of the present Franklin, Hampden and Hampshire counties, excepting the town of Monroe in the northwest corner of Franklin; either a part or all of the towns of Florida, Savoy, Cheshire, Dalton, Hinsdale, Peru, Windsor, Washington, Becket, Lee, Tyringham, Otis, New Boston and Sandisfield, in Berkshire county, and all or a part of the following towns in the western end of Worcester county; Athol, Dana, Hardwick, Petersham, Barre, Phillipston, New Braintree, the three Brookfields, Warren, Sturbridge, Southbridge, Royalston, Templeton, Oakham, Charlton and Spencer. It is important to recall that the thirty-mile sweep from the centre of what was then Hadley would have to include also a slice of what is now Windham county in Vermont and Cheshire county, New Hampshire.

Settlement Activities in the Vicinity of Northampton—In the earliest records the name of Northampton was variously spelled Nonotuck, Nolwottoge, Norwottock or Noen-tuk, meaning the "far-away land" or "in the far-up country." After Pynchon had bought the huge original tract, a part of which became Springfield, one of the original makers of the deed, the Indian "Wrutherna," with his wife "Awonsusk" and his son "Squomp," went up-river to what local Indians knew as the "far-land." This same Indian sachem was also known as "Weekshawen," with him are associated "Nippumsuit," "Wautsheas" and "Jancompawn," names quite well known in early land-dealings. As early as 1638, two years after Springfield was settled, Northampton saw three travelers who were probably the first whites ever seen in this part of New England, Captain John Mason of Hartford and two others who came up to secure corn. They talked to the Nonotuck Indians of that period to such good effect that the famous food fleet of fifty canoes passed down the Connecticut and brought relief to the hungry settlers of the lower plantation as already described. Thus the earliest records associate the name of Northampton with ample hospitality, and generous measure in answer to urgent needs. The tract was purchased by Pynchon and his associates for "100 fathom of wampum, ten coats, some small things, and the ploughing up of sixteen acres of land on the East side of the River the ensuing Sommer."

A very early record looking to a settlement at Northampton is dated "18th of the 3d Mo. Anno 1653;"

"Mr. Samuel Cole of Boston, having long since disbursed fifty pounds in the common stocke, as appeared by good testimony to

the Court, on his own request hath 400 acors of land granted him at Nonotucke, to be layd out by Captayne Willard." But in the meantime just thirteen days earlier, the first recorded mention of a granted privelege of a settlement at Nonotuck is found spread on the pages of the Town-book at Northampton, as follows:

Your Highly Honored, the General Court of the Massachusetts. The humple petition of John Pynchon, Eleazur Holliock, and Samuel Chapin, Inhabitants of Springfield, sheweth, We hartyly desire the continuance of your peace. And in exercise of your *subirch* in these parts, In order where unto we humbly tender o^{r} desire of that liberty may be granted to erect a plantation, About fifteen miles Above us, on this river of Connecticut, if it be the will of the Lord, the place being, as we think, very commodious, —*sideratis con Sixondo sor*—the containing Large quantities of excellent land and meadow, and tillable ground sufficient for two long plantations, and work, wch if it should go on, might, as we conceive, prove greatly Advantagous to your Common Wealth,—to wch purpose there are divers mour Neighboring plantatur that have a desire to remove thither, with your approbation thereof, to the number of twenty-five families, at least, that Already appear, whereof many of them are of considerable quality for Estates and for the matter for a church, when it shall please God to find opportunity that way: it is the humble desire that by this Hon^{d} Corte some power may be established or some course appointed for the regulating, at their 1st proceedings, as concerning whome to admit and other occurrences that to the glory of God may be furthered, And your peace and happiness not retarded. And the Inducement to us in these desires is not Any similar respect of our owne, but that we, being Alone, may by this means may have som more neighborhood of your jurisdiction. thus, not doubting your acceptance of our desires, wd thus entreat the Lord to sit among you in All your counsels, And remain your most humble servts.

On September 24, 1653, John Pynchon secured by purchase from the Indians "Chickwallopp," "Neessahalant," "Paquahalant," "Nassicohee," "Awonusk" and others—a large tract of land on the west side of the "Quonetticott," extending "nine miles (westward) out into the woods." This territory embraces all of what is now Northampton, Southampton, Easthampton and Westhampton, and a small portion of the present towns of Hatfield, Montgomery, Chesterfield and Huntington. Signing the original deed for this, the Indians made their "marks," that of Chickwallopp resembling the coarse sticks forming an eagles' nest, and that of Nassicohee bearing a singular resemblance to an Egyptian scarab, and showing much more of an attempt to really make a picture of something than any signature attached to any of the early Indian deeds. The white witnesses to this deed were Elizur Holyoke; Thomas Cooper, later killed by the Indians at the burning of Springfield;

Henry Burt, like Cooper, one of Springfield's first selectmen, and Thomas Stebbins, who removed to Northampton, with his father, Rowland Stebbins, in 1656.

This petition was granted by the Court on the same day that the 400-acre Cole grant was voted upon. John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin were appointed commissioners to divide the land available at Nonotuck into two plantations "and that the petitioners shall make choice of one of these, where they shall have liberty to plant themselves; provided they shall not appropriate to any planter above 100 acors of all sorts of land whereof not above twenty acors to be meddow, till twenty inhabitants have planted there, whereof twelve shall be freemen, or more, which said freemen shall have power to distribute the land and give out proportions to the several inhabitants as in other townes of this jurisdiction."

This committee reported to the General Court the following year, in a document which gives the official bounds in its closing paragraph:

> from the little meadowe above theire plantation, which meadowe is called Capawonk or Mattaomett, doune to the head of the falls which are belowe them, reserving the land on the east side of the said river for another plantation when God, by his providence shall so dispose thereof, and still remaine.
>
> Your humble servants,
> John Pinchon,
> Elizer Holyoke,
> Samuel Chapin.

The commission had no difficulty in finding twenty families ready to meet the conditions, for the spirit of expansion was in the air. A petition which had accompanied that of the three Springfield men just mentioned, came from 24 Connecticut men, and was a document fearful and wonderful as to spelling and verbosity, setting forth in "theese fiew Leins to your Judicious Consideration," their desire to gain "Authority from, by and Under you to plant, possess and Inhabit and Likewise for the good of others the probogating of the Gospell on the Conetequat river Above Springfeild caled Nonotack!" Signed to this picturesque paper are the names of several of the ancestors of many now living in that portion of the State, easily recognised in spite of the specimens of quaint spelling in the list. These are Edward Elmor, William Clark, Thomas Rote, William Jans, Robert Bartlett, William Miller and John Gilberd, all of Hartford. Besides these

the Connecticut towns of Windsor, Wethersfield, Farmington, New Haven, Stamford and New London were represented.

The little band of new settlers proceeded at once to the business of clearing, building, cultivating and improving their holdings. To each settler was granted a 4-acre (or less) "home-lot," and an outlying meadow lot of from three to six acres in a piece. The ancestors of many of the Northamptonites of the present day bear the familiar Springfield modern names, Burt, Edwards, Wright, Parsons, Searle, Bridgman or Stebbins.

Up to 1692 clergymen were not authorized to marry any persons in the colonies, special town "commissioners" or magistrates alone having such legal authority. The first marriage was that of David Burt and Mary Holton, respectively from Springfield and Hartford, November 18, 1654.

Other Beginnings—Not more than twenty-five families arrived during the first two years. These recognized the necessity of united action, and at once availed themselves of the proper and legal methods. The first recorded appearance of the name "Northampton" applied locally, was in 1654.

A gathering of the citizens was held a few months after the first arrivals. The first record of the transactions of a regular town meeting was of one that occurred in December, 1655.

Among the first public acts was the erection of a meeting house: "a house for the towne." It was not to be used exclusively for public worship, but for such gatherings as the town had need. For a hundred years the meeting house was not invested with the religious sanctity of the present time. The meeting house was built the latter part of 1654, and the work was done by William Holton, Richard Lyman, Joseph Parson, John Lyman and Edward Elmore. It was of "sawn timber," 26 feet long, 18 feet wide and 9 feet high from the "lower point of the cellar to the upper part of the raisens." As this was the first public house erected in the new town, it must have been somewhat better than the log houses that sheltered the people. The material was of "sawn timber," "sawn" by means of the long saw resembling the common cross-cut saw of today; one man standing on top of the log and the other in the pit underneath.

Saw-mills were introduced into the colony in 1631 but many years elapsed before any were in use in Western Massachusetts. Robert Bartlett was the first person to serve the township as constable.

The undivided commons and woods were the pasture grounds of the township and the cow keeper had the care of the stock pastured in them. He was appointed by the town, his wages being collected from the owners of the cows, during the early years of the settlement, but afterwards individuals joined together and paid their own herders. The custom of general herding was characteristic of all the early New England settlements.

At first came the cowherd, then the dryherd, afterwards the swineherd and the goatherd, followed by the shepherd all a part of the system of herding which prevailed for a century or more.

The first birth recorded in this section was May 2, 1655, when Ebenezer Parsons, was born to Mary (Bliss) and "Cornet" Joseph Parsons. The latter was slain exactly twenty years later during the first Indian attack upon Northfield. The second birth was that of James, son of Sarah and James Bridgman, May 30, 1655; and the death of this infant, seven months later, was the first recorded death in Hampshire county.

Witchcraft Craze Breaks Out Anew—It is a very singular fact that these two families, Parsons and Bridgman—involved in the first birth and the first death in Northampton, should immediately become the storm centre of Northampton's outbreak of the witchcraft delusion. The sad case of another Mary Parsons,—the wife of Hugh,—aired in Springfield and Boston five years before, undoubtedly had an influence tending to implicate Mary the wife of Joseph in Northampton, both the Bridgmans and the Joseph Parsons families having lived in Springfield during the earlier witchcraft flurry. The first intimation that belief in witchcraft had a foothold in Northampton came with a suit for slander between the Parsons and Bridgman families. Immediately after the death of Sarah Bridgman's infant son James, she was charged by Joseph Parsons, father of Northampton's first child with slander, "in that she did call his wife Mary Parsons a witch." The preliminary examinations in the case were in part taken before a special "commission" of selectmen chosen to end if possible small causes; and in part before the like "commission" in Springfield. The Northampton commission which failed to check the disturbance comprised William Holton, Thomas Bascom and Edward Elm and their lack of judicial experience probably had much to do with their lack of success. Much more experienced were the two Springfield commissioners, John Pynchon and his brother-in-law, Elizur Holyoke.

It came out in the hearings that the gossip about Mary Bliss Parsons being a witch had, in truth been started among her friends by Sarah Bridgman, and that her husband, Joseph, and her mother, Margaret Bliss, becoming exasperated at the rumors, sought to vindicate the family honor.

Witnesses testified that Mary Parsons was under the influence of the powers of darkness while she lived in Springfield during the witchcraft troubles in that place. She was represented as having been in the habit of wandering about at night with her familiar spirit. It was also asserted that her husband tried to prevent these nocturnal rambles by locking the doors of the house and hiding the key. William Branch, Thomas Stebbins, and among others, her husband's brother, Benjamin, testified that they had seen indications of mental unsoundness.

As has already been related, Mrs. Hugh Parsons of Springfield had been sentenced to death for killing her own child in 1652, dying while awaiting execution. This proved insanity was in the family, Hugh Parsons being a relative of Joseph!

After all the testimony had been taken in a long hearing, Mrs. Bridgman was arrested, September 8, 1656, and gave a bond to appear at court in Cambridge on the 7th of October.

The result of the trial was that Mrs. Bridgman was required to make suitable public retraction in both Northampton and Springfield, and that James Bridgman should pay not only ten pounds sterling to the plaintiff, but should also pay the costs of the court, seven pound sterling more! Mrs. Bridgman submitted and subsided, and the town interest in witchcraft and in this particular case soon died out.

The Famous "Meadows" and "Commons"—The first party of pioneers located just as near the meadows as they could get. The most desirable lot was nearest the meadows, on the south side of Pleasant street, and almost identical with the old Clapp place. It was owned by Robert Bartlett.

The meadows were then largely free of trees, though not as treeless as they appear today. A few acres of the meadows had been planted by the Indians to corn and beans, who, however, did not plow the land, for they had no horses to plow with. The planting, hoeing and harvesting was done by the squaws, who stayed near the fields in summer, while the bucks wandered around the country, after the middle of May, when the salmon ceased to run. As much as 16 acres in one tract is said to have been planted

to corn and beans by the Indians at about the time of the coming of the whites.

Every settler looked longingly at that meadow land. That was what he wanted most, and for 200 years it was the most highly prized possession in this town. With meadow land and a seat in the First church, the respectability of any resident was supposed to be assured for this world and the next. For a few years every newcomer was allotted a home lot of four acres, meadow land and a share in the Commons.

The meadows were divided by lines of contour and various sections were given names, which are more or less still retained, and which are shown on a map which is given in this issue. For the first few years, probably up to 1660, settlers were given all their meadow land in one parcel, but it was not many years before it was seen that the high land in the meadows was running short, and that this must be sparingly dealt out. Accordingly, later comers were given a little high land and a little low land, maybe in four or five different parts of the meadows. Among the old farming families of this day the effect of this practice is seen in the ownership of small parcels of meadow land in numerous subdivisions.

The original plan of dividing the meadows was:—15 acres to the head of a family; 3 acres to a son; and 20 acres to the settler who owned property elsewhere to the value of 100 pounds sterling.

By the year 1658, four years after settlement, there had been 38 allotments of lands. If each family had three sons, there would have been divided about 1572 acres. There are about 2469 acres in the entire meadows, and much of it was then swampy and unutilized for years after the settlement, so that they must have felt the pinch for land within four years after the town was settled.

The Manhan meadows, containing 550 acres, were divided in 1657, three years after the first coming, into 44 lots. Pynchon meadows, 120 acres, were given to John Pynchon of Springfield, who organized the party which settled Northampton, and to whom the Indians deeded their land. He held it quite a number of years before it was sold. In fact, no one was allowed to sell land without a permit of the town, for many years after its settlement.

The original settlers paid nothing for their land, but did not get title to their home lots till they had resided on them four years.

In December, 1657, only 16 settlers had complied with this four year law, and were given titles to their home lots.

Both before and after the crops in the meadows were gathered, cattle, horses and pigs were turned into the meadows to graze by anyone. Outside the meadows cattle roamed without fence, but in charge of a town herder, who took care of them during the day. This practice was kept up by the town for more than 80 years. But some animals must have been allowed to wander about the homes of the pioneers, for a fence was built along the edge of the meadows very early in the settlement, perhaps the second year. This fence extended from the Connecticut River, just below Hadley bridge, to the Manhan River, near the second bridge above in the mouth of the Manhan, a distance of six and two-thirds miles. This fence was maintained for at least 100 years, and each settler had to keep up so much of the fence as his acreage of land in the meadows bore to the total length of the fence. The particular place where he was to keep up the fence was fixed by lot, and if he did not fix the fence by a certain specified time in the year (March), the fence viewers notified him of his dereliction, and then if he did not fix it in two weeks the fence viewers did the work and it cost the owner double the expense of the work. The office of "fence viewer" in modern times is still maintained, but the duties of the office are of slight consequence compared to their truly great importance in the early days.

The greater part of those who settled in Northampton previous to 1663 were natives of England. The first planters of Hampshire county were farmers or mechanics. John Webb and Medad Pomeroy, blacksmiths; Robert Hayward, millwright; John Strong, tanner; James Bridgman and Nehemiah Allen, carpenters and "joiners;" John Lyman, bootmaker, and his son John, a weaver; Jonathan Hunt, cooper; Thomas Bascom, stone-mason, were all extremely useful citizens, and at first there was less need for the "professionals,"—lawyers, physicians, or merchants,—who were later evolved. Only three or four of the first settlers could write their names, though they were in other directions of a high order of intelligence, in an era where industry, strict morality, inborn piety and simplicity of manners were rated higher than "education."

Most of the settlers believed in large families. For examples, John Strong had 17 children, his son Thomas, 15, his sons Jedediah and Samuel, 12 each; Isaac Sheldon, 15; David Burt, 13; Medad Pomeroy, 13 and John Clark, 12.

Hampshire County Court History—Very early attention was given by the Colonists to the judiciary equipment. In September, 1639, the "General Court" ordered that the judgment of every Court with all the evidence be recorded in a book to be kept to posterity," and that records be "kept of wills, administrations, and inventories;" also of marriages, births and deaths.

The Court of Assistants was established by the charter of 1628, and remained a Superior Court; while county courts were formed as early as 1642, having jurisdiction in cases involving the amount of forty shillings and upward. In 1642 certain actions were "triable before the Commissioners in Boston," and actions under forty shillings before such court or before one magistrate, "or the three commissioners for ending small causes." By an act passed in 1650 an appeal was allowed from any inferior court to the Court of Assistants, whose decision was final except in some special cases. By another act, in 1654, the Inferior Court was allowed, in private suits, to state the question to be decided to the General Court, who thus determined the difficult questions arising.

Town magistrates were empowered, by acts passed in 1647 and subsequently, to hear and determine all causes arising within their county in matters of debt or trespass not exceeding forty shillings. In a town having no such magistrate the Court of Assistants or County Court might, on the request of the town, "appoint three of the freemen as commissioners in such cases."

By an act passed in 1651 the commissioners in Boston were annually chosen, and were empowered to try and decide causes under ten pounds, with one magistrate, who resided within the town, and each commissioner was made a judge in criminal cases where the fine did not exceed forty shillings for one offense; but an appeal lay to the Court of Assistants.

A County Court was established in each county, to be held by the magistrates living in it, or any other magistrates that could attend the same, or by such magistrates as the General Court should appoint from time to time, "together with such persons of worth, where there shall be need, as shall from time to time be appointed by the General Court." This court had power to hear and determine all causes, civil and criminal, not extending to life, member, or banishment, or to cases of divorce. Probate matters also were within its jurisdiction.

May 28, 1659, the General Court enacted as follows:

In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Springfield, it is ordered, that Capt. John Pinchon, Left. Elizur Holyoke, and Mr. Samuel Chapin,

for the year ensuing, and until the Courte shall take further orders, shall have full power and authorite to governe the inhabitants of Springfield, and to heare and determine all cases and offences, both civil and criminall, that reach not life, limb, or banishment, according to the laws here established; provided it shall and may be lawfull for any party to appeale to the Court of Assistants at Boston, so as they prosecute the same according to the order of this Courte; provided, also, that theire trialls may be by the oaths of six men, if twelve cannot be had for that service, and that Northampton be referred to Springfield in reference to County Courts, wch Courts shall be kept, one on the last Tuesday in the first month, and the other on the last Tuesday in September, yearly, at Springfield, unlesse the commissioners aforesaid shall see just cause to keepe one of them at Northampton; and the two Courts to be kept at Springfield or at Northampton, as aforesaid, shall in all respects have the power and privileges of any County Court till this Court shall see cause otherwise to determine; provided, they shall not warne above fower jurymen from Northampton to Springfield, or from Springfield to Northampton; and all fines as well as entry of actions shall goe toward the defrayeing of chardges of Courts; and out of Court the commissioners, or any two of them agreeing, may act, in all respects as any one magistrate may doe, either at Springfield or Northampton; and the commission graunted last yeare respecting Northampton is hereby repealed.

The first session of court held within the territory of the old county of Hampshire was at Springfield, March 27, 1660, by Capt. John Pynchon, Mr. Samuel Chapin, and Elizur Holyoke, in the capacity of commissioners. The jurors present were Thomas Cooper, George Colton, Benjamin Cooley, Thomas Stebbins, Jonathan Burt, John Dumbleton, Thomas Gilbert, Benjamin Parsons, and Samuel Marshfield, of Springfield; Henry Curtis, Henry Woodward, and Thomas Bascomb, of Northampton. The first case presented was one for breach of agreement, which was dismissed, plaintiff being adjudged to pay ten shillings and eight pence, costs of court, and six shillings and eight pence for defendant's "journey from Northampton." The second case was that of Nathaniel Clark, son of William Clark, of Northampton, against Edward Elmer, for "slander in calling said Nathaniel Theife, to the damage of five pounds." Judgment, four pounds for plaintiff and costs of court.

The county courts were held alternately at Springfield and Northampton, the first at the latter place being on the 26th of March, 1661, when there "were sent" to hold the same Mr. John Webster, Capt. John Pynchon, and Elizur Holyoke commissioners. At the second court, held at Springfield, September 25, 1660, Elizur Holyoke was "appointed recorder for this Court and County."

The following order of the court, made January 28, 1665, illustrates the condition of court affairs in the early times:

> This Corte doth determine that the reasonable charges of ye horses of the Judges or Commissioners & Jurymen that travell to the Cortes at Northampton and Springfield shall be satisfyed by the County Treasurer. This in reference to ye Townes now in being in ye County, & not for such Townes as may hereafter be nearer. By reasonable charges for horses mentioned in this order the Corte declared to be meant & intended only pasture or hay according to ye season; and by travelling to intend only such as travell from Springfield to Northampton, & from Northampton and Hadley to Springfield.

The first record of a Court of Assistants occurs under date of September 26, 1665. This court was held by Capt. John Pynchon, one of his Majesty's assistants, and Lieut. William Clark, Lieut. Samuel Smith, and Mr. Peter Tilton, associates. The last-named became assistant, by appointment, May 27, 1685. Capt. Pynchon and Mr. Tilton "presided in the county courts, and were members of the house of magistrates, at Boston, and judges of the Courts of Assistants."

By the second volume of court records, it appears that the last act of the original county court was at a meeting of the worshipful Maj. Pynchon and the worshipful Peter Tilton, Esquires, at Springfield, when two wills were admitted to probate.

From the opening of the courts in Hampshire until 1692, the records were kept in the same volumes with the registry of wills and probate proceedings, and, until 1677, by one clerk, who followed the court in its perambulations between the two places. In that year the court at Springfield ordered as follows:

> This court, considering the remoteness of the places one from the other where the County Courts are kept, and the trouble and the hazard in carrying and conveying the records from place to place, besides the inconveniencys and the charge to the people in going for to search any records, as occasion may be, Do therefore judge meet to have the records kept henceforward in or near each town where the courts are kept, that there may be double records for the greater security, for which end it is concluded to have two clerks, or recorders, for this county; Samuel Partrigg being already stated, he is henceforward to attend at Northampton court, and to keep and record all matters that respect yt part of the county thereabouts; and this court doth now appoint Mr. John Holyoke also a Clerke of the Courts, who is to attend at Springfield Courts, and is to record deeds for Lands, etc., and whatever respects this part of the county hereabouts; each clerk to attend ye respective courts in their several stations, and some short time after the end of every court, as soon as they have fairly recorded ye acts of the court

out of their day-book or waste-books, which they are speedily to do, and then to transmit the day-book of the other clerk, who is likewise to record as fair in his book, & then return ye day-book or waste-book; & this each of them to attend from time to time.

Provincial Courts—Provincial courts were established under the charter of William and Mary, of 1691. The provincial Legislature was empowered by this charter "to erect and constitute judicatories, and courts of record or other courts," to be held in the name of the King. By the same charter the governor for the time being, with the council or assistants, had power to "do, execute, and perform all that is necessary for the probate of wills, and granting administrations for, touching, or concerning, any interests or estates which any person or persons shall have within our said province or territory."

In 1692 the "Superior Court of judicature over the whole province" was instituted, to be held by "one chief-justice and four other justices," three of them to be a quorum. This court had power in civil cases, and was also a court of assize and general jail delivery. A further act, passed in 1699, added to the powers of this court, authorizing it to take cognizance "of all other matters, as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, within his Majesty's kingdom of England could do."

By the acts of 1692 and 1699 the Inferior Court of Common Pleas was established in each county, to be held by four justices duly appointed and commissioned, three of whom should form a quorum. Their powers extended to all civil actions arising or happening within the county tried at the common law, and upon judgment to award execution.

Governor William Stoughton's original sheepskin commission for the establishing of "Judicatories and Courts of Justice within Our Province," and calling for the recognition of "John Pynchon, Samuel Partrigg, Joseph Hawley and Joseph Parson" as judges, is reproduced herewith. It was secured exclusively for this work from the hitherto unpublished treasures of the famous William Smith Elwell collection of autographs and manuscripts.

By the same acts there was established a Court of General Sessions of the Peace, to be held in each county four times each year, empowered "to hear and determine all matters relating to the conservation of the peace and punishment of offenders, and whatever is by them cognizable according to law." By the later act, 1699, the defendant was allowed his appeal to the next Court

of Assize. This court was held at the same time and place with the Court of Common Pleas.

The first record of any court held under the laws of the province is that of a "General Sessions of the Peace, County Court, and Inferior Court of Common Pleas," held July 25, 1692. The record reads:

> At the General Sessions of the Peace, held at ————————, in West Hampshire, in ye Majesty's province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, being the first sessions after that his Excellency Sr. William Phips, Knight, tooke the Government,—present, John Pynchon, Saml Partrigg, Aaron Cooke, Joseph Hasley, Esq. The Commission for their Majesties' Justices of the Peace for said Hampshire, in their Majesties' Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, for the conservation of the Peace, and for the quiet Rule and Government of the people of said County was firstly read. Imprimis, it was ordered that constables, tithingmen, or other officers, according to their respective times and places chosen and sworn, shall stand and continue their respective yeer by and according to sd choices and oathes, and to officiate accordingly.

Having thus established the civil government on a firm footing, the courts decreed that "Capt. Samuel Partrigg hath license to retaile strong drinke."

There is a gap in the records of this court from June 5, 1694, until March 7, 1727, when it again appears as an "Inferior Court of Common Pleas," with Samuel Partrigg, John Stoddard, John Ashley, and Henry Dwight, Esquires, presiding. The last session of this court prior to the Revolution was held May 17, 1774, at which sat Israel Williams, Oliver Partridge, Timothy Dwight and Thomas Williamson, justices. After an intermission of four years this court was again organized by the General Court, which appointed Esquires Timothy Danielson, Eleazer Porter, John Bliss, Samuel Mather, Jr., to be justices thereof, who made Robert Breck, clerk, and held their first session August 25, 1778.

The province courts were superseded by those of the commonwealth in 1782.

Commonwealth Courts—The courts of the commonwealth of Massachusetts were established by act of July 3, 1782. These were the Supreme Judicial Court, the Court of Common Pleas, and Court of General Sessions of the Peace.

The judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, by that act, were to "hold their offices as long as they behave themselves well," and to have honorable salaries, ascertained and established by standing laws. This court was to consist of one chief and four

other justices, any three of whom constituted a lawful tribunal. It was given jurisdiction in civil and criminal causes and in various other matters, and was constituted the "Supreme Court of Probate," with appellate jurisdiction in nearly all probate matters.

A court of Common Pleas established by the same act for each county was similar to the provincial court of that name, and was superseded by the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, by act of June 21, 1811; which act divided the State into six circuits, exclusive of Dukes and Nantucket counties. This court was abolished in 1821, and a Court of Common Pleas throughout the State established, consisting of four judges, one judge empowered to hold a court. The powers and duties of the latter court were substantially those of the Circuit Courts.

The Court of General Sessions of the Peace established by the act of 1782 for each county was held by the justices of peace therein, and determined matters relating to the conservation of the peace and the punishment of offenses cognizable by them at common law. After several changes and modifications its powers and duties were transferred to the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, before described.

The Court of Common Pleas was finally abolished in 1859.

Probate Courts—In 1639, as previously stated, the Legislature ordered that records be kept of "wills, administrations, and inventories." On page 6 of the first volume of court records is the first will that was admitted to probate, as follows:

> The will and testament of John Harman, of Sp'gfld, deceased, who dies the 7th day of March, 1660-1661. Know all whom this may concerne, that John Harman, of Springfield, being sick & weake in body, but of ready memory & understanding, being requested on the 4th day of March, 1660-1661, to settle his wordly estate, did refuse to dispose of any thing pertickerlarly, but said he would leave all that he had unto his wives hand; for he said shee is a tender Mother, & therefore Shee should have the dispose of all. This was spoken by the said John Harman the day above mentioned, beinge two dayes before his death. Witnesses whereunto were
>
> Elizur Holyoke & X the mark of John Lumbard.
>
> Recorded May 13, 1661.

By the constitution of Massachusetts, "judges of probate of wills, and for granting letters of administration," hold their offices during good behavior, and are appointed and commissioned by the Governor. By the act of March 12, 1784, probate courts were established, and their powers and duties prescribed.

When the provincial courts were established, in 1792 the Court

of Probate was separated from the others,—at least, in Hampshire County. From that time until June, 1858, the officers of this court were a judge of probate and a register of probate. At the latter date the Court of Insolvency was placed under the jurisdiction of these officers, who have since been denominated respectively "Judge of Probate and Insolvency" and "Register of Probate and Insolvency."

The Court of Insolvency was established in 1856, superseding the commissioners of insolvency, who had previously the charge of insolvent matters. Horace I. Hodges was appointed judge of insolvency in June of the year named, and R. B. Hubbard, register. The latter served until January, 1857, and was succeeded by Luke Lyman, who was chosen in the fall of 1856, the office having been made elective. The duties of these officers ceased when the courts were united as above named in 1858.

First Coroner's Inquest—The first coroner's inquest within the old county of Hampshire was held on the 7th of April, 1660. The jurors present were Thomas Cooper, William Branch, William Warriner, Thomas Stebbins, Thomas Noble, John Stewart, Samuel Marshfield, Henry Burt, Benjamin Parsons, Abel Wright, Richard Sikes, and John Clark. The following is from the record of the inquest:

This day the youngest child of John Harmon, of Springfield, called Ebenezer, of about three years of age was found dead in the brooke in Nathaniel Pritchard's yard; concerning whose death there was search and inquiry made by a jury of twelve men of this Towne of Springfield how the said child came to its end.

The jury's returne upon oath before Samuell Chapin & Elizur Holyoke, commissioners, was that accordinge to their best light that they could have in the case they judge that the child was drowned in the brooke through its own weakness and imbecillity, without the hand of any other person being any occasion or cause thereof.

CHAPTER II

COUNTY ORGANIZATION AND GOVERNMENT

Civil Organization—A committee was appointed by the town of Springfield, February 26, 1662 "concerning setting the towns in the western portion of the colony into the form of a county." May 7, that year the General Court passed the act establishing the county of Hampshire. This county was organized with very indefinite bounds, and a committee was soon selected by the several towns to attend to the affairs of the newly created county. Such committee was composed of Captain John Pynchon, Henry Clarke, Captain Aaron Cook, Lieutenant David Milton and Elizur Holyoke, who reported April 2, 1663, that they had "agreed and determined that the shire meetings shall be each other year at Springfield and each other year at Northampton."

In 1761 the county of Berkshire was set off from Hampshire. The county of Franklin was set off from Hampshire in 1811 and the county of Hampden in 1812.

A county treasurer was first chosen in 1660, in the person of William Pynchon, who held the office until 1681, when Peter Tilton succeeded him until 1689.

A county marshal was appointed in 1668. After 1692 the office of sheriff supplemented the marshal. The second Samuel Porter held the office of sheriff a number of years and in 1696 executed two Indians for murder.

County Buildings—In 1655 a committee of five persons was appointed by the inhabitants of Northampton "to build a house for the town, of sawn timbers." This was the first courthouse and in it the first courts were held. It stood near the intersection of Main and King streets. March 6, 1738, Northampton voted to build a "Town-House." In its construction a part of the material in the former county building was used. The new building served as a courthouse for the county until 1813, when plans were made to provide a third courthouse for the county. In 1814 the court ordered the old courthouse to be removed from the ground owned by the county, not later than February 1st of that year. It was removed and used as a vinegar factory for a number of years.

The corner-stone of the third courthouse was laid by Masonic rites, by the officers and members of Jerusalem Lodge, June 24, 1813. This building was burned at two o'clock in the morning on a day in November, 1822; the fire was first observed in the roofing boards.

In 1823 a contract was let to Captain Damon, who had built the former courthouse, to rebuild a fire-proof office building (then required by law) connected with a court room and jury rooms.

The present beautiful courthouse was erected in 1886, at a cost of about $100,000, including the furnishings. The original contract price, of $68,000 was the bid of the three Bartlett brothers, contractors of Whately, this county. There were eleven other bidders. The contract was awarded May 17, 1886. The contractors allowed the county $1,700 for the old courthouse which had to be removed to make room for the new and present structure. This courthouse was constructed of Dummerston Vermont granite with Longmeadow brown-stone trimmings. Most of the material for the superstructure came from near Brattleboro, Vermont and has proven to be excellent in wearing quality.

In taking out the corner-stone from the old courthouse, there was found a box of coins and other articles, covered with a lead plate, bearing the inscription: "Burnt 1822—rebuilt 1823." The corner-stone was laid with Masonic rites April 28, 1823.

In the 1924 treasurer's report, the present courthouse is valued at $100,000, but it could not be duplicated for this amount, if built today.

Jails and House of Correction—The first jail or prison of this county was erected in 1658. It was constructed of hard-wood planks, and nearly all effected by use of the old-time hand-saw. In 1675 the Indians burned this prison and in 1680 a second building was completed; this was built at Springfield. The first to be built in Northampton was erected 1704; was 16 by 24 feet with a small dwelling attached for the residence of the keeper. The next jail was within a brick courthouse built in 1833-34 at a cost of $4,100. The present jail and house of correction was finished in 1852. This is a four story brick structure, with basement and an attic. When erected it was looked upon as thoroughly up-to-date. The jail wing of the building contains two departments—one for males and one for females, that for males including twelve cells, eight by ten feet in size and ten feet high, while that of the females has twenty-two cells four by ten feet and ten feet high. The

other wing was for the House of Correction, and had fifty-four cells, corresponding in size to the cells of the females in the jail wing. These were all for males. The cell floors are all of brick. The building contains also the keeper's residence and a chapel. In the rear of the main building was built the work-shop, thirty by sixty feet and two stories in height. Among the jailors who have served in this institution were Hiram Ferry, Cornelius Delano, James Bangs, Major Longly and Jairus E. Clark. The sheriff now attends to the duties once imposed upon the jailer. So well were the jail and house of correction constructed back in 1852, that after all these seventy-three years, they stand, seemingly as good as when their brick walls were first laid.

COUNTY OFFICERS

The following is a list of those who have served as county officers since the county was incorporated:

County Treasurers—Maj. John Pynchon, Springfield, May 27, 1660, to 1681; Peter Tilton, Hadley, 1682-1688; John Pynchon, Springfield, appointed January, 1689; . . . William Pynchon from 1798 to 1808, when he died; Edward Pynchon, appointed 1808, continued until November, 1812; Daniel Stebbins, November 12, 1812 to 1845; Jonathan H. Butler, 1846-49; Charles De Lano, 1850-58; Henry S. Gere, 1859-1876; Watson L. Smith, 1877-1880; Lewis Warner, 1880-1895; Edwin H. Banister, 1895-1921; Kirk H. Stone, 1921- and still serving.

Sheriffs—Since the adoption of the Constitution of the Commonwealth in 1780, the following have served as sheriffs:

(By appointment)—Elisha Porter, appointed September, 1781; Ebenezer Mattoon, Amherst, June, 1796; Thomas Shepard, Northampton, October, 1811; Ebenezer Mattoon, Amherst, June, 1812; Joseph Lyman, July, 1816; Samuel L. Hinckley, Northampton, November, 1844; Alfred L. Strong, Easthampton, July 1851; William A. Hawley, Northampton, March, 1853; Henry A. Longley, Belchertown, January, 1855. This office was made elective in 1856. Henry A. Longley, 1860-1884; Jairus E. Clark, 1884-1910; Maurice Fitzgerald, 1910-1921; Albert G. Beckmann, 1921 and present incumbent.

Judges of Probate—Col. John Pynchon, appointed 1692; Col. Samuel Partridge, 1703; Col. John Stoddard, 1729; Col. Timothy Dwight, 1748; Col. Isaac Williams, 1764-74; Dr. Samuel Mather,

1776; Ebenezer Porter, 1779; Samuel Henshaw, 1797; Jonathan Leavitt, 1809; Joseph Lyman, 1810; Samuel Hinckley, 1816; Ithamar Conkey, 1834; Samuel F. Lyman, 1858; Samuel T. Spaulding, 1873; William G. Bassett, 1879-1925; Henry C. Field.

Registers of Probate—Samuel Partridge, appointed 1692; John Pynchon, 1703; Timothy Dwight, 1729; Timothy Dwight, Jr., 1748; Solomon Stoddard, 1764; Israel Williams, Jr., 1769-74; John C. Williams, 1776; Samuel Hinckley, 1787; Isaac C. Bates, 1816; Samuel F. Lyman, 1827; A. Perry Peck, 1855; Luke Lyman, 1859-1884; H. M. Abbott, 1884-1925; A. E. Addis, 1925-.

Clerks of the Court—Elizur Holyoke, Springfield, appointed September, 1660; Samuel Partridge, March, 1676; John Holyoke, 1678; John Pynchon, 1693; Israel Williams, 1735; William Williams, 1758; Robert Breck, 1778; Joseph Lyman, 1798; Josiah Dwight, 1810; John Taylor, 1811; Josiah Dwight, 1812; Solomon Stoddard, 1821; Samuel Wells, 1837; William P. Strickland, 1865-1883; William H. Clapp, 1883-1904; H. H. Chilson, 1904- still in office in 1925.

Registers of Deeds—The earliest record of real estate conveyances for the middle district of Hampshire County made in Northampton bears date of August 1, 1787. The office of the register for the old county of Hampshire was previously kept in West Springfield. The following have been the registers of deeds from the several dates named: Ebenezer Hunt, August 1, 1787; Levi Lyman, May 20, 1796; Solomon Stoddard, May 24, 1811; Levi Lyman, May 15, 1821; Charles Hooker, died 1833; C. P. Huntington, May, 1833; Giles C. Kellogg, December, 1833; Harvey Kirkland, June, 1846; Henry P. Billings, January 1, 1871-73; Edward Benton, 1873-75; Henry P. Billings, 1875-1892; R. Y. Lyman, 1892-1912; Charles S. Chase, 1912-14; Charles H. Chase, 1914— is still in office.

Trial Justices—In 1858 a law was enacted giving certain powers in criminal cases to justices of the peace, who were entitled Trial-Justices. These were appointed by the governor, to hold office three years. Hampshire county was entitled to ten trial-justices. The following served in such capacity: Horace L. Hodges, appointed May, 1858; James W. Boyden, May, 1858; William S. Breckenridge, May, 1858; Elisha H. Brewster, May, 1858; Epaphras Clark, May, 1858; Elijah N. Woods, June, 1858; Franklin

Dickinson, June, 1858; Albion P. Howe, December, 1859; Albion P. Peck, June, 1860; Francis De Witt, October, 1860; Franklin D. Richards, January, 1863; Samuel Wells, October, 1863; Charles Richards, May, 1864; Hiram Smith, Jr., December, 1864; Oliver Pease, May, 1865; William P. Strickland, May, 1865; Seth Warner, May, 1865; R. Ogden Dwight, January, 1868; C. Edgar Smith, March, 1869; William G. Bassett, May, 1869; Alfred M. Copeland, June, 1869; Francis H. Dawes, April 1870; Garry Munson, June, 1872; Edward A. Thomas, May, 1874; Haynes H. Chilson, May, 1875; Nathan Morse, 1876; Lafayette Clapp, 1877; F. D. Richards, E. A. Thomas, Garry Munson, Charles Richards, Franklin Dickinson, N. Morse, A. Perry Peck, H. H. Chilson, F. H. Dawes, Lafayette Clapp, 1879-81; F. D. Richards, E. A. Thomas, Garry Munson, Charles Richards, H. H. Chilson, A. J. Fargo, R. Bridgman and F. H. Dawes 1882-85.

County Commissioners—As nearly as can now be ascertained from records, the following have served as members of the board of County Commissioners in and for Hampshire county:

Hon. Levi Lyman, 1829-30; Hon. Charles P. Phelps, 1828-34; Alvan Rice, 1829-33; Ithamar Conkey, 1830-34; Osmyn Baker, 1834-37; Elisha Strong, 1835-40; Joseph Cummings, 1835-52; Chauncey B. Rising, 1838-40; Roswell Hubbard, 1838; Israel Billings, 1841-43; Timothy A. Phelps, 1841-43; Mark Doolittle, 1844-46; Joel Hayden, 1844-52; Hon. William Bowdoin, 1847-48; Benjamin Barrett, 1847-48; Haynes H. Chilson, 1850-52; Horace L. Hodges, 1853-54; Elisha H. Brewster, 1853-65; John Warner, 1853; William P. Dickinson, 1855-59; Elkanah Ring, Jr., 1856-58; Daniel B. Gillett, 1859-61; Enoch H. Lyman, 1860-66; William C. Eaton, 1862-67; P. Smith Williams, 1867-69; Elisha A. Edwards, 1868-79; Justin Thayer, 1869-74; Samuel M. Cook, 1871-75; Elnathan Graves, 1875-79; Flavel Gaylord, Elisha A. Edwards, 1880-87; E. C. Davis, Flavel Gaylord, Elisha A. Edwards, 1887-90; Elisha A. Edwards, Samuel M. Cook, Richard Strong, 1890-96; Elisha A. Edwards, Eugene B. Davis, Samuel H. Cook, 1896-98; E. C. Davis, Elisha A. Edwards and Orville W. Prouty, 1898-99; Orville W. Prouty, E. Davis, Charles K. Brewster, 1899-07; E. C. Davis, Charles K. Brewster and Frank K. Sibley, 1910-11; Frank K. Sibley, E. C. Davis, Frank Brooks, 1911-14; Frank S. Sibley, Frank Brooks, Clarence E. Hodgkins, 1914-16; Clarence E. Hodgkins, Frank K. Sibley, N. S. Hitchcock, 1916-23; Clarence E. Hodgkins, A. R. Wilson, N. S. Hitchcock, present (1925) County Commissioners.

County Officers—In 1925 the county officers for Hampshire county are as follows:

Judge of Probate, Henry P. Field, Northampton; Judge Associate, Rufus H. Cook, Northampton; District attorney, Northwestern district; Thomas J. Hammond, Northampton; Register of Probate and Insolvency, Albert E. Addis, Northampton; Sheriff, Albert G. Beckmann, Northampton; Clerk of the courts, Haynes H. Chilson, Northampton; County Treasurer, Kirk H. Stone, Northampton; Register of Deeds, Charles H. Chase, Northampton.

County Commissioners—Clarence E. Hodgkins, (chairman) Northampton, N. Seelye Hitchcock, Easthampton, Alvin R. Wilson, South Hadley. Associate Commissioners—Cady R. Elder, Amherst; Milton S. Howes, Swift River.

District Court—Justice, John B. O'Donnell, Northampton; Special Justices, John W. Mason, Northampton; John L. Layman, Easthampton; Clerk—John A. Crosier, Northampton.

District Court of Eastern Hampshire, Ware—Justice Henry C. Davis, Ware; Special Justices—George E. Storrs, Ware; John H. Schoonmaker, Ware; Clerk—J. Gardiner Lincoln, Ware.

Medical Examiners—Edward W. Brown, M. D., Northampton; Herbert G. Rockwell, M. D., Amherst; Charles J. Hanson, M. D., Easthampton. Associate Medical Examiners—William P. Stutson, M. D., Cummington; Willard B. Segur, M. D., Enfield, Henry E. Doonan, M. D., South Hadley Falls; Clarence I. Sparks, M. D., Easthampton; Maurice W. Pearson, M. D., Ware.

Salaries—The salaries of the various county officials are fixed by three methods—First, by law; second, by the Superior Court; and third, by the County Commissioners. Those fixed by law are as follows:

Clerk of the Courts, $2,600; Assistant Clerk of the Courts, $1,690; Judge of District Court of Hampshire, $3,700; Clerk of District Court of Hampshire, $2,775; Judge of the District Court of Eastern Hampshire, $1,700; Clerk of District Court Eastern Hampshire, $1,275; Sheriff, $1,600; Register of Deeds, $2,822; Assistant Register of Deeds, $1,693.30; County Treasurer, $1,660.09; County Commissioners, each $1,000.

(Fixed by Superior Court) Probation Officer of Superior Court of Hampshire County, $540. (Salaries fixed by County Commissioners) Probation Officer of District Court of Hampshire, $1,600; Probation Officer of Eastern Hampshire, $330; Janitor, $1,600;

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Court Messenger, $300; Jailer and Master, $2,100; Clerk, $1,800; Turnkey, $1,700; Matron, per month, $25.00; Chaplain, per Sunday, $6.05; Physicians, $225; Organist, per Sunday, $2.20; Night Watchman, $1,700.

County Finances—At the close of business December 31, 1924 the county treasurer's report shows the county indebtedness was only $321,968.08, plus interest on road work at three per cent. The assets were given as $301,374.61. The items making up the assets include these:

Actual cash on hand, December 31, 1924, $19,652.80; County property invoiced as follows:

Courthouse grounds in Northampton, $25,000; Courthouse, $100,000; Law Library in Courthouse, $11,000; Furniture and Fixtures in Courthouse, $6,500; Land at Jail, $7,000; Jail and House of Correction, $40,000; Workshop at Jail, $5,000; Barns and Buildings at Jail, $1,000; Furniture at Jail, $1,000; Hampshire County Sanatorium, $85,221.

The treasurer's report showed at the end of 1924 the following: Balance on hand, $63,101. The receipts included for 1924 county taxes, $186,581; total receipts and cash on hand at beginning of 1925, $348,875.86.

County Seal—Until 1924 Hampshire county had never adopted an official Seal, but during that year the County Commissioners provided one, the same showing in its design Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke ranges and the Connecticut valley.

Mount Tom State Reservation Fund—The total receipts for this fund in 1924 were $10,873.37, including balance on hand at beginning of the year. The total expenses for the year were $9,654, leaving a balance on hand of $1,218.94.

Representative Districts—From time to time there have been numerous changes in the number of towns comprising a Representative district in this commonwealth. While it is of little general interest to note these changes with the increase and decrease of population in different sections, it may be stated in this connection, that the present Representative districts of Hampshire county are as follows: District No. 1—Northampton. The number of legal voters is 4,279, one representative. District No. 2—Chesterfield, Cummington, Easthampton, Goshen, Huntington, Williamsburg, Worthington, Middlefield, Plainfield, Southampton, West-

hampton; legal voters, 3,512—one representative. District No. 3—Amherst, Hadley, Hatfield, and South Hadley; legal voters 3,187—one representative. District No. 4—Belchertown, Enfield, Granby, Greenwich, Pelham, Prescott and Ware; legal number voters, 2,746—one representative.

CHAPTER III

AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS

Agricultural Societies—Besides the local agricultural societies, and associations, of this county, should be named in this connection, the "Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden Agricultural Society." This society was organized January 22, 1818, and included the territory of the three river counties.

The officers chosen at this meeting, which was held in Northampton and very largely attended, were Hon. Joseph Lyman, President; Josiah Dwight, Secretary; and J. D. Whitney, Treasurer. Committees upon Agriculture, Domestic Animals, and Manufactures were appointed, and the sum of one hundred dollars was subscribed for contingent expenses.

The act incorporating the society was passed in February, 1818, and the first meeting subsequently was held on the 5th of May following, at the court-house in Northampton, at which time the organization was completed. Measures were also taken to provide for a cattle-show, which was appointed for the 14th and 15th of October following. The premium-list included an aggregate of two hundred and seventy-two dollars and fifty cents, which was to be paid in silver-plate.

About the year 1835 great interest began to be manifested in the cultivation of the Chinese mulberry-plant, and the manufacture of domestic silk therefrom; but, from climatic and other causes, the attempts to make it a profitable industry were within a few years abandoned.

At the annual exhibition of 1847 there was a display of three hundred head of horned cattle, many of them imported, and the fair was a marked success. At this exhibition, there was also a remarkable display of fine blooded horses, there being ninety-six entered, many of them of the justly-celebrated Justin Morgan breed. The first noted horse of this fine breed was the "Justin Morgan" which was raised in Western Massachusetts, and taken to the State of Vermont in 1798, and from whom nearly all the fine stock of the Green Mountain State has descended.

At the fair of 1847 were also present one hundred and seventy-two yokes of working-oxen. There was in addition a fair display of various kinds of fruit,—apples, pears, peaches and grapes.

In 1857 there were one hundred and fifty horses on exhibition,—a greater number than ever before,—and the "show of fruit was magnificent."

From the date of its organization down to the year 1857 the annual exhibitions of the society were held on Main Street, at the head of King Street, in Northampton, and on the common near the cemetery, and the town-hall was used for the display of domestic manufactures.

In 1856 the society purchased fourteen acres and sixty square rods of land on North Street, at one hundred and seventy-five dollars per acre, which was inclosed with a substantial fence, and a trotting-course, half a mile in length, laid out and made ready for use. The necessary sheds and buildings were erected and fitted up, and the whole amount expended was four thousand and four dollars and sixty-one cents.

For a number of years following the exhibitions of stock were held on this ground, while the domestic manufactures were displayed in the town-hall. In 1861 the society voted to erect a hall on the grounds, so that every part of the exhibition could be together; and a suitable building, costing two thousand two hundred dollars, was completed the following year.

In the year 1872 two additional acres of land adjoining the grounds on the north were purchased; the track was lengthened and graded anew, the hall moved to a better location in the northwest corner of the lot, the cattle-sheds and pens removed and rebuilt, and everything put in excellent order.

In 1903 the Agricultural Society leased the trotting association a part of the present grounds for ten years, promising to pay $100 per annum. At this time the association had practically no funds, but a united effort was made with considerable success. In 1905 the society purchased the old race-track property and bought the present fair grounds site on Bridge and Fair streets, which land now consists of about forty acres situated on which good buildings, one by one, have been erected, and through the untiring zeal of a few leaders the society has flourished to the present. Among the men who have worked "in season and out" for the upbuilding of this association may be named Clarence E. Hodgkins, a native of Vermont, where he was trained in agriculture, and there attended the Agricultural College two years. For nearly a quarter of a century he has worked both as a member and as an official for the good of this institution. He was elected

its president in 1910, serving five years, materially aiding the building up of one of the best associations in the commonwealth. It was he who had the courage to go ahead, when the society had no funds, and solicit a day's work from the people interested in poultry, throughout the county, and between day light and dark forty-five men built and finished a poultry house sixty feet in length and to stimulate them a chicken dinner, with sweet potatoes and green corn, was served!

In 1912 there were twelve thousand persons in attendance at the Fair. Governor Foss was present and addressed the multitude.

Another man whose interest in this agricultural society has never lagged since he first gave it his attention, is the now venerable attorney-at-law, John Hammond, who never missed a meeting and his influence and good judgment went far with the directors and officers.

List of All Presidents—The following is a complete list of the presidents since the society was formed in 1818:

Hon. Joseph Lyman	1818	A. T. Judd	1873
Hon. I. C. Bates	1820	J. H. Stebbins	1874
Hon. Mark Doolittle	1830	J. H. Demond	1877
Jos. G. Cogswell, Esq.	1833	H. C. Haskell	1879
Hon. Samuel Lathrop	1835	L. W. West	1881
Hon. I. C. Bates	1840	Jonathan Porter	1883
Hon. Edward Dickinson	1841	Luther J. Warner	1885
Lathrop Wells, Esq.	1845	E. M. Smith	1887
President Hitchcock	1847	Edwin C. Clapp	1889
Hon. William Clark	1849	C. B. Lyman	1891
Paoli Lathrop, Esq.	1852	E. E. Wood	1893
Hon. Elisha Edwards	1857	H. C. Comins	1896
T. C. Huntington	1858	Jairus F. Burt	1900
Henry S. Porter, Esq.	1863	William A. Bailey	1903
Mily J. Smith, Esq.	1866	Frank P. Newkirk	1906
Elnathan Graves, Esq.	1870	Rufus M. Smith	1909
A. P. Peck	1872		

Since the last named date the presidents have been as follows: Clarence E. Hodgkins, 1910 to 1915; John Porter of Hatfield, 1916-19; Robert Clapp, 1920-22; Oscar Belding, 1923 and still serving.

With the passing years much interest has been manifested by the people of these three counties in the workings of this society.

From time to time improvements have been made on the fair grounds and buildings. The society is now almost one hundred and seven years old, its last annual exhibit, that of 1924 being the One Hundred and Sixth Annual Fair.

The index to the 1924 premium list has the following which gives the reader an idea of the scope of the Society's undertakings in these modern-day times: Antiques, Bread, Butter, Cake, Canned goods, Cattle, Committees, Corn, Fancy goods, Fine arts, Flowers, Fruit, Grange exhibits, Honey, Horses, Maple sugar, Mechanical arts, Officers, Poultry, Seeds, Sheep, Swine, Vegetables.

The 1925 officers are as follows: Oscar Belden, president, Hatfield; Sterling R. Whitbeck, secretary, Northampton; Alvertus J. Morse, treasurer, Northampton; vice-presidents—Charles E. Clark, W. H. Dickinson, Fred L. Frost, Charles E. Childs, W. W. Haswell, D. O. MacGregor, E. H. Montague, Earl M. Parsons, Josiah W. Parsons, Roland A. Payne, W. M. Purrington, Ernest Russell.

This agricultural society, made up of Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden counties, known as the "Three-County Fair," works in co-operation with the Massachusetts Department of Agriculture, and is located permanently at Northampton, Hampshire county.

Highland Agricultural Society—In August, 1856, a partial organization was effected for a "Cattle Show" in the town of Middlefield. Ambrose Loveland was chosen its president and S. F. Root its secretary. The first exhibition was held on the 17th of the following September. In the afternoon an address was given by Rev. Moody Harrington in the Congregational church of the town. This proved so interesting to the community that on January 3, 1857, a regular organized society was formed by prominent men from various towns in this county. Matthew Smith was chosen first president; Edwin McElwain, secretary; S. F. Root, treasurer. A flag-pole eighty feet in length was presented the society by Peter Geer of Peru and the ladies gave a large flag—Old Glory—which fluttered to the breeze. At the first meeting for annual exhibit there were four hundred head of cattle on the grounds, besides a fine display of horses, some sheep and swine. Among the fine horses was "Lone Star," and another of no less celebrity was "Black Hawk." The town of Chester furnished sixty-five yokes of oxen and steers in one string, headed by a sturdy bull decorated with bells and ribbons. The animal was ridden by a stout boy, all drawing a large wagon ornamented with flowers and evergreens, carrying the musicians of the day, with the Stars

and Stripes floating over them. The address was delivered by Dr. T. K. DeWolf. The grounds on Agricultural Hill were donated by Matthew Smith. The Society was incorporated in 1859, taking in the territory of three counties—Berkshire, Hampshire and Hampden. Agricultural Hall was built at an expense of $925.

The East Hampshire Agricultural Society—This society was formed by an act approved May 1, 1850 constituting "Alfred Baker, Edward Dickinson and others associated with them, for the encouragement of agriculture and mechanic arts." At one of their early meetings they voted "to accept the pair of North Devon cattle received from the Massachusetts Agricultural Society;" and at the same meeting voted to admit women to seats in the cattle show. At the first exhibit, October, 1850, the records show there were 630 working cattle on the grounds at noon one day, and was called the largest display ever made in Massachusetts. This society existed many years.

Massachusetts Agricultural College—Prior to 1850—seventy-five years ago—there had been no considerable attempt in the United States toward the practical application of science in agriculture. In July, 1862, Congress passed an act setting apart for each State a portion of the public domain, conditioned upon the establishment and maintenance of at least one college "where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."

This State accepted the grant and in 1863 incorporated the "Massachusetts Agricultural College." It was located at Amherst, and the land and original building cost $43,000, which was out of the $75,000 which the town of Amherst agreed to pay in case the college was located there. The buildings were provided and ready for use October 2, 1867, when the first class, consisting of thirty-three students, was admitted. The college has about seven hundred acres of central area, seven hundred and fifty acres of forest land, and approximately sixty-five acres in sub-stations. The total number of buildings and departments is thirty-two. These include what are now known as Drill Hall, built in 1882; North College, built in 1867; South College, built

in 1885; Library, built in 1885; Memorial Hall, built in 1921; Veterinary Laboratory, built in 1898; Hatch Barns, 1891; Experiment Station Barns, 1882; West Station, 1886; East Station, 1889; Physics building, 1867; President's House, 1883; Cold Storage plant, 1910; Mathematical Building, 1895; French Hall, 1908-13.

The total enrollment for the current year is 571. Of these students seventy-eight are women. Twenty-seven states and territories were represented during the last year, including five foreign countries. The Library now contains upwards of seventy thousand volumes. Among the first states in the Union to take advantage of the Congressional Act creating such institutions, Massachusetts has improved her time and stands well up in the country as a first class Agricultural College, where the real science of agriculture, horticulture and kindred branches are taught.

The Smith Agricultural School—This institution was provided for, and located in Northampton, in the will of Oliver Smith, a prominent citizen of Hatfield who died in 1845, leaving an estate of $370,000, and among other things he desired was the founding of an agricultural school, when the $200,000 left for such object had accumulated to $400,000; then a part of it was to be used for the said school. Other funds he left were to be invested for a period of sixty years from his death—or in 1905—when the school should be established within the town of Northampton. But about eighteen years after Mr. Smith's death the Massachusetts Agricultural College was located and covered the field of instruction in agriculture fully, so the trustees of the Smith estate somewhat changed the original plans of the donor and for years have given instructions to boys and young women in various trades, such as carpentering, metal workers, automobile work and domestic science and millinery work. During the present summer (1925) by the consent of the courts, the name has been changed from the "Smith Agricultural School," to that of "The Smith Vocational School." While the institution still teaches the science of farming, to some extent, its greater work is toward the vocations above named, hence the change of its name. It will be recalled that nearly a score of years had elapsed after Mr. Smith's death before our National Congress provided for the present Agricultural College system in the various states, but so far as possible and practical the wishes of the generous giver were carried out by the trustees.

CHAPTER IV

HAMPSHIRE DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY

Without entering upon a description of the great advancement made in both medicine and surgery in the last one or two centuries, suffice to say that Massachusetts has kept pace with all that is excellent in the science of medicine. The Medical profession, together with Law and Theology, has been in the forefront in the development of any country.

What is known as the Hampshire District Medical Society was organized in 1833, and embraced in that year the following members: Joseph H. Flint, Benjamin Barrett, David Hunt, Elisha Mather, Edward E. Denniston, Northampton; Reuben Bell, Hadley; Isaac G. Cutler, Rufus Cowles, Amherst; Elihu Dwight, South Hadley; William Bridgman, Belchertown; Atherton Clark, Ira Bryant, Cummington; Bela B. Jones, Southampton; Caleb H. Stickney, Huntington; Samuel Shaw, Plainfield; Joseph Warren, Middlefield; Edward Dickinson, John Hastings, and Moses Porter.

The subjoined additional names first appear in the books of the treasurer of the society in the years given respectively: 1840, Watson Loud, S. Clapp, Lewis S. Hopkins (now, 1879, in Bridgewater), Gardner Dorrance, Amherst. 1841, Edward G. Upford, West Springfield; T. H. Brown, Worthington; Henry Orcutt, Westhampton; Chauncey A. Hall, Northampton; S. E. Strong, Amherst; Philemon Stacy, Hadley. 1842, Daniel Thompson, Northampton; Thomas Meekins, Williamsburg; Addison S. Peck, Hatfield. 1843, Horatio Thompson, Belchertown; James Thompson, Northampton; Seth Fish, North Hadley; Israel H. Taylor, Pelham. 1844, Artemas Bell, Southampton; Washington Shaw. 1845, Ebenezer C. Richardson, Ware. 1846, J. W. Smith, practiced dentistry; Lorin Allen, Belchertown. 1848, Franklin Bonney, Hadley; Samuel D. Brooks, Norwich. 1852, Benjamin F. Smith, Amherst; Samuel A. Fisk, Northampton. 1853, D. O. Perry, Chesterfield; James Dunlap, Northampton. 1854, Francis C. Green, Easthampton. 1855, Levi Chamberlain, Hatfield; Cyrus N. Chamberlain. 1856, Edward S. Hill, Williamsburg. 1857, John H. Richardson, Chesterfield. 1858, Henry C. Prentiss, Northampton; Theron Temple, Belchertown; Lebbeus E. Marsh, Granby. 1860, John W. Barker, Easthampton; William M. Trow, Haydenville; William

Lester, South Hadley; Noah Gilman, Hatfield. 1861, George F. Thompson, Belchertown; Lorin H. Pease, Amherst; Austin W. Thompson, Northampton; Edward B. Barrett, Northampton. 1862, John W. Bement, Belchertown. 1864, Alfred Montville, Hatfield; William H. Prince, present first assistant superintendent of the Hospital for the Insane at Northampton; Joseph W. Winslow, Easthampton. 1865, David W. Miner, Ware. 1866, Cyrus K. Bartlett, then connected with the hospital at Northampton; Oscar C. De Wolf; Edwin M. Johnson, Williamsburg; Edwin F. Ward, Easthampton; D. B. N. Fish, Amherst; Harlow Gamwell and Josiah H. Goddard, Huntington; Albert H. Daniels and Orvis F. Bigelow, Amherst. 1867, Alonzo Lewis, Hatfield; John Dole and Edward R. Lewis, Amherst; John Yale, Ware; Oscar L. Roberts, Belchertown. 1868, John B. Tyler, Henry B. Stoddard, and Charles L. Knowlton, Northampton; Thomas D. Smith, Easthampton; Charles M. Billings, Hatfield. 1870, John B. Learned, Florence. 1871, Chester M. Barton, Worthington; Gardner Cox, South Hadley Falls; Cyrus B. Smith, Granby; Edwin A. Kemp, Enfield. 1872, Samuel E. Thayer, Southampton; John R. Greenleaf, Easthampton, 1874, William Dwight, North Amherst; George A. Pierce, Hatfield; Thomas Gilfillan, Northampton. 1875, Christopher Seymour, Edward B. Nims, assistant superintendent of the hospital; Pliny Earl, superintendent of the hospital, and Junius M. Hall, Northampton; Joseph C. Yale, Ware, son of John Yale, M.D. 1876, Arthur H. Kimball, Cummington. 1877, Harmon Heed, Pelham; Charles W. Parsons, Worthington; Solon R. Towne, Enfield; James D. Seymour. 1878, Daniel Pickard, assistant at the hospital, Northampton; George W. Wood, Southampton; Elbridge Gerry Wheeler, Middlefield; James N. Dickson; Charles W. Cooper, Amherst.

Eminent Physicians—Among the physicians who have long since passed from "earth's shining circle" and who in their lifetime were men of more than ordinary note in this county, were the following:

Dr. Josiah Goodhue, born in Middlesex county, entered Harvard about the beginning of the Revolutionary war, which temporarily closed the doors of that University, whereupon he returned home. While at home he was afflicted with a white swelling and under care of Dr. Kittredge, of Tewksbury for treatment, he became interested in medicine, and later took up the science of healing himself and became one of the leading doctors as well as surgeons

in the commonwealth. His reputation grew rapidly and spread abroad; he was thronged with students who came from far and near—among them the afterward celebrated Dr. Nathan Smith, founder of the medical department of Dartmouth College. He believed himself to be the first man to amputate at the shoulder joint. When nearly everyone used spirituous liquors he never touched it as a beverage and rarely for medical uses.

Dr. David Hunt, of Northampton, born in 1773, studied with his father who was prominent in his day as a doctor. Although not a college graduate, he became an excellent scholar and acceptable physician. He died in 1837 aged sixty-four years.

Dr. Elisha Mather, a native of Northampton, born in 1792, was a son and grand-son of able physicians. He united with the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1824. He died in 1840, aged forty-eight years. He was seemingly the friend of all, wherever he went.

Daniel Thompson, M.D., born in Pelham in 1800. He was a son and grand-son of farmers; attended Amherst Academy; graduated from Berkshire Medical Institute at Pittsfield in 1825. In 1839 he formed a partnership with Dr. Benjamin Barrett, one of his former preceptors in Northampton; with him the fee was never inspiring as a motive, but the good that he might be able to do among his patients.

Edward Evans Denniston, M.D., born in Ireland, 1803, received his education at Dublin and Edinburgh. He settled in Northampton in 1833, as a partner with Dr. Benjamin Barrett, then for ten years practiced alone. By reason of an accident he was unqualified for heavy driving and actual practice as before, so he established "Spring Dale" a sanitarium for chronic invalidism, near the village of Northampton. After a third of a century service in that institution, he retired, May, 1879.

Other successful physicians of the county included these: Drs. Joseph H. Flint, James Dunlap, Timothy J. Gridley and Dr. S. W. Williams.

Present Practicing Physicians—The following is a list of those practicing medicine in Hampshire county, who belong to the Massachusetts State Medical Society, as shown by the last annual reports:

Amherst—Doctors C. G. Barrett, N. C. Haskell, G. W. Rawson, H. G. Rockwell, L. N. Durgen, (North) Amherst.

Belchertown—G. E. McPherson.

Chesterfield—None listed in 1924.
Cummington—W. P. Stutson.
Easthampton—J. J. Burke, O. W. Cobb, Werner Hiltpold, L. B. Pond, J. B. Ryan, E. D. Williams.
Enfield—W. B. Segur.
Florence (Northampton)—J. M. Murphy, Walter Taylor.
Hatfield—A. J. Bonneville, C. A. Byrne.
Hadley—H. L. Johnson, F. H. Smith.
Haydenville (Williamsburg)—F. E. O'Brien, C. H. Wheeler.
Northampton—Bessie A. Bober, E. W. Brown, S. A. Clark, C. T. Cobb, J. D. Collins, W. J. Collins, M. E. Cooney, E. H. Copeland, Mary P. Dole, F. E. Dow, J. D. Fallon, J. G. Hanson, J. E. Hayes, J. A. Houston, P. A. Hudnut, B. F. Janes, T. H. Kenney, A. G. Minshall, Abby M. O'Keefe, C. L. Parker, A. H. Pierce, H. T. Shores, E. E. Thomas, Elizabeth A. Thomas, W. J. Vivan, L. O. Whitman, E. W. Whitney, Harriet W. Whitney, Ward Young.
South Hadley—H. B. Lang, Elizabeth C. Underhill.
South Hadley Falls—H. E. Doonan, F. LeR. Leland.
Southampton—None listed in 1924.
Ware—H. D. Gafney, M. W. Pearson, D. M. Ryan.
Williamsburg—J. G. Hayes.

Hampshire District Medical Society Officers—1924-1925—G. W. Rawson, Amherst, president; H. T. Shores, Northampton, vice-president; P. A. Hudnut, Northampton, secretary and treasurer; Michael E. Cooney, Northampton, librarian.

CHAPTER V

MEMBERS OF THE HAMPSHIRE COUNTY BAR

According to a statement written by Hon. George Bliss in 1826, who was preparing his speech to be used before the Bar association of Hampshire, Franklin and Hampden counties, at Northampton, the earliest record of attorneys admitted to practice in the courts of Hampshire county, bears date, September, 1686. The parties were John King, of Northampton, and Samuel Marshfield and Jonathan Burt, Sr., of Springfield, who took the oath for faithful performance of their duties. During the Colonial period there appears but little records concerning this topic—from 1620 to 1691, when the new charter was granted. To give anywhere near an accurate list of attorneys here between 1694 and 1720 is impossible, for the records are missing, if indeed any were ever prepared. It is known that John Huggins and Christopher Jacob Lawton as residents of Springfield in 1686 and subsequently, and as having considerable legal practice. Huggins, especially, had a large law business. Later he removed to Sheffield, practiced there many years and was succeeded by his son. Lawton was admitted regularly in 1726. Samuel Partridge, who had been clerk of the court, is mentioned as an attorney, and, after 1720, as chief-justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

Among prominent attorneys of those early years in Hampshire county, were Timothy Dwight, of Northampton, who was admitted at the August term in 1721, "continuing many years in reputable practice." Later he was judge. The names of William Pynchon and Josiah Dwight, of Springfield, are also given but the date of admission to practice is now unknown. John Ashley, of Westfield was admitted in 1732, and in 1833 the names of Joseph Dwight, Esq., of Brookfield, and Oliver Partridge of Hatfield, appear of record. Cornelius Jones, of Springfield, and a tailor by trade, is mentioned as commencing practice as a pettifogger in 1732; was regularly admitted in 1752 and continued in practice down to 1765. He is said to have been very peculiar and eccentric in his manner of doing business, but had about as much practice as any other of his day.

It is known that the lawyers of the early years here had but few law books, as late as 1743. In the last part of this period,

three of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas had been practicing attorneys—Samuel Partridge, John Ashley, and Henry Dwight. At a later period Timothy Dwight and Josiah Dwight were also judges; and at one time after 1743, the three Dwights above named were on the bench together.

Among the more advanced and competent attorneys of this county in 1743, were Phinehas Lyman, John Worthington, and Joseph Hawley. The following is a list of lawyers practicing here in 1774, just before the opening of the Revolutionary struggle, and in which many of them took an active part:

John Worthington, of Springfield, barrister; Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, barrister; Charles Phelps, of Hadley; Moses Bliss, of Springfield, barrister; Mark Hopkins, of Great Barrington; Simeon Strong, of Amherst, barrister; Thomas Williams, of Stockbridge; Timothy Danielson, of Brimfield; Elisha Porter, of Hadley; Jonathan Bliss, of Springfield, barrister; Daniel Hitchcock, of Northampton; Theodore Sedgwick, of Sheffield, barrister; Thomas Bridgman, of Brimfield; Jonathan Ashley, of Deerfield; John Phelps, of Westfield; Justin Ely, of West Springfield; Samuel Field, of Deerfield; Elijah Williams, of Deerfield; William Billings, of Sunderland; Samuel Barnard, of Deerfield; Woodbridge Little, of Pittsfield; Samuel Fowler, of Westfield; John Chester Williams, of Hadley; Caleb Strong, of Northampton, barrister; David Noble, of Williamstown. Several of these according to Mr. Bliss, including the Williamses, Danielson, Bridgman, and Hitchcock, were mostly retired from practice.

While Worthington and Hawley were at the head of the profession in this county the Bar adopted a number of rules of practice, and, among others, the important one requiring three years' study before a recommendation for admission should be given. From the first establishment of courts to that time there seems to have been no rule, no settled, uniform practice, on this subject. Probably the courts generally required some previous study, and it has been said that a year had been many times required.

It is not interesting, necessary, nor of public value to give long lists of attorneys practicing here earlier than one hundred years ago, but for the last century the subjoined list shows attorneys who had practiced law here since 1826:

1827, Edward Hooker; 1829, Arad Gilbert, William Dwight, Charles P. Huntington, Elijah Williams, (2d); 1830, William M.

Lathrop, Henry Starkweather, Frederick H. Allen, William G. Bates, Barlow Freeman, William D. Gere; 1831, George G. Parker, Benjamin D. Hyde; 1832, Chauncey B. Rising, Almon Brainerd, Francis Dwight; 1833, Samuel Hinckley; 1834, Lincoln B. Knowlton; 1836, Samuel Henshaw Bates; 1839, Addison H. White; 1840, John Chester Lyman; 1842, Charles Delano, Whiting Griswold, Henry L. Dawes, Ervin H. Porter, Calvin Tory; 1844, Samuel T. Spaulding, Horace L. Hodges, Chauncey P. Judd; 1845, William Allen, Jr.; 1846, William W. Whitman, James W. Boyden; 1850, D. G. Sherman, F. H. Underwood, Lewis J. Bentley, Charles Allen; 1852, John Newton Rogers; 1858, Ephraim L. Lincoln; 1859; James R. Dewey, Homer B. Stevens, William E. Turner; 1860, Charles H. Day, Joseph Lyman Morton, Robert Ogden Wright; 1862, Justin P. Kellogg; 1863, William P. Duncan; 1864, Francis A. Beals; 1865, Daniel W. Bond; 1866, Charles L. Gardener; 1868, John C. Hammond; 1869, Henry H. Bond; 1872, William Bradford Homer, William Slatterly, Jr., Timothy R. Pelton; 1873, Terrance B. O'Donnell; 1874, John B. Bottom; 1875, Moses M. Hobart; 1876, Arthur Watson; 1877, Charles N. Clark; 1878, James I. Cooper, Enos Parsons, William H. Clapp, David Hill, John B. O'Donnell, Robert W. Lyman; 1879, Edward A. Greeley.

The following were admitted elsewhere, but practiced and resided in Hampshire county: William A. Dickinson, John Jameson, Edward E. Webster, William P. Strickland, Alburn F. Fargo, William G. Bassett, Thaddeus Graves, George Kress, Franklin D. Richards, Henry C. Davis.

Present Attorneys of Hampshire County—According to the records of the Clerk of the Courts for 1925 the following are the authorized attorneys at law within Hampshire county:

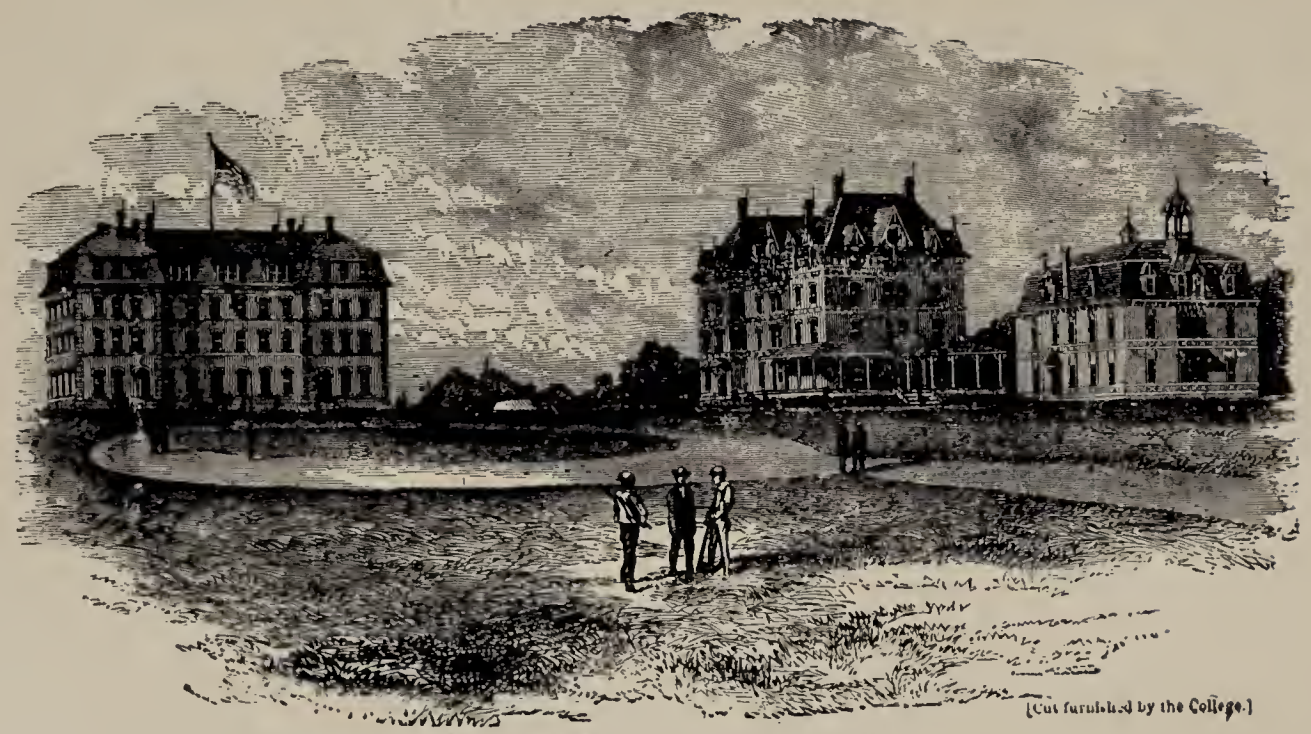
Northampton—Albert E. Addis, Jesse A. G. Andre, Theobald M. Connor, Rufus H. Cook, Calvin Coolidge (now President of the United States), John A. Crosier, William H. Feiker, Henry P. Field, Harold I. Grosbeck, John C. Hammond, Thomas J. Hammond, Ralph W. Hemenway, Thomas R. Hickey, James F. Mahoney, John W. Mason, Lucy C. McCloud, Alvertus J. Morse, Daniel D. O'Brien, Edward L. O'Brien, John B. O'Donnell, Edward J. Stack, Walter L. Stevens, Stephen J. Vanderlick, William M. Welch, Edward L. Shaw.

Hadley—John R. Callahan.

Amherst—Bartlett E. Cushing, John Hamlin, David H. Keedy, Harold W. Smart.

Ware—Henry C. Davis, John H. Schoonmaker, George D. Storrs, John T. Storrs.

Easthampton—David A. Foley, N. Seelye Hitchcock, John L. Lyman, William E. Parker.



[Cut furnished by the College.]

MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, AMHERST, MASS.

CHAPTER VI

THE TOWNS OF THE COUNTY

Before entering into the history of the various towns within the county it is best to give the name and date of organization of the same, as follows:

Amherst,	1759	Greenwich,	1754	Prescott,	1822
Belchertown,	1761	Hadley,	1661	South Hadley,	1755
Chesterfield,	1762	Hatfield,	1670	Southampton,	1753
Cummington,	1779	Huntington,	1773	Ware,	1761
Easthampton,	1785	Middlefield,	1783	Westhampton,	1778
Enfield,	1816	Northampton,	1654	Williamsburg,	1771
Goshen,	1781	Pelham,	1742	Worthington,	1768
Granby,	1768	Plainfield,	1785		

Town of Amherst—Amherst, formerly a part of Hadley, lies east of the Connecticut river, being separated therefrom by the present town of Hadley, and is bounded on the north by the towns of Sunderland and Leverett, in Franklin county; east by Shutesbury, in that county, and by Pelham and Belchertown in Hampshire county; south by Granby and South Hadley; and west by Hadley. The town has an area of about 18,400 acres, having received additions from the mother-town Hadley, at four separate dates.

The United States census in 1920 gives its population at 5,550.

The surface is uneven, interspersed with low and level reaches—some originally being quite swampy. The Holyoke range, with its several peaks, forms the town's southern boundary, while the hills of Pelham and Shutesbury, just over the eastern border, present a similar barrier in that direction. One writer says "Northward loom up the high and rugged prominences of Sunderland and Leverett, above the 'Flat Hills' of Amherst, which intervene; westward lie the broad rich intervales and wooded swamps of Hadley. The greatest elevation is 'Hilliard's Knob,' of the Holyoke range, 1,220 feet in height standing midway of the southern boundary." Fort river and Mill river are the two largest streams.

Early Settlement—The earliest to locate within this town were largely from Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton. Hadley and Hatfield had been settled by people from Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford, in Connecticut. The territory set apart for settlement

and known as Amherst, was so set off by the people of Hadley at a town meeting held March 4, 1700. This section was much admired by the Indians. The rich bottom lands produced corn with little labor, and the high ground with its great amount of foliage, sheltered the game which afforded them many of their needs. These savages did not yield their plantations and hunting grounds without a prolonged struggle, in which many whites and Indians lost their lives.

During the various Indian wars, including those of 1744-53 and 1754-63, as well as during the Revolutionary War, the citizens of this town were loyal to the best interests of a majority of the people. At the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775, the Minute Men from here were at once on hand, serving eleven days. At one time sixty men enlisted from Amherst to do service in the War for Independence. Most of the Amherst men were at Bunker Hill. The Canadian campaign was reinforced largely by men from this section. But it must not be thought that the town was without Toryism, for such an element was quite strong in the town.

Amherst assumed the functions of a town in 1774, and the distinct title in 1776, although no authority for so doing existed before 1776. As a district Amherst elected its first officers in March, 1759. The general local government which has obtained for many decades in this part of New England, has here been successfully carried out with men of character and integrity for the most part. The town officers for the present are as follows: Moderator, George B. Churchill; town clerk, treasurer and tax-collector, Thomas W. Smith; selectmen, Cady R. Elder, Edwin H. Dickinson, William H. Atkins; assessors, Frank A. Hobart, Frank C. Curtis, William H. Smith; park commissioners, Harry A. Thomas, Clark L. Thayer, and Charles J. King; tree warden, Arthur F. Bardwell; constables, Arthur F. Bardwell, William H. Casey, William L. Bates, Thomas C. Dillon, Melvin L. Graves, J. Clifton Ashley, Wilbur O. Shumway, Dwight H. Slate, William Henderson Smith, and David H. Tillson.

The assessor's report for 1924 gives items as follows: Total value of real estate, $6,697,848; personal property, $1,610,471; tax rate $25.40 per thousand. Total number horses in the town, 581; cows, 1,208; sheep, one; neat cattle, 252; fowls, 12,435; swine, 117; dwellings, 1,297; acres of land, assessed, 16,123.

The treasurer's report shows balance on hand January, 1924,

$33,973; total receipts and balance on hand $407,018. The amount paid out for 1924 was $347,937, which with balance on hand at the close of the year of $59,081 made the balance of $407,018.

The school report shows an enrollment of 1,288. This was eighteen less than the enrollment of 1923. The number of teachers was forty-eight. Jason O. Cook was the superintendent in 1924.

Villages of Amherst—The town has had several so called villages—Amherst (or Amherst Center), North Amherst and South Amherst. Amherst, proper, is the most important place within the town. It is the seat of Amherst College (formerly Academy) (q. v.) founded in 1821, and the State Agricultural College (q. v.), opened in 1867. South Amherst is a small place in the southeastern part of the town, and south of Fort river. Many years ago it had a factory where baby carriages were extensively made. A post-office was established here in 1838. The town of Amherst at one time, way back before it was unpopular to drink liquors, supported a distillery which used up 3,000 barrels of cider annually, in manufacture of cider-brandy. Another and more acceptable industry was the gold pen factory of Ira C. Haskins whose interests later were merged with the "Haskins Gold Pen Manufacturing Company," which had a capital of $100,000. This plant was established about 1850 and more than fifty styles of gold pens were produced there.

The newspapers of Amherst have been quite numerous, the first being established in 1826 as the Chemist and Meteorological Journal, by Carter & Adams. Then followed the New England Enquirer, Hampshire and Franklin Express, the Hampshire Express, 1844; Amherst Recorder, 1868; Amherst Transcript, 1877 and later publications. The present paper is the "Record."

The banking institutions of Amherst have included the First National Bank, established in January, 1864, on a $51,000 capital and the Amherst Savings Bank, established in April 1864, but did not enter into business until January 1, 1865. At present the banking of the town is in the hands of the First National and the Amherst Savings Bank.

The first Masonic Lodge here was instituted June 8, 1801, and was known as Pacific Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons. At first the Lodge was chartered for town of Sunderland, but changed to Amherst in 1802. On account of the Morgan excitement, the lodge was suspended and not revived until 1860, when a new dispensation was secured after a lapse of thirty-three years, when

but few of the old members still survived. At present Amherst has lodges as follows: Masonic, Odd Fellows, Red Men, Knights of Columbus, and numerous beneficiary societies.

The churches are the Wesley Methodist Episcopal, five Congregational churches in the town of Amherst; the Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal, Unity church, Roman Catholic church, Baptist, College church, and Grace Episcopal.

The various industries include the following: Broom, box and brick manufacturies; cigar factory, creamery, mercerized cotton factory, paper mill where waxed paper products are made and other lesser industries.

The first railroad through Amherst was the New London, Willimantic and Palmer railroad, opened in 1850, later extended on and known as the New London Northern Railway, but subsequently was leased by the Vermont Central lines.

Educational—In the early days, the schools here were private and the teachers usually "school dames," commonly married women or elderly maidens. They taught in their own houses. In 1766 Josiah Pierce, the Hadley schoolmaster, began to teach school in Amherst. His pay was $5.33 per month and his board. In the winter months he received a shilling an evening to teach "ciphering school" and had as high as forty pupils.

Prior to 1860 the public schools of Amherst were not graded.

It was at the private school of Prof. H. C. Nash that Henry Ward Beecher, with hundreds of others, prepared for college. The late school report for Amherst in this chapter shows the present of the public schools of the town now so illustrious for its educational institutions.

Early libraries of the town of Amherst were the North Amherst Library Association, established in 1869, made free in 1876; and the Amherst Free Library formed in 1872; in 1880 this library had 1800 volumes. As time has passed on greater libraries have been established, both in the College and public schools of the town. The present extensive public library of Amherst is the "Jones Library" incorporated in March, 1919. It includes the old library and has been greatly enlarged by the liberality of the late Samuel Minot Jones, who in his will bequeathed a large sum toward this library, the income in 1924 amounting to more than $40,000. The assets and liabilities for 1924 amounted to $802,992. Of the assets there was cash $10,515; United States and other bonds, $757,000. Another item was Savings Bank deposits, $70,-

FACING EAST FROM WALKER HALL, AMHERST COLLEGE

THE COLLEGE CHURCH, FROM THE SOUTH DRIVE, AMHERST COLLEGE

000. The present president of the board of trustees is John M. Tyler; treasurer, George Cutler; clerk, E. M. Whitcomb. The librarian is Charles R. Green. Nearly 74,000 books were in circulation during the last year. No greater monument could have been erected to the memory of Samuel Minot Jones, who so generously provided for his boyhood town.

Amherst College—This well-known educational institution, from which many noted Americans have graduated and gone forth to do battle in various callings, had its inception in the old Amherst Academy, which was established in 1814 and chartered in 1816. This institution had been petitioned for in the General Court as early as 1762, but was bitterly opposed by the authorities at Harvard College, who sought to restrain such a movement by asking England to deny a charter for any school tending to injure or compete with Harvard. So it was more than a half century later when the question again came up and there were two real rival places—Amherst and Northampton, but it was decided to locate at Amherst and thus in 1815, "Amherst Academy" was dedicated and the world knows much of its useful history from that date on. The original trustees were: David Parsons, Nathan Perkins, Samuel F. Dickinson, Hezekiah W. Strong, Noah Webster, John Woodbridge, James Taylor, Nathaniel W. Smith, Josiah Dwight, Rufus Graves, Winthrop Bailey, Experience Porter, and Elijah Gridley. A grant was made by the State for half a township of land in the District of Maine, upon condition that the town of Amherst should raise $3,000.

At its most flourishing period this Academy had one hundred and eighty students, of whom one-half were females. Here, in 1821, Mary Lyon, who became the founder of Mount Holyoke Seminary, pursued her studies. After the abolition of the female department, in 1825, when the charter was granted to Amherst College and the trustees of the Academy ceased to be trustees of that institution, the Academy entered on what is termed a "second period," and became chiefly a preparatory school. The venerable edifice in which the academy was kept was torn down in 1868 to make room for the Grammar school. In its day this was a very important school and later its interests were centered in the High School of Amherst. Its greatest influence was exerted in its directing public attention toward the founding of Amherst College. Among early schemes was the idea of combining Williams College with Amherst, which failed, then Northampton

sought the proposed college, but the legislature thought differently and Amherst was finally selected as the most desirable location. March 15, 1820, the trustees of the academy took steps to increase the Charity Fund and on August 9, 1820 the corner-stone of the first college building was laid by Dr. David Parsons, president of the Board. On that occasion Noah Webster delivered an address. Primarily this institution was established for the education of the ministry, especially of the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations.

What was styled the "Church of Christ in Amherst College," was organized in 1826 and its articles of faith were of the most rigid, orthodox Trinitarian type. The charter members included thirty-one students.

The presidents of Amherst College have been as follows: Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore, 1821-24; Rev. Herman Humphrey, 1823-1845; Rev. Edward Hitchcock, 1845-54; Rev. William A. Stearnes, 1854-76; Rev. Julius Hawley Seelye, 1876-90; Merrill Edwards Gates, 1890-98; Rev. George Harris, 1899-1912; Alexander Meikeljohn, 1912-24; George D. Olds, 1924 to ——.

The 1923 college reports show that up to that date there had been 6,500 students who had attended this institution and the alumni numbered 4,500. The buildings, grounds and endowments then amounted in value to about two million dollars. The total number of students in 1924 was 615. The names and dates of buildings are: South College, 1822; North College, 1822; Johnson Chapel, 1827; The Octagon, 1847; Morgan Library, 1853; Appleton Cabinet, 1885; Williston Hall, 1857; Barrett Hall, 1860; College Hall, 1867; Walker Hall, 1868; College Church, 1870; Pratt Gymnasium, 1884; Fayerweather Laboratories, 1893; Pratt Health College, 1897; Observatory, 1904; Biological-Geological Laboratories, 1909; Morris Pratt Memorial, 1912; Converse Memorial Library, 1917.

ACROSS THE CAMPUS, LOOKING NORTHWEST, AMHERST COLLEGE

CHAPEL ROW, FROM THE NORTH WALK, AMHERST COLLEGE

CHAPTER VII

HADLEY, SOUTH HADLEY, HATFIELD AND GRANBY

The Town of Hadley—This town is situated in the northwestern corner of that portion of Hampshire county which lies east of the Connecticut river, and is bounded north by Sunderland, Franklin county, and a portion of the town of Amherst, east by Amherst, south by South Hadley and the Holyoke range, and west by the Connecticut river. Its area is about 17,000 acres, and its population in 1920 was 2,784. The population in 1865 was 2,246.

The surface along the river is nearly level, and at the village spreads to the westward, forming an extensive peninsula, inclosed by the Connecticut on the north, west and south. Most of the eastern-central portion consists of rolling upland. Mount Warner rises south of Mill river, a little west of the center of the north half of the town. It is separated from the Connecticut river by high bluffs and narrow reaches of land in the fertile bottoms. The principal streams are Fort and Mill rivers. On each of these streams are well improved water powers.

Settlement—The name Hadley is from Hadley, or Hadleigh, a town in England, in Suffolk county, some of whose people settled Hartford. The Saxon way of spelling is Headlege. From 1647 to 1659 a "Church war" was on between the churches of Hartford and Wethersfield. "Baptism and Church Membership" seem to have been the issues at stake. On account of these troubles a part of the church withdrew and sought a home in other parts of the colony. In October, 1658 the people of Northampton voted to "give away" Capawonk, a meadow lying in the present town of Hatfield, south of Mill river. Twenty of the signers of the agreement, from John Russell, Jr., to John Latimer, inclusive were of Wethersfield; Tilton and Hawkes and a few others were from Windsor; and the remainder from Hartford.

Slaves—The first three ministers in Hadley owned slaves, as did others of her worthy people. In 1755 Hadley had eighteen slaves over sixteen years of age.

Anniversary—In June, 1859 occurred the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Hadley. Poets and speakers from far and near were present.

Organization—Hadley was organized May 22, 1661. It was at

one time the possessor of 57,000 acres of land, but in 1753 South Hadley became a distinct district, and Amherst a district in 1759. Hundreds of men have held local town offices and represented the town in Courts and legislatures since those long ago days. The list all too long to repeat here were men who saw the right and just, and were not afraid to make their convictions known. The present town officers and condition of affairs is here inserted, the same being extracted from the town clerk's report for 1924: Town clerk and treasurer, F. H. Pelissier; selectmen, Seymour H. Parker, Michael T. Dwyer, Edmund Smith; assessors, Frank J. Reardon, Arthur T. Conant, Adelbert J. Kendall; school committee, Homer F. Cook, L. J. Randall, E. W. Hibbard; tax-collector, F. H. Pelissier; moderator, John R. Callahan; tree warden, Roswell S. Gaylord; town accountant, Frank H. Smith; fish and game warden, Edward P. West.

The estimated financial budget for 1925 is $11,300 other than taxation; estimated expenditures $57,680. The treasurer's report shows for 1924, a balance on hand January 1, 1925, $9,904. The school census in April, 1924 gave the number of boys 426 and girls 435. The total number of teachers was 31; the number of schools in the town in 1924 was eighteen. Cost per pupil in 1924 was $70.73.

The assessor's report in 1924 shows total number of male polls assessed, 700; resident property owners, 585; value of assessed realty, $2,402,000; assessed estates valued at $2,996,000; tax rate per thousand dollars, $32.00; number horses, 508; cows, 856; swine, 934; neat cattle, 267; fowls, 4,300; sheep, 21; dwellings assessed, 491; number of acres of land assessed, 13,327½.

Villages—There are only two unincorporated villages within the town—Hadley and North Hadley. The village of Hadley was settled in 1659, while North Hadley, a smaller village, is on Mill river, three miles north of Hadley. Other places—mere hamlets—include Russellville, Plainville, Fort River, Hart's Brook, and Hockanum.

Schools—Hopkins Academy, a gift to the town by an Englishman who came here at an early day (1657) and became governor of the Colony of Connecticut—Hon. Edward Hopkins—was conducted many years, but later was merged with the high school of the common school system. The building was burned in 1860 and never rebuilt. The original school was established in 1667, but the Academy, proper was founded in 1816. Other sections speak of the schools of today in this town.

Churches—It is known that a church building was built in 1661, which was the beginning of Congregationalism here. This church was the second started in old Hampshire county, and was a little earlier than the one at Northampton. In 1831 the Second Congregational church at North Hadley, was organized with twenty-four members. Russell's Congregational Church was organized in 1841 with ninety members, who withdrew from the First Church. From these three organizations has come the church life of the town as seen today.

Mount Holyoke is partly in this town and partly in South Hadley. The earliest attempt to improve this spot was in 1821 when a building was erected there by men from both Northampton and Hadley. John W. French built the next house on this mountain summit in 1851. Later, he built an inclined cable railway, which is still in use. The building is within both towns. A good automobile road now extends from Hockanum village to the Summit house.

Aside from carding mills, saw mills and grist mills, this town has never had many manufacturing concerns to record in history. The first farming was done here for the Indians, by the settlers in Northampton in 1654, the year that town was settled. Beans, peas, Indian corn and potatoes flourished here from the first. In 1771 Hadley produced four barrels of apple cider to each family. Grafted fruit did not have a place here till after 1800. Tobacco was grown after 1840 quite successfully. The first account of militia here was dated 1661, after which "trainings" were very frequent and highly popular. Whether in war or in peace, the citizens of Hadley have ever shown themselves equal to great undertakings. Other parts of this work will speak more in detail of military matters.

The manufacture of brooms for many years in the nineteenth century excelled all other enterprises and the crop of broom corn covered its hundreds of acres, besides the factories here bought from all the surrounding towns. Nearly every able-bodied man was at one time or another a broom-maker. Levi Dickinson a native of Wethersfield, Connecticut, planted the first broom-corn in Hadley in 1797, and the year following raised "the first half-acre cultivated for brooms in America." His brooms met with good sale, and in spite of ridicule he persisted in producing them, and gradually improved the processes for manufacture. His devotion did not appear so visionary to the people of Hadley when, in 1850, that town was credited in the census with the production

of 769,700 brooms, valued at $118,478, and 76,000 brushes, valued at $5,970.

Certain of his neighbors, scenting success from afar, began the culture of broom-corn about the first year of the last century, among whom are mentioned William Shipman, Solomon Cook, Levi Gale, and a negro named Cato. The manufacture became of national importance before the death of Mr. Dickinson. He died in 1843, aged eighty-eight.

At present (1925) there is only one broom factory in Hadley, that of Homer Cook, which handles what little broom-corn is produced annually.

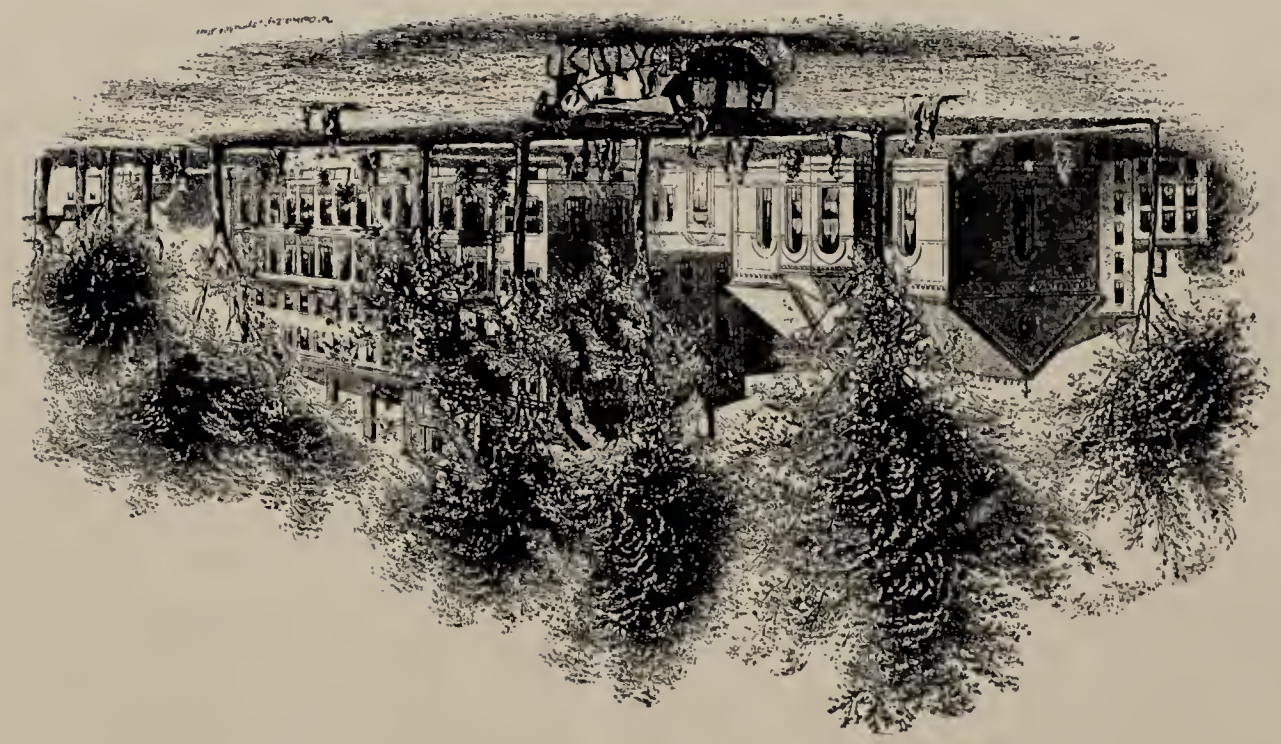
South Hadley—This is the southwest town of that part of Hampshire county, east of the Connecticut river, and is bounded north by Hadley and Amherst, being separated by the Holyoke range, east by Granby, south by Chicopee, in Hampden county, and west by the meanderings of the Connecticut river. Its area is approximately 9,000 acres; its population in 1920 was placed at 5,527. It was set off as a precinct of Hadley in 1732, and was incorporated as a district April, 1753. Granby was set off June 11, 1768. The chief streams are Bachelor's Brook and Stony Brook, upon which have been located several milling plants in years long gone by. One-third of the town lies north of the Connecticut. The main villages of the town are South Hadley and South Hadley Falls. Lesser places are known as "Moody Corners" and "Pearl City."

Pioneer Settlement—A grant of land was made south of Holyoke in 1675 to Thomas Selden. Seven years later came Timothy Nash. In 1684 four persons were granted permit to erect a saw mill on Stony Brook. Five years later another party of four men obtained the same rights. One of these mills remained in operation until 1720. South from Mount Holyoke the proprietors numbered 117 and represented an estate valued at 60,633 pounds Sterling. Falls Woods Field was the first land actually laid out by authority March, 1720. It contained 1,775 acres. Five land distributions were made betwen 1722 and 1772. Just who the first settlers were is not certain, and matters but little at this late day. It is quite certain that the first settlement in South Hadley was in 1725-26; the first meeting-house was erected in 1733-34; first ferry established in 1770.

Organization—In 1732 South Hadley became the second precinct of Hadley, and was incorporated as a district April 12, 1753. This precinct contained all of the land in the mother town of Had-

MOUNT HOLYOKE SEMINARY.

SOUTH HADLEY, MASS.



ley, south of the summit of Mount Holyoke, or about 25,000 acres. Granby was set off from South Hadley and incorporated in 1768. The first line was not satisfactory and was changed at various dates. Not until 1826 was the present boundaries fixed. The first moderator was Ebenezer Moody. The town has been governed in keeping with all other well regulated towns of the county. The present list of officers is as follows: Town clerk and treasurer, Martinus Madsen; selectmen, Horace T. Brockway, George F. Dudley, Thomas E. Quirk; assessors, Alvin R. Wilson, Charles E. Bardwell, Stephen P. O'Donnell; tax-collector, Charles A. Judd; tree warden, Vernon S. Bagg; constables, Charles A. Barnes, James Dunleavy, Frank A. Heyne, James L. O'Leary, James J. Peters, Herbert J. Plante.

The school report shows for 1924 forty-two teachers in the public schools of the town. Total enrollment in 1924, 1,294.

The town treasurer's balance sheet shows the town's assets and liabilities to be $95,320, with a town surplus of $43,242.

The assessor's report in 1924 shows: Value of lands assessed $1,361,000; buildings assessed, $3,939,000; personal property assessed, $1,164,000; tax-rate per thousand dollars, $28.00.

Villages—South Hadley, now has a population of 5,527 (U.S. census 1920) and is in a charming location near the geographical center of the town. Mount Holyoke Seminary, with its ample attractive grounds has long kept this place in the public eye. (See its history later). South Hadley Falls, on the Connecticut river, is at the extreme southern portion of the town. In early times it was known as "Canal Village." It is on the five hundred acre tract reserved for Major Pynchon in 1683. Since the construction of the great dam across the river, from the head of the old canal to the opposite shore, the place has largely increased in its population and manufacturing enterprises.

Schools—Both private and public schools have flourished in this town since 1738 when its pioneer school house was erected. The present condition of schools has already been mentioned, but chief among the institutions of learning found here is Mount Holyoke Seminary, devoted to the education of young women, and founded by Miss Mary Lyon, born in Franklin county 1797. She commenced her wonderful career by teaching school at seventy-five cents per week. This seminary was incorporated in 1836 and the corner-stone of its first building laid October 3, of the same year. It opened its doors November 8, 1837. Its

library was erected at an expense of $18,000, in 1870. The institution has received many gifts from private subscription and in 1867 the State appropriated $40,000 to it. Miss Lyon died in March, 1849, but the work has never lagged or lacked for competent instructors and able managers. The first year the number of students was eighty and the second year four hundred were refused on account of room. In 1865 the building was enlarged, by two wings being added. In 1888 a charter was granted to Mount Holyoke Seminary and College and in 1893 the Seminary course was discontinued, and a charter granted to Mount Holyoke College. September 27, 1896, the old historic building was burned. Since then three buildings have been added. During the eighty-seven years of her history, Mount Holyoke has enrolled over twelve thousand students and sent over six thousand students out as graduates, among them founders of schools and colleges in this and other lands. The 1924-25 catalog gives the number of students as nine hundred and ninety-two, coming from nearly all states in the Union and eight foreign lands. The equipment of this College inclueds sixteen splendid structures besides eighteen cottages.

Church life was obligatory on the part of the pioneers for the record shows that the General Court demanded in the granting of a new precinct that it should be supplied with a "learned" and "Orthodox" minister. About six years went by before this was brought about, but in 1773 Mr. Grindall Rawson was engaged as pastor. A church was built so as to be completed in 1734. A church was formed at South Hadley Falls in 1824. A Methodist Episcopal church was organized at South Hadley Falls in 1827 and the Catholic people organized in the early seventies and built in 1877-78.

Lodges—Mount Holyoke Lodge of Free Masons was formed in 1870, with twenty members. At present there are several lodges here, including the Masonic and Red Men's fraternities.

Libraries—There are now two public libraries—Gaylord Memorial and South Hadley Falls Free Public Library.

Industries—Beginning with the three saw mills in 1771, all connected with the falls, there have been various enterprises conducted hereabouts from that date to the present. Distilleries, potash works, grist-mills, a cotton factory, paper mills, button factories, the "Morgan Nail Works," 1812-15, a salt grinding mill, 1824 and other mills have all had their existence in this town. The

Carew Paper Company, started in 1848 and in 1880 was making 3,000 pounds of fine grade writing paper, daily. The Hampshire Paper Company, established in 1866 had a capital of $200,000. These are both extensive concerns. The present manufacturing interests, etc. of South Hadley Falls are these: Carew Paper Co., Hampshire Paper Co., Holyoke Paper Products Co., a curtain rod factory, a sash, blind and door factory, a paper ruling and finishing factory, a polish factory and soap factory.

Hatfield—This is the most northern town in Hampshire county. It lies on the west bank of the Connecticut river and is bounded north by Franklin county, east by Hadley, south by Hadley and Northampton, west by Northampton and Williamsburg. The farm land forty years ago was 8,339 acres. The title to the land in this town comes direct from the Indians. The first purchase by the Hadley proprietors was December 25, 1658, and embraced a large territory on the east side of the Connecticut. No part of this property belonged to Hatfield. The second purchase was 1660, comprising the lands on the west side from Capawong Brook (Mill river) on the south to the brook called Wunckcompass. This was the beginning of what afterward became the town of Hatfield. The price paid was 300 fathoms of wampum and sundry gifts. In 1672 the town of Hatfield bought a tract to the north, comprising present Whately, and a part of the north part of Hatfield.

Surface—A large portion of this town is made up of valuable meadow land.

Settlement and Growth—The settlement was made at the same date of Hadley, 1659 to 1661. The two became the property of a colony from Wethersfield and Hartford, Connecticut. They came here on account of a difference of religious opinions and were ready to sacrifice all for their faith the possessed along religious lines. Probably a few families spent the winter of 1659-60 in the new colony at the present site of Hadley. It is thought Richard Fellows was the first to establish himself at the south of the present village. The first town meeting in Hadley—which then included Hatfield—was held at the house of Andrew Warner, October 8, 1660.

Organization—The name is supposed to be derived from Hatfield, England. The General Court set off this territory as a separate town on account of the trouble had in crossing the Connecticut rvier. The date appears to have been about 1655. On down

through the eventful decades to the present time the town officers who have piloted the local government, have been men of integrity and good judgment, as a rule. The present affairs of the town are looked well to by the following officers: Selectmen, Edison W. Strong, Robert J. McGrath, Daniel F. Riley; assessors, John R. McGrath, Myron H. Dwight, V. H. Keller; Town clerk and treasurer, V. H. Keller; chief of police, A. R. Breor; superintendent of roads, M. B. Ryan.

The latest town report shows the number of scholars in the public schools of the town was 785.

The assessor's report shows a total of personal property of $719,447; of real estate, $2,140,083; number polls assessed, 670; residents assessed, 534; tax-rate $31.00 per thousand; number horses assessed, 367; cows, 272; neat cattle, 22; fowls, 270; dwellings assessed, 454; acres land assessed, 9,195.

Villages—"Hatfield Street" of early times is the village of today. Along this long handsome street were erected the houses of the pioneers. Here has been woven many a hallowed memory, for here numerous generations have been reared, lived, acted and died since the long ago days when white men first invaded this section to make homes for themselves. Before 1806 when Dr. Daniel White became first postmaster, mail was received at Northampton. North Hatfield is a station on the railroad, near the north line of the town. A postoffice was established in 1868, Reuben H. Belden being appointed postmaster. Hatfield Station is near the south line of the town, two miles from the center of Hatfield village. Bradstreet is a hamlet of prosperous farmers two miles north of the Center on the "river road."

Schools—This town has ever been wide-awake to the interests of excellent educational advantages, and from her territory has gone forth a great influence toward building up schools of the worth-while type. Beside the fine public schools, there have been private schools worthy of mention in this connection. The Smiths of Hatfield trace their ancestry back to the early settlement of the town. Among the many members of this family distinguished for thrift and liberality, two, Oliver and his nephew Austin, made large fortunes, and the wealth of both was bequeathed for the public good—that of the former to the founding of "the Smith Charities" in Northampton; that of the latter, falling to his sister, Miss Sophia Smith, of Hatfield, was by her devised to the establishment of Smith Academy, in Hatfield, and Smith Col-

SMITH ACADEMY, HATFIELD, MASS.

lege in Northampton. She died in 1870 and had endowed the academy with $75,000. These Smith institutions still exist and are stronger for good than ever before. At present the academy at Hatfield is in a way connected with the public school system.

Churches—Ever since 1668 the people of this town have been provided with church organizations and suitable houses of worship. The second meeting-house was built in 1748. The churches of today are the Congregational, and two Roman Catholic churches—St. Joseph's and Holy Trinity.

Industrial—Originally, this was a town where agriculture flourished on a large, profitable scale. Cattle were here grown and fattened for the city markets. The next era found broom-corn and tobacco as chief products. Scores of large tobacco barns were built hither and yon. As times have changed so have the resources of this town. The old time corn mills and cider mills, as well as saw mills have disappeared. One of the first distilleries in Western Massachusetts was erected and operated in this town; the date of building it was 1785. It stood where later was the North Hatfield husk factory. Today the chief products are tobacco and onions.

Loyalty—At no time in the long, eventful history of this town has there been a call for men to defend the rights of men and hold sacred the flag of this nation, when there has been any lack of men to volunteer to do their duty as soldiers brave. This applied in all the wars away back, as well as in the Civil War, Spanish-American and late World War.

Town of Granby—This sub-division of Hampshire county is situated south of the center, in the eastern part, and is bounded on the north by Amherst, on the south by the towns of Ludlow and Chicopee, in Hampden county, on the east by Belchertown, and on the west by South Hadley, Hampshire county. Its area is about 16,600 acres of land. Its usual level surface is here and there broken by small hills. The north and eastern portions are especially productive of all crops grown in New England. Water courses are not abundant in this town. One of its larger streams is Bachelor's Brook, fed by numerous lesser streams. Along the northern line of the town extends the Holyoke range of mountains, the most elevated point of which in Granby, is known as Hilliard's Knob.

Settlement—The first grant of land by the town of Hadley (of which Granby originally formed a part), south of Mount Hol-

yoke, was in February, 1675, when Thomas Selden had six acres at the mouth of Dry Brook. In 1682 Timothy Nash had a grant of a parcel of land between Bachelor's Brook and Stony Brook, adjoining the Connecticut river, "at the southernmost part of our bounds." January 25, 1720, Hadley voted to lay out land on the south side of Mount Holyoke. The territory now comprised within the limits of the town of South Hadley was settled earlier and faster than in Granby, so that in the year 1731 the taxable inhabitants of South Hadley numbered thirty-seven persons, while those of Granby had only eight. In 1771 the men who had the largest estates in Granby were Deacon William Eastman, Jacob Taylor, John Moody, Nathan Smith, Benjamin Eastman, Moses Moody, Phineas Smith, and Ebenezer Bartlett.

Organization—The town of Granby, with South Hadley, originally formed a part of the town of Hadley, being known as the South or Second Precinct of Hadley. A meeting-house was erected in 1762, in what was later in "West Parish." The second Parish of South Hadley was incorporated as the town of Granby, June 11, 1768. Suffice to say that the administration of a good form of local government has always obtained in this town; no attempt will be made to enumerate the long list of town officials other than to give the 1925 town officers etc.

Town clerk and treasurer, George F. Eastman; selectmen, W. F. Forward, Clifford W. Ferry, Horace S. Taylor; assessors, C. D. Lyman, E. T. Clark, S. R. Dickinson; constables, F. W. Graves, J. R. Fuller, Harry E. Chafnir, Wilbur H. Easton.

The reports show the town had a population of 779 in 1920; valuation of property, $919,283; for support of schools in 1924, $17,181. There are five schools in the town with a total of 155 pupils. The assessor shows in his last report the town to have a tax-rate of $32.50 per thousand dollars valuation; number male polls, 242; horses, 242; cows, 1,219; neat cattle, other than cows, 246; swine, 21; fowls, 6,289; sheep, 19; dwelling houses assessed, 220; number acres land assessed, 17,436.

The receipts and expenditures of the town in 1924 was $65,824. Balance on hand January 1, 1925, $3,858.

There are no villages of any great importance within Granby town. Granby Center, near the geographical center, is a collection of houses, and has had postoffice and small store trading places for many years. Here was located the pioneer Congregational church upon a "common" containing six acres. West

Parish, in the western part has always been an influential part of Granby. Schools have been the rule here since 1774, and fifty years ago, there were eight districts in the town, each having a school. The churches have been Congregational, Methodist and Adventist but the two Congregational churches have been the most prominent from the first to the present time.

As to military affairs it should be said that whenever soldiers have been needed in the various conflicts, Granby has always furnished even more than was required of them, even to the more recent wars.

No large industry has ever sprung up here. The waters of Bachelor's Brook, it is true, have in the long ago years furnished water-power for a few saw mills, a woolen factory, a small paper factory etc. but several of these concerns were lost by fire and never rebuilt. Elijah Kent had an iron forge in the east part of the town at an early day and about 1812, there were four distilleries in the town, each using forty bushels of grain each work day. Too many in competition and many temperance lecturers caused this industry to die out entirely.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WESTERN TOWNS OF HAMPSHIRE

Williamsburg—Eight miles northwest from Northampton, the county seat, is situated the town of Williamsburg. It is bounded on the north by Goshen and Franklin county line; east by Franklin county and Hatfield; south by Northampton and Westhampton; west by Chesterfield and Goshen. It has a farm acreage of about 16,000 acres. The records show that this town is the "Hatfield addition," sometimes called "Hatfield three-mile grant," and "Hatfield woods." This was a tract six miles long by three wide, granted by the General Court to Hatfield in 1695-96. It therefore became the absolute property of that town, and was divided among the people. The title to the soil of Williamsburg is thus tracable back to the direct grant from the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

The town is handsomely situated on the eastern slope of the Green Mountain range. It is diversified, forming in many places landscapes of great beauty. Here one sees cataracts tumbling through deep glens and hills interspersed with pleasant valleys; towering heights, with wild ravines; the general slope of the surface is south and west. The whole town is watered and drained by Mill river and its tributaries. Among the numerous elevations the highest is High Ridge with an elevation of 1,480 feet, and was made a signal-station in the state survey. From the heights in the north nearly the whole valley of the Connecticut in Massachusetts may be seen, including Mount Tom, Mount Holyoke and a wide range of hills—a view of more than seventy miles in extent.

Settlement—The first settlement of Williamsburg was effected by John Miller of Northampton, about 1735. A log cabin was built on the hill northwest of the present village of Haydenville. He had previously hunted and trapped over this section. Here he purchased a tract of nine hundred acres at one dollar per acre. This land was heavily timbered. For many years he was a monarch of all he surveyed. In the early attempts at settling, the "addition" men were compelled to go in parties of from five to fifteen armed for defense. Indians still roamed down the Connecticut valley, rendering settlements unsafe. The pioneers of Williamsburg located on the higher points of land. Thus the

population first centered on Meeting-House Hill and Petticoat Hill. The site of the present Central Village was formerly a swamp, covered with hemlock and alder trees and bushes. In derision it was first called "City." Space forbids reciting the many interesting sketches of pioneer men and women in this part of Hampshire county.

Button Business—In this town was made the first attempt to manufacture cloth-covered buttons, which had formerly all come from England. It was the invention of Mrs. Elnathan Graves, who finally interested her son-in-law, Samuel Williston, later known as the philanthropist and he who gave much of his fortune to the aid of Amherst and Williston Academy, the same all originating in his making cloth-covered buttons.

Early merchants were inclusive of Abner Williams who commenced selling goods from the rear of his blacksmith shop about 1802-03. The first regular store opened in the town was by Asa White, on the Hill. It then required ten days to go to Boston and return for goods.

Organization—For a number of years after the settlement this territory remained a part of Hatfield. It became a thriving place and had a good schoolhouse erected. It was in 1770 that Hatfield consented by vote to allow a separate town and the same day authorized the formation of the town of Whately as well. Williamsburg was organized "by authority of his Majesty" but soon passed under the rule of the "State of Massachusetts Bay." The name Williamsburg was doubtless given in honor of the Williams family. In a work of this kind it is not practical to give long lists of town officers' names, hence only the present officers (1925) are here appended: Town clerk, W. G. Bisbee; treasurer, Anna E. Watson; selectmen, A. G. Cone, Newton K. Lincoln, Harry W. Warner; assessors, R. S. Jorgenson, Walter E. Kellogg; constables, Charles A. Powers, John H. Noble.

The latest town report shows that in 1924 the town had twelve separate schools with a scholarship ranging from seventeen to sixty-four pupils. The assessors' report gives for 1924 these facts: Total value of personal and realty in the town $1,292,016; Number of polls assessed, 595; tax-rate per thousand, $30.50; horses assessed, 193; cows, 475; neat cattle other than cows, 198; sheep, 52; swine, 48; fowls, 4,029; number dwellings, 442; income tax, $2,909.

The treasurer reported receipts and disbursements, $100,214 including "Cash on hand," $21,096.

Villages—The village of Williamsburg was settled later than any other portion of the town. The place grew up by reason of the development of the water-power at the junction of Mill Brook with Mill River. Before the flood of 1874, it was a large, thriving village, but the industries were never replaced after their destruction. The churches of the village are the Congregational and Methodist Episcopal. Other public improvements are the school building and town-hall. The buildings along South Main street, were mostly destroyed by the reservoir disaster. The post-office here was the only one in the town for many years. It was established in 1814. From 1831 the cases for clocks were made here in great numbers, while the works came from Connecticut. As many as eight clock peddlers were out over New England selling clocks from Williamsburg. From 1806 on the village made broadcloth, run a cotton mill, fulling mill, dyeing, and dressing-mill.

Other villages of this town which once did a good business in the line of small industries, are these: Searsville, Skinnersville, which was on Mill River and is spoken of later. Haydenville, was the earliest point settled in Williamsburg. It derived its name from the Haydens, who were early manufacturers. A Congregational and Catholic church were early factors of the place. A postoffice was established in 1839, with a daily mail from Northampton. In 1848 a fire engine costing $500 was purchased. Prior to the flood disaster in 1874, the place had gas-works. In 1880 Haydenville had a cotton factory, brass foundry and numerous small shops. With the passing years most of these industries have gone down or been merged and removed to larger business centers.

Churches of the town—The first thought in the settlement of a town in New England was that of establishing a church. Many have sprung up here. The first church was formed in 1771. The Methodist Episcopal was organized in 1832. The early services were held in the button factory. The Congregational church at Haydenville was formed about 1851. The Catholic church at Haydenville was brought about by reason of the many factory operatives of this religious faith having settled there. A house of worship was built in 1864. The first pastor was Father Morse.

Industrial Interests—A former county historical work had the following to say regarding this topic:—

"The occupation of early times was chiefly agriculture. The ex-

tensive and valuable forests gave rise to a large amount of wood and lumber business. Charcoal was burned to some extent for market. All the crops usual to these hills towns were raised. The soil was productive, and yielded fair returns for the labor of the pioneers. The mountain slopes afforded excellent pasturage for the fattening of beef and the success of the dairy. In later times, of course, the mills and factories absorbed general attention. When the business of manufacturing prospered, the farmers prospered; mechanics had abundant employment, and merchants made quick and profitable sales. When manufactures diminished, all other departments of business were embarrassed. Hence the disaster of 1874 was a blow to all. In the place of wealth there came to many poverty. In the place of business activity came stagnation, paralysis. In the place of abundant facilities demolished factories, ruined machinery, and crippled resources. The danger of living near the banks of the streams, together with the hard times, reduced the value of homesteads. There were many to sell and few to buy. With a third of the business and wealth of the town swept away, and much of it irrecoverably lost, merchants could no longer make extensive sales. Men of abundant means who seemed to stand the first shock of the disaster proved to be more embarrassed than was expected, and some went down in the storm of commercial distress that followed the flood of 1874."

Goshen—This town is on the northern border of Hampshire county. It is nine miles distant from the county-seat and is bounded on the north by Franklin county and Williamsburg; south by Williamsburg and Chesterfield; west by Chesterfield and Cummington. It contains an area of 6,951 acres. The title to the soil traces from the direct grant of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. These lands were granted in place of the barren township that had been given to soldiers who had served in the Indian wars.

Natural Features—This irregular shaped town, has a very uneven surface. Moore's Hill in the northeast, is the highest elevation, reaching 1,713 feet in height. Numerous streams are found throughout the town. In the northeast part of the town, and near the center, there are found tributaries of the Mill river, of Williamsburg. Large reservoirs were constructed for the benefit of manufacturers below.

Early Settlement—Among the first to invade this town with aim of making permanent settlers were David Stearns and Abi-

jah Tucker who came from Dudley in 1761, leaving their families at Northampton. They worked together, clearing a piece of land and erecting a log house. The following autumn they brought their families and passed the winter there. In 1762 these families were joined by others and from then on the settlement increased quite rapidly. The hardships were indeed, great, especially in the winter months. August 19, 1788, was the date of a fearful tornado in this section of country, No lives seem to have been lost but much property was destroyed by the blowing down of buildings, etc. Forty-six years later occurred another violent storm that passed over almost the exact territory. Several barns were unroofed and the Congregational church building was materially injured.

The first store in the town was kept by John James and John Williams. The building stood until 1875. With the advance of years there were numerous stores started, and later for a number of years there was no store at all. Major Hawks, Albert Crafts, and a man named Knowlton all had stores at one time or another.

Organization—The people of the different parts of the town of Chesterfield and Chesterfield Gore could not agree on a place for a common center at which to hold town meetings and religious services. These things soon led to a desire for a new town organization. It was finally the sense of the General Court that such a thing should be done, so May 14, 1781, Goshen was incorporated as a separate town. It was named after Goshen in old Egypt, on account of its being the best part of Chesterfield, as Goshen mentioned in the Bible was the choicest part of the land of Egypt. The people of this town did not take kindly to the issues of the War of 1812-14 and refused to contribute men and means to prosecute the same in several instances. With the coming and going of years the town prospered and was well governed by the selectmen and other town officers. Without trying to list the hundreds of men who have served in such capacity it will be sufficient to give the present town officers etc. as gleaned from the official reports of 1924-25: Town clerk, Paul W. Packard; treasurer, Charles S. Packard; selectmen, George L. Barrus, Fred S. Rice, S. Garfield Shaw; board of health, same as selectmen; assessors, same as selectmen; constable, William H. Bennett.

Villages, Schools, Etc.—Goshen Center is the only place having any claim to be a village within this town. It consists of one

street nearly one mile long, along which were built numerous excellent residences, the Congregational church; a chapel of the Second Advent Society, the town hall; stores, and the Highland House. The last named was conducted by Major Hawks and many summer tourists frequently stopped there as long ago as 1876. Being a mountain village it was cool and pleasing in the summer months. The scenery is most charming, either in summer time or mid-winter.

Before the town's incorporation the schools were private. As a part of Chesterfield, there had been schools kept within what is now Goshen. The town had school districts set off at a very early date. Now all that is modern and desirable in country and village schools is to be found in Goshen.

Churches—No time was lost after the organization of this town before the matter of providing for a house of worship and support of the ministry was considered. The first to serve as minister was Rev. Joseph Barker, and a dozen more men were "called" but not chosen until in 1810, Rev. Samuel Whitman, of Ashby accepted a call as pastor. He was too liberal in his views and was discharged in 1818. The first church built was in 1780-82, after which the town meetings were also held in the meeting-house. The Baptist church was formed in Goshen in 1814 but meetings were held long before that year—probably 1809. A meeting-house was erected in 1822 by this denomination. "The First Calvinistic Society of Goshen" was in existence for a few years before 1828 but then went down. The Second Advent Church was formed here in 1858, worshiped in a private house a while then built a neat chapel. The only Societies within Goshen have been a few church or missionary societies.

Industrial Pursuits—Agriculture now as well as when first settled is the principal industry of Goshen. While it is true there are richer soils and fairer fields for cultivation, yet many are the comfortable farm-homes in this town. Many of her strong sons have found homes in the far west and become wealthy in their newly chosen locations, yet those who remain are well-to-do and contented with the advantages they possess as husbandmen. More than a century and a half ago sawmills were located on Dresser Brook. A broom handle factory was added and still later an extensive button-mold factory was carried on by C. C. Dresser. On Swift river were also several saw and grist-mills. A saw mill and brush-handle factory were in operation many years ago in the same neighborhood. The making of potash, the making of cider and cider-brandy, and tanneries have all had their place in the history of Goshen.

With times changes, most of these industries have all disappeared.

The population of the town of Goshen in the 1920 census reports was two hundred and twenty-four.

Centennial Anniversary—The town of Goshen was incorporated May 14th, 1781. On the approach of the One Hundredth anniversary of that event the citizens were moved to take measures for its proper observance. At the annual town meeting held March 1, 1880, Alvan Barrus, George Dresser, Hiram Packard, Timothy P. Lyman, John Henry Godfrey, Theron L. Barrus and Alonzo Shaw were chosen a committee to mature plans and make all necessary arrangements for celebrating the town's centennial birthday. The committee organized and finally decided that inasmuch as the date of incorporation, May 14, came in a busy season of the year, and liable to cool and stormy weather, that it was advisable to fix the day of celebration at a later date. It was accordingly voted to have the anniversary exercises on the 22d of June.

This was a highly successful affair throughout. The weather was ideal and the speeches and papers read excellent—indeed this was a red letter day in the history of the "Land of Goshen."

Town of Chesterfield—This sub-division of Hampshire county is situated west of the Connecticut river and its principal village is by an air-line eleven and one-half miles from the seat of justice. On the north it is bounded by Worthington, Cummington and Goshen; east by Goshen, Williamsburg and Westhampton; south by Westhampton and Huntington; west by Worthington. The original area was almost 30,000 acres, but when it became incorporated it only contained 16,748 acres. The town traces its title back to the colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Natural Features—One of the prominent features of the town is the valley of the Westfield River, extending through its domain nearly north and south. Generally speaking, the town is drained by the Westfield river and its tributaries.

Early Settlement and Growth—Chesterfield was settled from 1760 to 1765. George Buck and family were the first actual settlers, and lived on Ireland Street and spent their first winter midst great privation and extreme hardships. The sons and daughters of this town have finally been represented in hundreds of counties, towns and cities between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Whether in war or in peace the citizens here have been loyal to the best interests of the majorities. The first tavern in this town was opened by Benjamin Tupper in 1764.

Organization—The town's incorporation followed soon after the first settlement had been effected. The first record of a town meeting was July 20, 1762. The last town meeting in "his Majesty's name," was March 4, 1776. At the next town meeting these words were entirely omitted. June 19, 1776, the warrant for a town meeting commenced in "the name of the thirteen United Colonies." For many years town meetings were held at the private houses of the town until the Methodist church building was no longer used by that people after which it was used for town-hall purposes. The local government of this town has had an interesting history, but of course cannot here be entered into, but with the statement that the town has been well cared for by its scores of selectmen and other officers, it will be proper to here give the names of the officers for 1925 as follows: Town clerk, Hoyt E. Dodge; selectmen, Sumner M. Pittsinger, Howard D. Stanton, Francis O. Torrey; treasurer, H. R. Brisbee; assessors, same as selectmen; auditor, Herbert M. Pittsinger; tax-collector, Abner W. Nichols; constables, Albert W. Nichols, Fred K. Utley; school commissioners, Mrs. Ida F. Cole, Frank P. Baker, Albert W. Nichols; tree warden, Roswell H. Baker; fence viewers, the selectmen.

The school report shows an expenditure of $8,514 for the year ending December 31,1924. The item of transportation for students for the school year was $782.40. Four teachers were employed. The number of male students attending for the year 40; females 49.

The assessor's report shows: Total tax for 1924 $12,122; tax-rate per thousand dollars, $25.80; number horses assessed, 147; cows, 296; sheep, 31; neat cattle other than cows, 226; swine, 63; dwellings assessed, 207; total valuation of all property in town, $457,000. The number of acres of land assessed was 19,091.

The treasurer's report showed for 1924 receipts and disbursements $39,568, with a balance on hand in treasury January 1, 1925, $9,376.

Villages—"Chesterfield Village (said a popular history of 1879) is delightfully situated, and commands an extensive view of the surrounding country. It contains a number of fine private residences; the meeting-house of the Congregational Church; a town-hall, formerly the house of worship belonging to the Methodist Church; one store; the old Clapp tavern, now a place of hospitable entertainment under its present proprietor, Joseph Kelso; several shops and business places. The village has many attractions. 'No Mill River disaster can ever happen there,' said a chance acquaint-

ance of the writer. Swept by mountain breezes, with an enchanting prospect spread out before the eye of the traveler, it is no wonder that the people of Chesterfield are enthusiastic in their love of home, or that summer tourists linger here with delight."

This village has always been the business place of the town, merchants and professional men carrying on their business and residing here more uniformly than at any other point."

Other lesser hamlets are West Chesterfield in the west part of town, two miles from the center village, on the Westfield river. A postoffice was established here in 1850. One or two stores have graced the community at different times in its history. Sugar Hill was where the first town meeting was held and where resided Elisha Warner. Ireland street is the old name of the first road laid out by town authority. Another old community is known as Utley's Corners, north of the center, and the height northwest of West Chesterfield village was called Mount Livermore, from the name of the first settler.

Churches—Early was the interest exhibited in this town in the matter of churches. The next year after the town was incorporated two hundred pounds Sterling were voted "to build a meeting-house, settle a minister and work the roads." The Congregational Church of Chesterfield was organized October, 1764 with seven charter members. The Baptist Church of Chesterfield was formed before the Revolutionary struggle and a meeting-house was provided. Rev. Ebenezer Vining was the first preacher being ordained 1791 and dismissed 1802. Other ministers served earlier, but were not ordained. This was a singular circumstance that this denomination held services with quite a membership thirty years before the church was organized. The Second Baptist Church of Chesterfield was in the southeastern part of the town and there a building was erected in 1818. In 1825 on account of change in doctrine this church was discontinued. It really became the First Liberal Baptist Society of Chesterfield, usually styled the Free-Will Baptist. A Methodist Episcopal church was organized in 1843 and two years later, a meeting-house was erected. Later the building was converted into the town hall. The various denominations have their representatives in the town today and the people are known as a God-fearing, church-going people.

Occupation of the People—While farming has ever been in the lead in this town, various milling industries at one time gave a thrift not since known there. Joseph Burnell built the first mill—

a saw mill—in 1761. The crank for the water-wheel was carried on the back of a negro from Northampton. Three generations of Burnells ran this sawmill. Cider-mills, cloth-dressing mills, corn-grinding mills and a basket factory have all had their place in the history of Chesterfield. A scythe-stone factory was also a paying proposition years ago. In the seventies there was a cutlery establishment in the town, by H. K. Weeks. Foundries and machine shops later came in, but most all of these industries have succumbed to the inevitable and are no more. In the census reports for 1875 the following items appear to the credit of Chesterfield: Butter, $11,450; maple-sugar, $6,779; firewood, $4,425; beef, $6,231; hay, $25,703; pork, $4,071; manure, $5,988; potatoes, $6,451; corn, $2,008; veal, $1,175. Three more were very near the the last,—apples, $1,167; eggs, $1,143; oats, $1,116.

Town of Huntington—This belongs to the southern tier of towns in Hampshire county. The town is southwest from Northampton the seat of justice, about fourteen miles in a straight line, but much farther by the public road. Huntington is bounded north by Chesterfield, east by Westhampton, Southampton and Hampden county; south by Hampden county; west by Hampden county and the town of Worthington. The net area of the town is 13,334 acres. The town of Norwich was a part of Murrayfield, and the title to the soil is derived direct from the province of Massachusetts Bay, the township being numbered 9 of the series sold by order of the General Court, June 2, 1762.

Natural Features—The East Branch of Westfield river flows through the entire length of the town from north to south, receiving the Middle Branch above Norwich Bridge. In times of freshet the Westfield river at this point displays great force, thus causing the town much expense for damage done to bridges. There are several artificial ponds in the town and streams of smaller size, which contribute to the water-power of the same. Among the hills may be named Horse Hill, Mount Pisgah, Norwich Hill, Goss Hill, Deer Hill, Little Moose Hill, Big Moose Hill.

First Settlement—Dr. J. G. Holland's history states that "the Indian family named Rhoades, made the first settlement in 1760, two miles above the Pitcher Bridge, on Westfield river."

But this statement is not credited by Rev. J. H. Bisbee, writing in 1876, with the advantage of being a local resident and born there. He does not believe the above statement, and if true, the Indian

family had left before the organization of the town. There seems to have been quite a colony from near Norwich, Connecticut, who probably were "first to settle." Samuel Knight and the Kirkland family were evidently very early in the town—about 1770. From 1773 on, the list is clearly traced from the town record-books. The records show there were forty-six owners of real estate in 1773, and ten without realty. So, not far from fifty males were residents of the town at that date.

Organization—The town of Murrayfield was incorporated in 1765, and included the territory of what later constituted Norwich. A few settlers located on the eastern part, and in a few years were numerous enough to ask a separation. They succeeded and were incorporated as a district by the General Court June 29, 1773. The district became a town March 23, 1786 and was named for Norwich, Connecticut. The first town meeting was held in the new town, July 14, 1773. As thus organized the town of Norwich continued with about the same territory for nearly eighty years. Then a radical change took place. The movement commenced at Chester village, then so called, and which was a sprightly trading center. It was a station on the Boston and Albany railroad. When annexation of other territory was had to Norwich, a new name was thought best, so that of Huntington, was given it in honor of Hon. C. P. Huntington, of Northampton. Thus was present Huntington town launched as one of the present towns in Hampshire county. Its present (1925) officers include the following: Town clerk, George W. Ford; town treasurer, John T. Wall; selectmen, Timothy J. Kirby, Ansel G. Searle, Elmer C. Phinney; assessors, George H. Beals, James K. Axtel, Francis J. Knightly; collector of taxes, John J. Kennedy; constables, Joseph E. Perry, Joseph D. Tufts, Charles G. Lord; tree warden, Henry E. Stanton; forest fire wardens, Anson G. Searle, John J. Kirby; town counsel, Leonard F. Hardy; town accountant, Alice M. Kile. The 1924 town assessor's report has these facts: Number horses assessed, 190; cows assessed, 321; sheep assessed, 19; fowls assessed, 3,660; neat cattle, 154; swine, 29; houses assessed, 360; acres of land, 14,700; tax-rate per thousand, $27.00. Total valuation of town, $1,098,995; personal property, $290,195; total tax levy, $30,564. The income from schools was $10,070; income tax, $4,833.60. The treasurer reported assets and liabilities $19,373.88. Net debt December 31, 1924, $126.12.

Villages and Local Names—The oldest business point in the

town is Norwich Hill and it still bears the same name. It is divided into the northern and southern parts. In the north part the mills, shops, schoolhouse, and postoffice were located and in the southern section, was located the Congregational Church, a schoolhouse, and a few dwellings. Together, this is the "Norwich" of olden times—the residences of the Kirklands, the Knights, the Hannums, and not far away lived the Fairman and the Forbes families. These were all residents back in 1773.

Norwich Hollow, though not a village, the name was applied to the pretty valley in the north part of the town, and the central, as distinguished from the "Hill."

Knightville lies a little northwest of "Norwich Hill," in the valley of the east branch. A hamlet grew up there around the few shops and mills which utilized the water-power. It was, of course, named for the Knight family.

Norwich Bridge is an old point in the town's history. Here were located the old inn and the grist-mill of Isaac Mixer. Early town meetings were "warned" by posting the warrant at Mixer's grist-mill. Here, too, was the preaching point; here boarded the first minister, Mr. Butler, preaching at Norwich.

Huntington, (formerly Chester Village), with its surrounding hills, constitutes the territory annexed to Norwich in 1853. It was originally styled Falley's X-Roads. It was a station on the old stage route from Boston to Albany, via Springfield. After the reconstruction of 1853-55 the name was changed to Huntington.

Just before 1800, Daniel Falley and Richard Falley came into the town and opened a tavern and a store. In 1877 Huntington had grown to be a very enterprising place, for one of its size.

Manufacturing Interests—Upon one of the tributaries of the Manhan river, there was a saw mill at a very early day. Other mills were situated on Roaring Brook. Upon the main stream (East Branch of the Westfield), in the north part of town, was also a saw and grist-mill. At Knightville in 1830 a saw mill was started and ran many years. In 1840 Porter Knight changed his mill to that of a turning factory. At Norwich Hill there was a tannery and near by stood an ancient grist-mill. Just below was an ax-making factory, celebrated from 1815 to 1825. In 1846 this factory moved to Huntington village. Grist and saw mills were built at many points along the rapid-running streams of the town, and in their day served well the object for which

they had been erected. An edged tool factory was located below the mouth of Butolph Brook, by W. P. Williams, in 1875. A paper mill was built at Huntington village in 1852 by O. H. Greenleaf and Lewis H. Taylor. At first printing paper was made there, but later fine writing paper was produced. Its capacity was one and one-half tons per day. Later this plant merged with the Massasoit Paper Company, of Springfield. The first water-wheel in Huntington was used to propel a bark-mill for a tannery. From 1830 to 1840 there was a cotton factory in the village, but later its owners changed it to a plane factory. Bedsteads, etc. were also made from the fine hard maple timbers found near there. The next was the woolen mills of Little & Stanton, but after two fires they went out of commission. The Highland Mills were built in 1870 by a stock company. They made robes and superior grades of flannels. A majority of these once prosperous mills have long since ceased to operate.

Schools and Churches—At the second town meeting after the organization, this town voted ten pounds Sterling for the support of the schools for the next year, which was 1773. In 1782 the town had five school districts. The modern school system here dates from 1826 and from then until now the schools have advanced with other modern ideas in this county and town. In 1924—last year—the town schools had a total of 302 pupils. Male pupils, 168; females, 134. Net cost of the schools in 1924 was $14,436. Cost of teaching each pupil was $42.21. The present superintendent is M. J. West.

The first settled minister of Murrayfield was Rev. Aaron Bascom in 1769. In 1773-74 Mr. Butler preached in Norwich, but was not "settled." The first church edifice, erected in 1780-81, was on the hill, on the site of the present Congregational church. A second house was built in 1790. Methodism commenced in a union revival service in the twenties. The Second Congregational Church of Huntington was organized in 1846. The first house of worship was built in 1847, costing $2,500. The house was burned in 1863; also the town hall and school-house burned the same date. A new church was built costing $7,000; a chapel was erected in 1869, costing $2,000. The Baptist church in Huntington was formed in 1852. The Catholic Church of Huntington first began worship in 1850 at the house of Patrick Nugent, in Russell Paper Mill Village. In Huntington village services commenced in 1853. Since the above dates various churches have kept the religious life of the town in good condition.

The population of the town of Huntington according to the United States census of 1920 was 1,425.

Town of Plainfield—The northwestern sub-division of Hampshire is known as the town of Plainfield. It is bounded on the north by Franklin county, east of Franklin county, south by Cummington, and west by Berkshire county. The farm acreage is 11,961. A large portion of the town was originally included in Cummington, and was a part of township No. 5, the title being direct from the colony of Massachusetts Bay. To this was added, February 4, 1794, a portion of Ashfield, with the families of Joseph Clarke and Joseph Beals, and June 21, 1803, one mile in width from the southerly portion of the town of Hawley. This was a part of certain equivalent lands originally granted to the town of Hatfield and located in Hawley. Six hundred acres in the northeast part of the town, granted to Mr. Mayhew for missionary purposes, was soon transferred to one Wainwright.

The surface of Plainfield is rough and hilly, even in places having high mountains, Deer Hill being one of highest portions. Geologically this town contains many interesting features. The streams are numerous and gladden the heart of man with their ever rippling waters.

Settlement—This town was settled from 1770 to 1780, the first pioneer probably being Mr. McIntyre who came with his family. In 1774 the name of Dr. Fay appears with that of Dr. Bradish, to have been permitted to open a hospital for inoculation. It is certain that Plainfield, as known today, was settled during the Revolutionary War. In their system of town meetings they brought with them the great principles of local home rule. In their religious institutions they kept unbroken faith with the fathers.

Lawyers never found this locality a good place to gain fees in. It is related, however, that the beloved poet William Cullen Bryant, during the few years he devoted to the practice of law, located in Plainfield for a short time.

Organization—The inconvenience of attending church in Cummington and of going to the center of the town to trade, soon led to a proposition for a separate town. The act of incorporation was dated March 16, 1785. The district became a town June 15, 1807. Various places were designated as proper places in which to hold town meetings down to 1848, when a town-hall was ready to use. The selectmen at first were Ebenezer Colson, John Pack-

ard and John Cunningham. The list of town officers from that far away day, to this, is all too long a period to cover; suffice to state that the town's present (1925) officers are: Town clerk, George E. Allen; treasurer, Albert N. Gurney; selectmen, F. F. Fiske, Clayton M. Nye, Henry E. Wells; assessors, Henry E. Wells, Howard N. Hathaway, William H. Dyer; tax-collector, Charles E. Thatcher; constables, Albert D. Bird, Frank Gould; school committee, George E. Allen, Dorothy S. Rice, Isabelle Luce; Library trustees, Carrie Thatcher, Florence Bliss, Rachel Packard.

The treasurer's report for 1924 gives the amount of receipts and disbursements for the current year as being $17,608. The assessors gave the number of residents assessed on property 91; number of non-residents assessed on property 77; number of male polls 98; total assessed valuation of all property, $222,545; tax-rate, per thousand dollers, $21.00; horses assessed, 116; cows, 287; neat cattle other than cows, 163; number swine, 24; fowls, 1,156. The average number of scholars in 1924 was 37. Number of schools, three.

Village—The only village within this town is the one at the center, which consists chiefly of one street, three-fourths of a mile long, running east and west. Among public buildings here in years gone by, were the meeting-house, the school-house, one store, a hotel, all at the West Corners and one store at East Corners. Private dwellings are situated on either side of this long attractive street. In brief let it be said that this is a fair model of the secluded inland town of New England. A postoffice was established here in 1810, with John Mack as postmaster.

Churches—Before the incorporation the town attended church at Cummington. Soon, however, plans were made to provide independent worship within their own district. Preaching was paid for in Plainfield in 1785. The first pastor was called in 1787 with a salary of sixty pounds Sterling. The church was organized in 1786. The Baptist church was organized February 25, 1833, Elder David Wright was moderator. The membership lived mostly in the east part of town, and has ceased to exist for many years. The meeting-house was erected in 1842. It was taken down and sold in 1866-67. From 1831 on there were numerous religious societies in this town, but these have long ago been discontinued and others have taken the field.

Industrial Interests—Formerly the two occupations of the

toilers of this town were farming and selling fire-wood from the woodlands round about. Later, the single occupation became agriculture and stock-raising with dairying. Maple sugar making has long been another paying industry here. Among the pioneer mills of this town was one built before 1800, known as Thomas Shaw's grist-mill. It "shut down" in 1826 forever. Just below was the factory of Warner, Whiting & Co., where satinets were made. The buildings were removed before 1860. On the same stream, below was the broom-handle factory of John White. Other industries were the grist-mill, the tanneries, and a type-foundry of Homan Hallock. There he made the types for printing the Bible in Arabic. Grist-mills and factories for making satinets seemed scattered thickly throughout the water-power points in this town. Many of these factories were destroyed by fire, while others gave way to modern factory methods in more recent times. Another industry was a paying proposition in the town at one time—that of cider-brandy making. Several distilleries were here doing a large business a hundred years ago and less.

After all these perished years, only three hundred and twenty-four population was given for the town of Plainfield in 1920 census reports.

Cummington—This town is in one of the western tiers of towns in Hampshire county, and is sixteen miles from the county seat by air line. It is bounded on the north by Plainfield town and Franklin county; east by Goshen; south by Chesterfield and Worthington towns; west by Berkshire county. It has an area of 13,711 acres. Its title comes direct from the colony of Massachusetts Bay. The township was purchased by Col. John Cummings, June 2, 1762, for 1,800 pounds Sterling. The town was laid out in three divisions, and the proprietors drew for their several shares.

Topography—Ranges of hills and intervening valleys make up the general surface of the town. Remington Hill stands out alone with an extensive area of productive land around it. Nearly every part of this town is drained by the streams which form the river system of the Westfield Valley. The course of the Westfield river throughout the town, affords many excellent and powerful water-power mill-sites. This stream divides the town into "north side" and "south side," hence much trouble was experienced in early days as to which side should be counted the location most suitable for the town-hall and seat of town government.

Settlement—It is evident that the town was largely settled be-

tween 1762 and 1771. The order in which each family moved cannot be determined. The men appointed on committee by the proprietors' meetings at Concord may very likely have been the first settlers. It is said that Jacob Melvin became a settler in 1766, and that there were then but seven families in town; that all the men from these seven families assembled, cleared a house-spot, and erected a log house for Mr. Melvin, and that he moved into it the same day. It is probable that Stephen Farr, Joseph Farr, Samuel Brewer, Thomas Barrett, Tilly Merick, Stephen Hayward, and Charles Prescott were these seven families; that Daniel Reed, William Ward, Peter Harwood, Timothy Moore, Nathan Harwood, with others, located during the next three of four years. The majority of the proprietors were evidently in Concord, or that vicinity, until 1770 or about that time; but in the spring of 1771 they were so largely settled here that future meetings of the proprietors were held within the township.

From 1770 to 1800 Joseph Lazell was conducting a general store in this town. There was about the same date, a distillery in operation by a Mr. Otis. Whiskey was made from potatoes and a thriving business was carried on for several years.

Organization—The government of the original proprietors seems to have succeeded quite well. Disputes came up only occasionally and then were adjusted between the parties and criminal laws were not much needed. Township No. 5 was not under any local civil jurisdiction from its settlement to 1779. The town of Cummington included Plainfield when the former was incorporated. The act of incorporation was dated June 23, 1779. It was named Cummington at its incorporation in honor of Col. John Cummings, the founder of the town. The first town meeting, which was in 1779, was held at the Packard dwelling. The full list of selectmen is too lengthy to here publish, but it may be said that those holding the town offices now (1925) are as follows: Town clerk, Howard E. Drake; treasurer, Herbert G. Streeter; selectmen, Merton C. Phinney, Ward A. Harlow, Homer W. Gurney; assessors, the selectmen; constables, Joseph H. Redding, Eugene A. Work.

The last annual report of the town of Cummington shows the value of assessed property to be $127,575; of real estate, $297,720; tax-rate, $29.00 per thousand dollars; cows assessed, 329; horses, 173; other cattle assessed, 214; sheep, 25; dwellings assessed, 186; acres of land assessed, 13,590; fowls assessed, 1,702. The treas-

urer's report showed for 1924 a total of receipts for the year, $35,136; cash on hand December 31, 1924, $301.62.

The school report shows four schools with a total enrollment of eighty-three on the average.

Villages—Cummington village lies in a beautiful valley along the Westfield river, with fine cultivated tracts, graceful curves and bold, rocky elevations, which must be seen in order to be fully described or appreciated. Thomas Tirrell, a farmer, probably among the first settlers there made good improvements. The store of Seth Williams and his pioneer tavern were built there previous to 1800. A postoffice was established at Cummington village in 1816. Major Robert Dawes was first postmaster. A school building, churches, stores and a number of good residences were to be seen here in 1880, since which time few changes have been made.

West Cummington is situated at the foot of Deer Hill, upon the banks of the Westfield, with wild and rocky hills rising beyond. This place was really founded by two men, William Hubbard, who built a tannery there in 1805, nearly opposite the later paper mill site of L. L. Brown, and Elisha Mitchell came in as a merchant in 1823 and ran a store many years. The tannery was by far the biggest industry and employed the most men of any other concern there, either then or since. There had been a tannery on a smaller scale, on the same site by Jonah Beals who began his operations about 1790, when there was also a saw mill erected. A postoffice was established at West Cummington about 1823-24, with Elisha Mitchell as postmaster. In the late seventies this village was reported as having several stores, churches, a school, a pen-holder factory, a turning shop, machine shops, a clock-repair shop and the lower paper-mill of F. A. Bates employing twelve men at making manilla paper. West Cummington owes its later enterprise largely to the paper mills located just above the village. The buildings were erected in the summer of 1856 by Nelson Shaw & Co. This plant changed hands many times and in 1879 was producing one-quarter of a million pounds of paper including fine bond and writing paper stock in plain and fancy tints. The paper was hauled to Adams where it was finished, the distance to Adams being fourteen miles.

Swift River village locally once known as "Babylon," is in the southeast part of the town, where two branches of the Swift river form a junction. A postoffice was established there in 1869, with

William G. Guilford as postmaster. Early industries included a pen-holder factory, a wood-turning shop, and saw mill.

Cummington Hill was extensive in its territory, as the settlers are spoken of as living on the "hill," yet were from one to two miles apart. Away back in the dim past, this hamlet had its mill, its church and school, its small shops and a really contented thrifty people, though few in number.

The Town's Schools and Churches—The town of Cummington, a couple of years after its incorporation, began to appropriate money for the support of schools. In 1787 the town was divided into six school districts, or "-ricks" as described in early records. What was styled the Academy, though not incorporated, was conducted by a few of the citizens. It was opened in 1830. Miss Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke Seminary, taught in this school. After twelve years it was closed and the building sold for a dwelling house. From the schools—public and private—went forth into the world such persons as W. W. Mitchell, Henry L. Dawes, Joseph Porter, Horatio Porter, Charles Packard, Cullen Packard, William Cullen Bryant, Hon. Luther Bradish, Rev. Thomas Snell and others of note.

Here as in most all places opened up for settlement, the great issue to be settled was where the church building should be located. A meeting-house was finally erected on the "south side" in 1781. As late as 1833 church business was transacted at town meetings and that year $450 was voted to supply the pulpit. After that date the town and church affairs were no longer connected. The first pastor was Rev. James Briggs, ordained July, 1779; died 1825. A Baptist society was formed in Cummington in 1821 with fourteen members and at the end of ten years the church numbered 108 communicants. A cheap church building was erected in 1823. The Village Church in Cummington was formed in 1836, (a meeting-house erected in 1839) and still in existence as a society, legally. A Methodist Episcopal church was formed in 1838-40 and a church erected. After a number of years the society went down. The Congregational church of West Cummington was an off-shoot of the original church on the Hill. A building was erected in 1839 and frequently the poet William Cullen Bryant used to worship here. The following paragraph is full of pathos and worth preserving in the annals of Hampshire county:

> The poet Wm. Cullen Bryant often worshiped with this rural congregation. His religious belief was here expressed by partaking of the sac-

rament of the Lord's Supper with this church, thus showing that with him the closing passage of "Thanatopis" rested, as it must rest, upon the solid and everlasting foundations of Christian faith. Near the close of his residence here in the summer of 1877, and on the last Sabbath he ever spent in Cummington, he came to this church with his daughter. The pastor was absent, and no supply for the pulpit arranged. After waiting some time, Mr. Bryant arose and said that it was evident they were to have no minister; that if the people wished he would read selections from the Bible. Then, going to the desk, he opened the sacred volume and read for some time in his own inimitable manner. Then, in devout, childlike simplicity, he closed by reciting the Lord's Prayer. To many of that audience this is the last personal reminiscence of the great poet, as he soon after left town never to return; for in the opening months of the next summer, amid the roses of June he loved so well, he passed away "like one who wraps the drapery of his couch about him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Evert's History—1879.

The Universalist people of this town held meetings as early as 1835 and ten years later had organized and built a church edifice. While not as much attention is paid, these days, to denominational church affairs, the good seed scattered years ago by the above church organizations has built up a sturdy character of Christian manhood and womanhood in this town.

Industries—Already the author has mentioned numerous items about the early factories and mills in this town. In brief, to close that topic, it may be said that here were in early and later days saw and grist mills, tanneries, a woolen factory, whetstone works, pen-holder factory, a cotton factory, wood-working factory, plane and saw-handle works, etc. These shops have one by one disappeared for the most part, and times and occupations in the town have materially changed.

Bryant's Birthplace—This spot sacred in the annals of American poetry, was on Cummington Hill. The house stood in the corner of Mr. Tower's orchard, and nearly opposite the old cemetery. Then the Bryant farm itself, where he passed his childhood, where he wrote "Thanatopsis," where are the streams and the forests whose melody breathed in the poems of his youth and inspired the songs of his advancing years. Here are the retreats of classic taste, where he loved to gather around him poets and statesmen, and with them seek relief from the engrossing cares of public life in "sweet communion with Nature in all her varied forms."

Town of Worthington—On the western border of the county of Hampshire is the town of Worthingon, nearly due west from Northampton. It is bounded on the north by Cummington, east

by Chesterfield, south by Chesterfield, Hampden county, and Middlefield, west by Middlefield and Berkshire county. The town has an area of 19,637 acres. This town like several others, traces its title back to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, this being one of the ten towns sold June 2, 1762. The original price of the township was 1,860 pounds Sterling. There appears no account of the drawing of lots, so likely the settlers bought as they pleased, of the parties who had purchased the township.

The streams found flowing through this town include the Westfield river, Stevens Brook, Little River, and lesser streams.

Settlement—It is usually believed that the first settlement here was effected between 1763 and 1765, though the exact date or name of the first actual settler is not now a matter of record. Quite a number came "to the plantation" at about the time named. The openings along the road from Northampton to Berkshire county were the first in town. The reader is referred to other, earlier county historical volumes for lists of those who are known to have been early settlers in this town. Early taverns of Revolutionary times and before, included those of Alexander Miller, Nathaniel Daniels, and Lieutenant Meech. The old store of William Ward was at Worthington Corners. Dr. Morse was the first physician.

Organization—Almost immediately after the first settlement, this town was incorporated. The township was purchased June 2, 1762, but it was likely two or three years before actual settlement began. Then it was four years longer before incorporation was practical. That it was an incorporated town and not a district, indicates a "plantation." The act of incorporation was passed June 30, 1768. It was named in honor of Col. John Worthington, of Springfield, one of the proprietors. Col. Worthington built a grist-mill and a meeting-house at his own expense and donated 1,200 acres of land for church and school purposes. The first territory far exceeded the present boundaries of the town. It embraced parts of what is now Chesterfield and Middlefield. The first town meeting was held at the inn of Alexander Miller. As has been the custom in this county, this town has usually been well governed by men of ability and integrity. The reader will not be burdened with a long roster of town officials, but it is well to here insert the officers for 1925 as follows: Town clerk and treasurer, Franklin H. Burr; assessors, John Hart, Leland Cole and Henry Snyder; selectmen, Louis C. Sweet, Alden B. Cady and

John N. Yale; tree-warden, John Z. Frissell; tax-collector, Franklin H. Burr; constable, Charles M. Cudworth; moderator, George W. Pease.

The last (1924) treasurer's report shows the town's receipts to have been $38,512 and its balance on hand January 1, 1925, $3,832. The statistics from the assessor's report gives these items: Total valuation of property in the town, $539,782; number of assessed polls, 153; tax-rate, per thousand, $25.50; number of dwellings, 206; horses assessed, 166; cows, 366; neat cattle other than cows, 170; sheep, 52; swine, 16; fowls, 1,530. The school statistics show: Five separate schools; number of days taught, 168; pupils attending, 94; transportation of pupils, $1,647; for high school, $650.

Villages—Worthington Centre is so named from its geographical position. The town hall is located just north of the place, and also the Congregational church. When the railroad was opened the old historic line of stages was abandoned. Worthington became an "inland town." Then it was that the "Centre" began to advance rapidly. A few shops and stores were conducted in the town both before and after the advent of the iron-horse.

Worthington Corners Postoffice was established on the old stage-road a mile north of the "Centre." Here were built and operated a store or two; the Bartlett Hotel, a basket factory and several machine shops. Worthington Corners was early an attractive place for summer tourists.

West Worthington is located above the Falls in Westfield river. There were built a Methodist Episcopal church, machine shops, postoffice, and a schoolhouse.

Ringville was named for the man who established the most important business there. Small mills, a schoolhouse, postoffice, and a few private residences make up the village.

South Worthington Postoffice, is below Ringville in the valley of Little River and is in the extreme southeast part of the town. A postoffice was there established in 1867, with E. R. Converse as postmaster.

None of these villages have ever attained much commercial strength.

Schools and Churches—The first schoolhouse was built in this town in 1773. At first schools were of the subscription type. Not until 1833 was there any provision for a real public support of schools. The Mountain Seminary was incorporated in 1837, at Worthington Corners and lasted a few years until better facilities obtained elsewhere.

The first meeting-house was erected in 1764 by the town proprietors. It remained half-completed many years. The building stood at the "Centre." In 1825 a new edifice was erected and in 1870 it was rebuilt. The business of the Congregational Society was transacted under the town warrant until 1865. In other parts of the county the "church and State" idea did not obtain later than the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some few held to the old notion until 1825-35. A church was organized in 1771 and Rev. Jonathan Huntington was chosen minister. In 1879 this church had a membership of over one hundred. The Methodists organized about 1850 and soon they built a neat chapel in West Worthington. In South Worthington a Methodist church was formed in 1828. Before the church was erected a half dozen persons united with the church while standing beneath a giant tree. A second meeting-house was built in 1847, costing $2,000. While many changes have taken place in regard to churches in the last fifty years, the general trend of the people in this town is toward devout Christianity.

Industries—For the most part in early days the occupation of the people here was farming and lumbering. Many saw mills and wood-working factories were found on the numerous mill-streams. Grist-mills also had their place in the milling list. After the timber had so nearly disappeared at the hand of the lumbermen, sheep raising and dairying were popular and profitable for a period. In 1820 there were three large distilleries in this town. Many mills and shops have not been in existence for more than a generation. The population of the town in 1920 was little more than it had been fifty years before—about four hundred souls.

Middlefield Town—This sub-division of Hampshire county is bounded north by Berkshire county and the town of Worthington; east by Worthington and Hampden county; south by Hampden county and Berkshire county; west by Berkshire county. It is almost surrounded by parts of other counties other than the one to which it belongs. Its farm acreage is about 13,436 acres. This town was formed from portions of Worthington, Chester, Becket, Washington, Peru; and to this was added the tract known as the Prescott Grant, not included when organization took place. Middlefield was formed to accommodate people residing in numerous towns, and thus its name "Middlefield."

Natural Features—This is one of the typical mountain towns of the county. There are three or four complete ranges of hills

extending through the territory, from northwest to southeast. A number of streams course their way over the territory of the town, Westfield River, Factory Brook, Tuttle's Brook and Den Stream. One small stream from the central hills is known as Tan-house Stream.

Settlement and Growth—It has been claimed by historians that the first to invade the territory now called Middlefield town, were a Mr. Rhodes and John Taggart. The date figured out from records places it in the year 1773—just before the struggle for Independence. That year a grist-mill was built in the town. Col. Mack bought his land in 1773 and the following year built himself a cabin home and cleared a small tract of his land from out the dense forest. After the settlement of David Mack, others came in more rapidly. Eight years later when the town was organized there were about sixty-eight families residing there. The howl of wild animals was still in the woods; provisions were scarce and hardships not a few to endure. There are pieces of land in this town which were settled upon four generations ago, the grand-children now plowing and reaping where first settlers were numbered among their relatives. Many moved west in later years, but at no time did all of the original stock sell out and desert the town of Middlefield. Let the reader of this volume consult Holland's and other reliable histories of this county for a list and details concerning the pioneer settlers here. The first merchant was David Mack who brought his first goods from Westfield on a horse's back. Later he owned several stores in this section of the country. The first tavern was kept by Enos Blossom and in it was very early held the town meetings—one dated 1784.

Organization—The record shows the town was organized in April, 1783. Town meetings were held in private houses and barns until November 8, 1848, when they met in the town hall provided about that date. Just how hard these pioneers worked in laying well the foundations of a good local government, as well as to support the colony as against the Mother country, no mortal will ever fully know. They murmured not at their lot but kept steadily pressing onward and upward. In this connection the names of the present town officials (1925) kindly furnished the historian, will here be given: Town clerk and treasurer, Henry S. Pease; selectmen, Edwin H. Alderman, George E. Cook, John W. Ferris; assessors, Arthur D. Pease, Walter A. Smith, Joseph Pelkey; school committee, W. A. Olds, E. L. Boyer, Eila R. Bell; tax-

collector, Ralph Bell; constables, Ralph Bell, George E. Cook.

The assessor's report for 1924 shows: Total valuation of town, $288,523; number residents assessed, 88; whole number persons assessed, 190; polls assessed, 80; tax-rate, per thousand, $26.00; horses assessed, 104; cows assessed, 289; sheep, 92; neat cattle other than cows, 161; swine, 19; dwelling houses assessed, 109; acres of land, 14,165; number fowls assessed, 1,540.

The treasurer reported in 1924 receipts and disbursements $20,044. The cost of transporting scholars to school for 1924 was—elementary school, $688.50; high school, $1,022.00.

Villages—Middlefield Centre is at the original point selected as a place for erecting the first meeting-house. It was then decided to be in the geographical centre of the town. The early Mack store was only a short distance south, and the meeting-house built near by, and the town meetings held there made it in fact the "Centre." A local historian writes of the place in 1879 as follows:

> It is now one of the finest rural villages among the mountain towns of Hampshire County. Located on a commanding eminence, the view embraces a wide extent of surrounding country, hills and valleys stretching away, a mingled and varying landscape of rocky heights and gentle slopes, steep declivities and smiling meadows, cultivated fields and wood-crowned summits, while beyond all, and partially encircling all, is the blue line of the distant mountains. The public buildings are in good repair, and the private residences mostly have a neat, freshly-painted appearance, indicating that they are cared for by men of thrift and energy. The post-office was established about 1811. Postmasters have been Edmund Kelso, Gen. David Mack, Solomon Root, Bartholomew Ward, and Oliver Church.

Factory Village—This place is situated about one mile from Middlefield Centre. Its business interests were first started by Amasa Blush, who bought the old Herrick clothing-mill, and by Uriah Church, Jr., who later established a similar industry. Subsequently, both concerns built good sized factories and in turn were succeeded by their sons. The village suffered heavy loss in 1874 when the chain of dams gave way, demolished the upper mill and injured all property down stream, more or less. The woolen mills and turning mill were also destroyed at that time. Time has never fully made good the actual financial loss sustained by the accident.

Middlefield Station is on the Boston & Albany railroad in the south part of the town. Its postoffice name was Bancroft. At this point in 1845, John Mann built a large paper-mill for the manufacture of wrapping-paper. Buckley Bros., in 1851, built another mill for manufacture of wall-paper.

Schools and Churches—Probably nothing was done in way of establishing schools here until after the organization of Middlefield. However, David Mack came there in 1775 and it is recorded that he learned to read in the same class with his son six years of age. So, there must have been small family schools. When the state school law was established in 1825, Middlefield appropriated $300 for school purposes and kept it up for a number of years. Coming down to 1879 it is found that the town had eight public schools, with an enrollment of 189 pupils; average wages paid teachers per month, $21.00. For many years there was a select school in the winter, where those desiring a higher education could be taught, but in later years the common school has sufficed.

In New England, generally, the town records contain an account of the first church organization, as well. It is found by such records that the second town meeting, the one held April 24, 1783, thirty pounds Sterling was voted for the support of the gospel. The first church was constituted November 16, 1783. Meetings were held at private houses, in barns until 1791 when a meeting-house was finally built. In 1880 this church had grown to a membership of 127. Rev. Jonathan Nash was the first ordained preacher, coming in 1792.

The Baptist Church of Middlefield was organized in 1817 but this denomination had worshiped at Hinsdale and other points long years before. A meeting-house was erected in Middlefield town in 1818.

The Methodist Episcopal church dates back in its work as a class to 1810, and held services in a schoolhouse. Thomas Ward was leader.

During the period of the Civil War, the society was too much weakened to survive and its doors were closed and the property sold to the Congregational Church for chapel use.

Industries—The people have from the earliest day in their history been of the farming class. As the settlement increased throughout the country, lumbering and selling fire-wood was largely followed by its inhabitants. Charcoal and maple sugar were also paying commodities for many years. Clarkson Smith frequently produced 7,000 pounds of maple sugar annually in his handsome "sugar-bush." Then came an era of pure blood cattle in which this town was highly successful. From 1853 on for a number of years a large corporation of New York City, having a $300,000 capital, quarried and shipped to the markets one hundred

tons per week of soap-stone taken from the quarries in the northeast part of the town. Gen. Charles B. Stuart was president of the above named company. Twenty men were employed in this business, but being far from markets and transportation lines, with possibly other causes, the enterprise was abandoned. The numerous grist and saw mills of the town, with the few factory operations already named, constitute all that has been done in manufacturing in this town. The town of Middlefield in 1920, according to the United States census report had a population of two hundred and eighty.

CHAPTER IX

TOWNS FORMED FROM THE "EQUIVALENT LANDS"

The Town of Ware—This town lies in the southeast portion of Hampshire county, and is bounded on the north by the town of Enfield, in the same county, and by the town of Hardwick, Worcester county; on the south by the town of Palmer in Hampden county; and on the east by the towns of New Braintree and West Brookfield, in Worcester county; and on the west by the town of Belchertown, in Hampshire county. It is four and a half by six miles in extent with an area of about 18,000 acres; it is the second town in the county in point of population and manufacturing importance. Ware river is the chief water course and affords ample water-power for the numerous mill sites along its banks throughout the county, its course being from the northeast to southeast corner of the town. The highest elevation in the town is Coy's Hill, on the eastern border, which rises 500 feet above the river. The population in 1920 was 8,525. It is now 8,800.

Settlement—The most ancient document relating to the settlement of this town was dated in 1673, thirteen years before the Indians deeded to the proprietors of Hardwick, which is copied from the original archives of the commonwealth. It is from this instrument that the title of lands on which stands the present village of Ware can be readily traced. It bears date "8, 11, 1673—Consented to by the Magistrate."

The humble petition of Richard Hollingsworth, of Salem, most humbly sheweth:

That your humble petitioner's father came to this country about forty years ago, and brought a great family with him, and a good estate, and being the first builder of vessels, being a ship-carpenter, was of great benefit to this countrey, and as great or greater than anyone in the infancie of the countrie of a private man, as is fully knowne, yett gained not himself an estate, but spent his own that he brought; and notwithstanding all his services and the largeness of his family, being twelve in number, he never had more granted him by the countrie but forty-one acres of upland, and not one acre of meadow and the land lying so remote from the towne of Salem it proved little worth to him or his and none of his children have never had anything, but have lived by their labor with God's blessing; and your petitioner hath used maretan employment, and through many dangers and with much difficultie gotten a livelihood for himselfe and his family, and, being brought very low by his loss by the Dutch taking all

from him, is constrained to apply himself unto yourselves whom God hath sett as fathers of the commonwealth.

And doth most humbly beseech you seriously to consider the premisies, and if it may not stand with your good likeing and charitie to grant unto him a competent parcel of land that he may sitt downe upon with his family, viz, his wife and six children, for he would leave the seas had he a competencie of land whereby, with his own industry and God's blessing he might maintaine his family. And he shall take it as great favour. And as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc.

In answer to this petition, the Deputys judge meet to grant the petioner five hundred acres of land where he can find it free from any former grant, ye Honorable Magistrates consenting hereto.

WILLIAM TORREY, Chairman.
EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.

It appears that Hollingsworth never entered this grant of land himself, but after his death his heirs sold the grant to Samuel Prince, of Rochester. This tract of land was presented by Samuel Prince and was surveyed by William Ward. It is this land that now constitutes a part of the village of Ware. It is supposed that the first settler on this land was Captain Jabez Olmstead, of Brookfield who effected his settlement in 1729. He possessed some means for it is known that he paid four hundred pounds Sterling for the above land. When the town was incorporated, in 1718, it was "agreed the said town to lye in the county of Hampshire."

The first postoffice established here was in 1815, Timothy Babcock being the first postmaster. In 1824 the office was moved to the village.

The first pound was built in 1762; was of stone, round in form and three rods in diameter.

Among prominent men in Ware should be named Deacon Joseph Cummings, Alpheus Demond, Hon. Orrin Sage, Hon. George H. Gilbert, Hon. Charles A. Stevens, Joel Rice, Emerson Davis, D.D., Hon. William Bowdoin, Hon. James Breckinridge, Rev. Loranus Crowell, and Hon. William Hyde.

Town Organization—Ware was incorporated as a town November 25, 1761. The town derived its name from the river which passes through its borders. Weirs or wears were constructed to aid in taking the many fish afforded by the stream from its waters. Hence the name of Wear River, which later was spelled Ware, and the town was named the same. The list of worthy town officials who have ruled in civic affairs for all the eventful years in the history of the town, is, of course, too long to here be given, though such list is complete in record form. The present (1925)

WARE

SOUTH STREET SCHOOL

MAIN STREET

HIGH SCHOOL

town officers are inclusive of these: Town clerk and treasurer, Joseph H. Walker; tax-collector, Louis N. Dupont; assessors, Henry Provost, J. O. Deslauriers, James E. Feehan; selectmen, J. A. Riendeau, Arthur F. McBrinn, Herbert W. Byam; tree-warden, Fred E. Zeissig; auditors, Henry F. Lamoureux, E. T. Labossiere and P. J. Sullivan; constables, B. B. Buckley, chief, W. H. Connell, O. P. Denis, Alfred Renaud. The large number of minor offices are omitted.

The assessors' report giving the affairs in 1924 states that the total valuation of personal and real estate in the town in 1924 was of a $7,970,385 valuation; tax-rate was $30.00; number horses assesed, 304; cows, 777; neat cattle, 182; swine, 27; dwellings, 1,146; acres of land assessed, 17,068 acres; fowls assessed, 4,903.

The treasurer's report gives the receipts and disbursements for 1924 as being January 1, 1925, $656,135. Cash on hand, December 31, 1924, $17,236.72.

The present year plans are being matured for the construction of a handsome Memorial to Soldiers and Sailors of Ware, the same to cost $12,000.

Villages and Hamlets—The village of Ware, on Ware river, is a prosperous, manufacturing place. In 1824 its first factory interests were installed. Before that time the business was transacted near the center of the town which was known as "The Centre." The town meetings were not changed to the village of Ware until 1847. The village had in 1880, a population of 3,000, or three-fourths of that of the entire town of Ware. It then contained two hotels, five churches, five factories, a large number of stores and many handsome residences. Prior to the eighties the village of Ware was visited by several serious fires, the first occurring in 1845 when the large brick factory of the Otis Company was destroyed. Another fire came in 1848 and a worse one in 1864. The town hall and the Unitarian church were destroyed in the autumn of 1866 and the Baptist church in 1860.

Ware Centre is situated two miles west from the village of Ware. Here the pioneer meting-house of the town was erected. Flat Brook, a fair sized stream, passes through this village and was early utilized for mills and factories of the smaller order. In 1879 it was said of it: "This hamlet contains a Congregational church, a saw mill, a shoe factory, a blacksmith's shop, and a number of good dwellings. It was here that the celebrated 'Snell's augers' were first made."

The churches of the town of Ware have been well organized and supported from the first settlement to this date. The first Congregational church was formed in 1743 and other works have filled volumes on its detailed history. The East Congregational Church was formed in 1826. The Methodist Episcopal church was organized in 1825 or 1826, by Joshua Crowell. The Baptist denominaton existed in the west part of Hardwick, and later became the Hardwick and Ware Baptist church. In 1846 it moved to the village of Ware under the name of the Ware Baptist Church. They built a church in 1847 which burned in 1860 after which the society soon went down. The First Unitarian Church was organized in 1846, and in 1867 its building was burned but two years later was replaced by another one. St. William's Roman Catholic Church was established in Ware about 1850 and five years later a large edifice was erected. The French Catholics becoming numerous in the vicinity, the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was organized in Ware. Ninety-nine families comprised the membership. The first services were held in July, 1871.

The good seed sowed among the various denominations has brought forth good results in the life and character of the people of this town.

Educational—The first action of the town on the subject of schools appears to be dated January, 1757, when the town was divided into two school districts, but no money was appropriated for schools. The Revolution came on and little could be done until that struggle had finally ended. In 1782 $100 was raised for school purposes and three years later the town was divided into six districts and schoolhouse sites were determined on. Coming down to 1879 we find the town had nineteen schools—one high school—and the number of pupils was 856, of whom 690 attended the village school. According to Superintendent Dr. Joseph J. Reilly's report of the schools in 1924 there were 189 pupils in attendance; total number of scholars, 1,654; boys, 862; girls, 792; average daily attendance, 1,490; number school buildings, twelve; teachers employed, 46—three men and forty-three women; weeks elementary schools, 38.

Eden Lodge A. F. & A. M. was chartered in June, 1864, and still exists as a fair representative of the most ancient fraternity in the world. King Solomon's Chapter of the Masonic order was formed in June, 1870.

The Young Men's Library Association was descended from the

Ware Literary Association. The admission of ladies as members caused a new society to spring up March 30, 1871, when the Young Men's Debating Society was formed. This association formed a reading room establishment, also a library. Finally in 1873 the Young Men's Library Association was incorporated and has since received public aid.

The Ware Fire Department was organized in 1845. Oregon Engine Company was formed in 1877.

Industrial Interests—The falls in the river at Ware afford a splendid water-power. The stream has a seventy-foot head or "fall" in as many rods. As early as 1730, Captain Jabez Olmstead, of Brookfield, purchased land near the river, built two mills upon the stream. His heirs sold the mills, with nearly six hundred acres of land, covering the whole territory of the village, as far west as Muddy Brook, to Isaac Magoon. Saw and gristmills were erected at once. In 1813 Alpheus Demond and Col. Thomas Denny bought the property of Magoon with four hundred acres of land and at once built a new dam on the middle of the falls, put in operation a carding mill and began the manufacture of various kinds of machinery. In 1814 a cotton mill was built there. Power looms were then unknown in the world. It was designed to make yarn for hand-loom work. Col. Denney died and Demond let the property stand idle until 1821 when it was sold to Holbrook & Dexter, of Boston, for $15,000. A company was then formed and in 1823 the Ware Company was incorporated with a capital of $600,000. They built a large woolen mill taking their power from the river at the middle of the falls. In 1824 another large mill was built, taking the water from the upper falls.

The Hampshire Manufacturing Company was incorporated in 1829 with a capital of $400,000 and bought all the property of the Ware Company. In 1836 the woolen mills were greatly enlarged, but the financial panic in 1837 caused a total failure of the company and all was lost.

In 1839 the Otis Company was organized with a capital of $350,000. They bought all the remaining property of the Hampshire corporation, on the north side of the river, and increased the capital to $500,000. New buildings were erected in 1845, 1856-57 and again one in 1869. In 1864 knitting machines began the manufacture of hosiery and men's underwear. In 1879 these mills were running with 26,568 spindles, 76 looms, and seventy-

five knitting machines. Besides the large amount of hosiery and underwear these mills turned out 6,000,000 yards of denims, stripes, tickings, and fancy duckings; 2,500,000 pounds of cotton were used annually in the making of $1,200,000 worth of goods. Eleven hundred persons were employed and the pay-roll was $25,000 monthly.

Another concern known as Gilbert & Stevens, of North Andover, bought the old Hampshire company's remains on the south side of the river, and in 1844 commenced making broad-cloth and later added other industries.

The George H. Gilbert Manufacturing Company in 1857 began the manufacture of flannel. He added numerous buildings and laid the foundation for a village known as Gilbertville. In 1862 ladies' skirts were made here in great quantities. More than 700 hands were employed here and 3,500,000 yards of goods yearly were produced. The monthly pay-roll was $15,000.

The Ware Gas Company was established in 1854 and dissolved in 1862, when the Otis Company began its operations, making two million cubic feet of gas annually.

Present-Day Ware—At this time (1925) the banking interests are in the hands of the Ware Trust Company, the Ware Savings Bank, and the Ware Co-operative Bank, established in 1922.

Civic fraternities include the Masonic, Odd Fellows, Knights of Columbus, Ancient Order of United Workmen, Knights of Malta, Grand Army of the Republic, American Legion, and Ancient Order of Hibernians.

The churches of Ware at present are: Methodist Episcopal, East Congregational, First Congregational, First Unitarian, Trinity Episcopal, All Saints Church, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and Polish Catholic.

The hospital is the Ware Visiting Nurse and Hospital Association, of which later mention is made.

The public library is the one known for years as The Young Men's Library Association, before mentioned.

The railways of Ware are the Boston & Albany, the Boston & Maine steam roads and the Springfield electric street railroad.

Present Industries—Ware Lumber Company; box manufactory; building brick; Otis Company, manufactory for cotton goods; sash, blind and door factory by the Ware Lumber Company; the Ware Gas Light Plant; D. F. Howard & Sons, grist-mill; MacLauren, Jones Company, makers of coated paper;

J. T. Woods Company, specialties in men's shoes; the Ironsides Foundry; the Ware Foundry Company. The incorporated companies are the H. P. Cummings Construction Company; Ware Coupling and Nipple Company; Ware Lumber Company; Ware Woolen Mills; George H. Gilbert, manufacturers of worsteds; the Otis Company, manufacturers of denims. The present hotel is the Hampshire House. The weekly newspaper is the "Ware River News."

The Hospital—For a village no larger than Ware there is no better equipped hospital in the New England States. What is now known as the "Mary Lane Hospital," had its beginning in 1909, when a goodly number of women met and formed the "Ware Visiting Nurse and Hospital Association," for the purpose of properly caring for the sick in the vicinity of Ware, Massachusetts. It was incorporated March 2, 1909. This was the commencement of the present hospital—The Mary Lane—which was provided for in the will of the late Lewis N. Gilbert in memory of his wife, Mary Lane Gilbert. It was started in 1923 and is now finished and fully tested as to its modern equipment. The will of Mr. Gilbert provided about $500,000 to be used for the above purpose. The building, a fine brick structure—stands where originally stood Mr. Gilbert's old homestead where he so long lived. It accommodates patients occupying thirty-two beds. It was opened to the public in September, 1924. The first year the nurses made 1,626 calls; total number patients, 259; paying patients, 227. Prior to the opening of this hospital building, a residence across the way for a number of years was caring, as best the devoted women could, for the patients who were accommodated in five rooms. The present institution is highly prized by the citizens of Ware, many of whom are helping to furnish and support the same. The president is Mrs. John T. Storrs; vice-presidents, Miss Gladys Neff, Mrs. Albert Edmondson and Miss Beryl E. Barbier; secretary, Mrs. Andrew J. Campion.

Town of Enfield—This town is situated in the eastern part of Hampshire county and is bounded on the north by Prescott and Pelham; on the south by Ware; on the east by Greenwich and Hardwick; and on the west by Belchertown, in the same county. It contains nearly 12,000 acres of land of which the surface is neither extremely hilly nor very level. Great Quabbin Mount lies south of the village, and attains an elevation of 500 feet above Swift river. Mount Ram, northwest of the main village, rises to an

altitude of 300 feet, while Little Quabbin, to the east of the village is some-what smaller. The scenery in this locality is very charming. Swift and Cadwell are prominent water courses here, and with their branches give both plenty of water and fine drainage systems in any direction. Fair water-power is found along these streams. The best soil of the town is along the river bottoms. From Indian relics found, it appears that these little vales were once the fertile fields cultivated, after a fashion, by the Indians who long ago resided in this country.

The earliest railroad in the town was known as the Springfield, Athol, and Northwestern Railroad, constructed in 1872, and a station was built at both the upper and lower village, the latter known as Smith's Station.

Settlement—The Indians left this section some years prior to the settlement by white men, hence little is known before that date. The fact that large, very large timber was found growing, even far up the hill sides, causes the belief that the soil was then accounted excellent. The territory now called Enfield was originally within the town of Greenwich, being known before its incorporation as Quabbin. Part of the town was also comprised in the "Equivalent Lands," referred to elsewhere. The first land was granted here by the General Court in January, 1736, and it will be treated in the history of Greenwich. It has been said that the first native of the town was David Patterson, born in 1735, the son of John Patterson, who is believed to be the original white settler. He located a mile south of the village, building his rude house near a high rcck, that stood on Josiah W. Flint's farm. Other pioneers who invaded this town and became permanent settlers were Oliver Kinsley, the Howe family, John Rea, McMillens, Oliver and John Patterson, the Carvers, Daniel Howard, Rev. Robert Cutler, Caleb Keith, Warren Saddler, Sidney R. Richards, the Woods families and Alvin Randall.

The first practicing physician here was Dr. William Stone and he was soon followed by Dr. Rice. The earliest lawyer was Joshua N. Upham, who came from Brookfield. The first wagon road and stage route was the one from Pelham to Chicopee in 1754 and which ran through Enfield. Among the prominent men of this town in pioneer days were Elihu Lyman, Esq., a lawyer and State Senator. He died in 1826 while Senator. Hon. Josiah B. Woods, Senator in 1845; Senator D. B. Gillett, in office in 1866; Robert Field, a man of great strength of character, and for whom

the town was named; Judge Charles Forbes, of Northampton, an eminent lawyer and Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, was also a native of the town of Enfield. Timothy and Lemuel Gilbert, noted piano-makers of Boston, were born here and also the Smiths of organ-making fame came from this town.

Civil Organization—The present territory of Enfield was at first the south Parish of the town of Greenwich, which was incorporated June 20, 1787, and embraced all of the south part of Greenwich, parts of Belchertown and Ware. The town of Enfield was duly incorporated February 15, 1816. The first town meeting was held March 4, 1816. Without entering into details of the hundreds of men who have held local offices within this subdivision of Hampshire county, it will suffice to give the list of the more prominent officials for the present (1925) year: Town clerk, Elizabeth K. Ritchie; treasurer, Leverno S. Bartlett; selectmen, Willard B. Segur, Herbert H. Barlow, Charles W. Felton; assessors, Edward B. Downing, Emery H. Bartlett, Walter L. Brown; constables, Herber A. Coolbeth, Harry B. Hess.

Educational Interests—In November, 1675, a committee that had been appointed to locate schoolhouses fixed one site in "the south quarter on the south side of the road, by a little brook to the west of John Rea's, and that became the first schoolhouse in the town, and stood near the present road leading from Enfield to Bond's village." Forty years ago an old resident of this town furnished the following concerning the early schools here:

> The first school that I remember was kept in 1800 and 1801 by a Miss Ellis or Alice Alden, in a corn-house belonging to Joseph Ruggles, on the farm where Watson Hanks now lives. Soon after, a school-house was built near the same farm, on the opposite side of the road. The house was built 18 feet square, and for a long time remained unfinished. The first teacher there was, I believe, Daniel Lamson, probably about the year 1801-2; the next, Thomas Cary; and after him Willard and Leonard Gould, Town, Mellen, McClintock, Newell, Brainard, Pepper, and others whom I do not recollect. A Miss Abigail Gould taught in the summer. Some of these were very good teachers for those times, but many of them taught only the three R's. They generally boarded around in families who sent children, according to the number sent; green wood, mostly 8 feet long, was furnished in the same way. Those who flogged the most were considered the best teachers, as they were supposed to keep good order. In this house, about the year 1812, were packed about 60 scholars, and, what with flogging and smoke, there was frequently not much studying until afternoon. We usually had about two months' schooling a winter. Here, after I was twelve years old, I attended three winters, and graduated. Since that time I have not had much leisure for study or reflection. This was in the South District.

I cannot remember much about the school in the Centre District. I know the South was thought the best school. I believe there were but two school districts in the place at this time.

In 1879 this town had eight districts and an average attendance of 142 scholars. The present schools are fully up to the standard of the country and most excellent service is given and only good teachers are employed. The contrast between today and the long ago when the above was the condition in the town concerning schools and hardships endured in securing the rudiments of an education is indeed great. The 1924 total attendance was 183; average attendance, 154; number of schools in the town, five.

Churches—The Congregational form of church government and faith was the first to be introduced into this section of the county. The south parish of Greenwich was incorporated June 20, 1787. A meeting-house was built in 1786-87. Movable benches were first used; pews were substituted in 1793. In 1814 a belfry was erected and a bell, the gift of Joseph Keith, was placed therein. The house was repaired in 1855 and an organ installed. The first regular pastor was Rev. Joshua Crosby; his salary was 70 pounds a year, with a farm and fire-wood furnished him. This pastor had served in the Revolution as a chaplain.

The Methodist Episcopal church was organized on account of trouble in the Congregational congregation. Rev. J. Knight, who was stationed at Greenwich and Ware, preached the first Methodist sermon in Enfield, in the old tavern-stand. A church edifice was erected in the summer of 1847, by a membership of about forty-five.

The Methodist and Congregational denominations have held the main religious field in the town until the present date.

The first lodge established in this town was that of the Masonic fraternity—Bethel Lodge, F. & A. M., whose charter was granted September 14, 1825, and the charter members were Prince Ford, William Stone, Jonathan Russell, Alden Lothrop, Eliphaz Jones, Emery Fisk, Abner Pepper, and Nathan Weeks. During the "anti-Masonic" period the charter was surrendered, but later when order had been restored and the general opinion of the masses had changed and Masonry was popular again, the lodge was restored in this town, the date being January 22, 1858.

Manufacturing Enterprises—The manufacture of a superior grade of whetstones from a fine-grained sand-stone, near by, was the first industry to engage the attention of a number of men.

Among these men are recalled William Hutchinson and Titus and Ichabod Randall. Then there were potash works, and distilleries for making cider brandy from 1815 on for many years. A half mile below the village was the tannery of Thomas Cary, also another by Tertius Walker. Fulling-mills and cloth-dressing shops and an oil mill all transacted a considerable business in their respective lines. The dam in the upper village was built in 1812, and a cotton-yarn factory was built; its superintendent was John Allen. After a few years cloth was made and this put a stop to most all the hand-looms in the vicinity. In 1816 Wyatt Barlow built a dam half a mile down the river, where he manufactured satinets. Other industries included the making of men's hats, scythe, hoe, axe, plow, saddles, potash works and shops and a large distillery where whiskey was made in large quantities, most of which was produced from potatoes. Among the well-known firms or corporations was the Swift River Company, formed about 1821 by Alfred, David, Alvin, and Edward Smith. A later company was the Minot Manufacturing Company, of which Elihu Lyman and Ichabod Pope were members, succeeding the Swift River Company in 1825. In 1876 steel type for typewriters was extensively produced here by Anson M. Howard, a real inventor of useful articles and of machines by which articles could be cheaply made by machinery. But with the revolution of mechanics and the change of industry from the small to the larger centers many of these enterprises have vanished from the town of Enfield.

The Town of Greenwich—This sub-division of Hampshire county is situated in the northeastern corner, and is bounded on the north by the town of Prescott; on the south by the town of Ware; on the east by the towns of Dana and Hardwick, in Worcester county; and on the west by the towns of Prescott and Enfield, in Hampshire county. The average length of the town is eight and one-half miles, and the average width two and three-quarters miles.

The two branches of Swift river afford ample water for all milling purposes. The soil is rich and produces nearly all crops common to this section of New England, except wheat. The population of this town for various reasons has varied much with the passing years. In 1776 it had 890; its highest population was in 1800 when it reached 1,460; since then the town of Enfield has been taken from its territory which accounts largely for its de-

crease in population. The United States census for 1920 gives it as having 399.

Settlement—History tells us that the territory comprising the town of Greenwich, as well as Enfield, was formerly known as Quabbin, meaning in Indian, "Many Waters." In 1732 the General Court granted seven townships of land, each six miles square, to the descendants of the soldiers who destroyed the Narragansett fort in December, 1675. The number of soldiers was 840. These grants were made on the understanding that each township should settle at least sixty families on its territory within seven years of the grant, settle a learned orthodox minister and lay out a lot of land for him and one for the school. June 6, 1733 the proprietors met on the Boston Commons when they voted to divide the grantees into seven societies, one township to be given to each society. Narragansett township, No. 4, was first laid out in New Hampshire, at a place called Amasskeage, but the land proving unsatisfactory, a committee was appointed in 1735 to search out better land in exchange. Quabbin was the tract of land chosen and is described as "bounded on the north by Salem Town, easterly by Lambstown (now Hardwick), southerly by the Equivalent Land, and westerly by William Reed's land."

It is largely conjecture who first actually settled in this town as a permanent resident. An inscription on a tombstone in the town of Enfield would indicate that David Patterson was the first man born in Greenwich, his birth being recorded as 1735. It is supposed that he was the son of John Patterson. However, very early settlers were named Gibbs, Hinds, Powers, Rogers, and Cooley and possibly all were there ahead of Patterson.

Among noteworthy stores within this town were these: One of the earliest was kept by a Mr. Nichols, one hundred and thirty years ago. Over a century ago Jabez Colburn was in business at Greenwich Plains. Wyatt Boyden succeeded him, then Amos Howe and later Roger West. Thomas Powers had one of the first stores in the village of Greenwich. S. S. Greenleaf conducted a store about 1839, under the old Masonic Temple, at the village. Levi N. Chamberlain was the leading merchant in 1875. The earliest physicians of the town were Drs. William Stone, Trask, and Robinson. Up to 1879 the only lawyer who ever practiced here as a resident attorney was Laban Marcy who commenced in 1812 and continued until 1860.

Before the advent of railways there were two prominent stage

lines running through this town—one from Keene, New Hampshire to Palmer, Hampden county, and another from Northampton to Worcester.

Organization of Town—Quabbin parish was incorporated June, 1749. At the first regular town meeting a call was extended to Rev. Pelatiah Webster to become the first minister. The town of Greenwich was duly incorporated April 20, 1754. The territory then included the present towns of Dana and Petersham, in Worcester county. The name of the town was conferred in honor of General Greenwich.

Among interesting notes on the early day events of this town are the following: October, 1755, the town voted to "shut, bolt, and bar the doors of the public meeting-house in Greenwich, and not to be opened by any man without the order of the selectmen of Greenwich."

In March, 1760, the town "voted to Captain Powers four shillings, six pence, for three quarts of rum he provided for perambulating lines at sundry times; also seven shillings, six pence, for five quarts of rum he provided for the Raising of Hind's Bridge in the county Road."

In 1865 Hon. James E. Cooley, of New York City, a native of the town, deeded to the town part of the Azariah Cooley farm, situated in the south part of the town, and comprising about 110 acres of land, for the use of the poor. The deed provides that it shall always be known as "Cooley's Home for the Poor," and contains a provision relative to the support of one James Cooley, and restricting the amount of timber cut. The donation has proved of great benefit to the town.

Villages—The villages within this town include Greenwich Plains, south from the geographical center, between Mount Pomeroy and Mount Lizzie and forty-five years ago had a Congregational church, a general store, postoffice, hotel, plating shop, railway depot, and a large collection of good dwellings. The postoffice was established in 1810.

Greenwich Village in the northeasterly section of the town, at the above date had many more dwellings and business places. This village is handsomely situated along the east branch of Swift river. The place had a postoffice in 1806 or 1807 and Warren P. Wing was the pioneer postmaster.

Educational Affairs—As early as 1737 a committee was appointed to lay out a lot for a school, and provision was made

for the support of schools in the original grant of lands. Soon after the town was incorporated money was voted for school purposes. One of the first schools in this town was kept in an old barn that stood on the "old Ayer's place." As the years have come and gone much interest has been manifest in school matters. The recent school reports show that the class of schoolhouses and grade of teachers employed, with the general interest in public schools in this town, are fully up to the Hampshire county standard. From the schools here many have graduated from higher institutions of learning.

Churches—The pioneer church was the "Orthodox," or "Standing Order" of Christians and for many years received direct town support. The provision was made when incorporated, that 300 acres of land should be given to the first and second ministers who should serve in this church. The only provision was that of "Orthodoxy." A meeting-house was started in 1740 and completed in 1745, but because of lack of saw mills or suitable lumber, the work was put off from time to time.

There was no Methodist Episcopal church formed here until about 1829. Services were held in the same buildings used by the Congregational and Unitarian churches. After twenty-five years this church went down and the field was then occupied by the other two denominations above mentioned.

The Unitarians were at one date quite numerous in this town, but not having a building of their own, after a quarter of a century of struggling along the effort was abandoned.

The present (1925) town officers for Greenwich are as foliows: Town clerk, Clarence E. Miller; treasurer, Charles D. Walker; selectmen, George B. Loux, Fred J. Zappey, Edwin H. Randall; assessors, the selectmen; constables, E. H. Randall and C. W. Urcacius.

Industrial—While agriculture has always been the chief occupation of the inhabitants of Greenwich, there have been numerous factories which have utilized the splendid water-power furnished by the streams that gladden the heart of man in their swift rapids as they glide on through the various parts of the territory. In the last century there were scythe factories, pewter button works, woolen mills, saw and grist mills, and the manufacture of straw hats, in which occupation both men and women worked.

The treasurer's report for this town in 1924-25 gives the re-

ceipts as $32,269; the amount on hand January 1, 1925, was $2,598.

The assessors' report shows total valuation of the town $618,672, of which $92,878 was personal property; number of polls, 119; persons assessed, 331; horses assessed, 102; cows, 237; neat cattle, 64; dwelling houses, 211; acres of land assessed, 11,259.

The April, 1924, school census showed the total number of pupils to be 128—35 girls and 93 boys.

Town of Prescott—This town is in the northeast corner of the county, and is bounded on the north by the town of Salem, Franklin county; on the south by the towns of Enfield and Greenwich, in Hampshire county; on the east by the towns of Dana, in Worcester county, and Greenwich in Hampshire county; on the west by the towns of Pelham, Hampshire county, and Shutesbury, Franklin county. The letter L represents the shape of this town; it includes 12,706 acres of land, 187 acres of land used as public highways; and 322 acres covered with water. The south and western portions are rugged in their topography. A large central valley contains numerous well tilled farms. Mount Ell and Rattlesnake Mountain rise far above the remainder of the surface, some places as high as three hundred feet. Swift River forms the western boundary of the town and it has numerous tributaries. Stone and granite formations have been quarried in the east part of the town. The Springfield, Athol, and Northeastern Railroad crosses the corner of the eastern portion of this town.

Settlement—Having been formed from parts of Pelham and New Salem towns, much of the settlement history will be found in those town histories. Among those to be called first settlers in Prescott were the McConkeys (Conkeys now), the Mellens, Grays, Berrys, Crossetts and Pierces. At last accounts the old house used by William Conkey was still standing near east cemetery and has carved on the heavy stone which hangs over its ancient fire-place, neatly chiseled, "William Conkey, June ye 21st, 1776." The Mellens located in 1740 as did the other family who came with them. Probably the earliest tavern was kept by William Conkey, in the old Milo Abbott house and it is affirmed that it was in and around this old inn that the first Revolutionary soldiers from these parts were recruited. The early stores were little else than trading posts. One of the first "country stores" to open was the one started by Peleg Canada, just before 1800. Others were

kept by Joseph W. Hamilton and later by Hamilton & Bingham. Horace Hunt ran a store from 1837 to 1869, a mile west of North Prescott. The first physician was Dr. Hinds in 1786.

Civil Organization—The date of incorporation was January 28, 1822, when a tract of land three miles long was taken off the south part of New Salem and added to the east parish of Pelham, and incorporated as "the town of Prescott," in honor of Col. William Prescott, who was in command of the American forces at Bunker Hill. At the first town meeting, (the one held March 4, 1822), Josiah Pierce was moderator and Chester Gray, clerk. Without going into the listing of hundreds of names of men who have held town offices here for the last century and more, it must suffice to give the present-day officers who are as follows: Town clerk and treasurer, Frank R. Allen; selectmen, Walter M. Waugh, chairman, Ellis A. Thayer, Fred W. Doubleday, who are also overseers of the poor and assessors; school committee, Myron E. Chapin, F. W. Doubleday and Ellis Thayer; constables, Fred D. Chamberlain, Charles C. Tinkey, Frank A. Griswold; auditor, Harrison D. Pierce.

The school report shows an average attendance of 38 pupils; total membership, 53; number of day sessions, 538.

The treasurer reported receipts and expenditures $19,235, including a cash balance January 1, 1925 of $1,720.

Villages—The villages or hamlets of Prescott are small. What was early known as Prescott Postoffice, or East Hill of Pelham parish, was where the first meeting-house stood. There in the seventies and long before were situated a few dwellings, the Congregational church and a small general store in which the postoffice was kept. The office was established in about 1822, with Berna Brigham as postmaster.

North Prescott Postoffice in the north part of the town from an early date, had a Methodist and Baptist church, a postoffice, general store not far out, while part of these improvements really stood in both New Salem and Prescott towns. The community was known, however, as Prescott Postoffice. Atchinson Hollow was another hamlet in the southwest part of town. None of these places ever grew to be of much importance, except as a postoffice and social center.

Of the churches of this town let it be stated that the Congregational people in the south part were connected with the established church at Pelham Heights for many years, and those

in the north part worshiped with the New Salem Church. On account of the long distances, in 1786, New Salem and Pelham furnished members for the east parish of Pelham. A church was organized, a church building erected and a pastor installed. The Baptist church was organized in 1772 and they built opposite cemetery hill, in the north part of town. Other edifices served this denomination and finally what was known as the "New Baptist Church" was at last used as a store building. As an organized body, this church disappeared in 1876. The Methodist church formed in 1829, was really over the line in New Salem. Another church was the United Brethren which existed until the end of the Civil War.

Industrial and Commercial--The main occupation of the people of this town has been farming and its kindred branches, fruit growing, dairying, poultry, etc. However, from time to time some mechanical pursuits have obtained here. Saw and grist-mills of course, were common years ago. In the seventies and eighties a cheese factory was successfully operated in this town. The population in 1920 was 236.

Town of Pelham—The irregular boundary of the northern part of Hampshire county is partly made by this town. It is bounded on the north by the town of Shutesbury, in Franklin county; on the south by the towns of Belchertown and Enfield, in Hampshire county; on the east by the town of Prescott and on the west by the town of Amherst, Hampshire county. Its average length is five and a quarter miles, and its average width is three and one-half miles, comprising 15,207 acres. It is seven miles north from Northampton, twenty from Springfield, ninety-five from Boston and one hundred and fifty from New York City.

Pelham is another one of the Hampshire county's hill towns. In the northwestern corner Mount Orient raises its lofty peak to an elevation of a thousand feet above sea-level. Seven villages may readily be seen from its summit. Other elevations are Mount Lincoln, Pine Hill and lesser elevations. Fort River enters the town of Amherst, and finally unites with the Connecticut at Hadley. The stream takes its rise near the north line of the town. Smaller streams are found here and there throughout the town. The medicinal spring waters of the town have for many years attracted people there during the summer season. Considerable "Pelham" granite has been quarried in both the eastern and western

portions. Forty years ago in the southwestern part large quantities of asbestos were being mined.

First Settlement—This town was originally a part of what was styled the "Equivalent Lands," and was sold by the state of Connecticut to Col. John Stoddard and others of Northampton, and was first called "Stoddard's Town." Hunters ruthlessly burned off much of the land in order to obtain better pastures for their Connecticut stock. September, 1738, Robert Peibles and James Thornton, of Worcester, bought the township of John Stoddard. The sixty proprietors, as the final number appears to have been, met at Worcester for their legal meetings until 1740. The tract was called "Lisburne," or "New Lisburne," until its incorporation when it was changed to Pelham. One of the first to keep a tavern in the town was Thomas Dick, in 1760.

Organization—Pelham was incorporated January 15, 1743. John Stoddard acted as first moderator.

The following votes were passed by the town at the same meeting:

Voted that there be a committee chosen to Invite three ordained neighboring ministers to keep a day of fasting and prayer with us, and to consult with ye same Whome we shall Call to be our Minister.

Voted that there be a Committee Chosen to Provide Glass, and to Glass the meeting, and to Build a Pulpit, and to finish ye under Pining of ye meeting-house at ye charge of ye town, and said Work to be Done Before Winter.

Voted that ye aforesaid Committee for Building a Pulpit is to Build a Pulpit for Dignitee Like unto haddley third Precinct Pulpit.

Voted yt ye Selectmen are Directed to Provide Sutable Cloath and have it made up to Covire Coffens with in Buring of our Dead at the Charge of ye town.

The town government has been in common with others of this county, well administered and today its population numbering about 500, is a thrifty, contented people who enjoy the blessings of their surroundings. The 1925 town officers include the following: Town clerk and treasurer, Charles H. Jones; selectmen, Frederick A. Harris, Frank E. Hamilton, R. C. Robinson; assessors, Frank E. Hamilton, R. C. Robinson and Charles L. Ward; constables, John A. Page, Harry J. Whipple and Bertram C. Page.

There are no regular villages of much importance within the town of Pelham. The two largest settlements mentioned in the history of forty-five years ago, were Pelham Heights, and at the "West end" of the town, where was erected the first meeting-house and the pastor's allotment. A postoffice was established

about 1810 and an early postmaster was Martin Kingman. A Methodist church, a manufactory of fishing rods, a saw-mill, planing-mill and the Orient Springs House (noted health institution) with the usual number of dwellings. Most of the trading was done at Amherst, only two miles distant.

In the southeast corner of the town is Packardsville, a small hamlet. This community sprang up nearly a century ago as a result of the building of the Baptist church. In 1880 the only church at this point was the Congregational. A small country store was located there many years.

Schools—The first vote concerning the subject of schools here was in April, 1744 and with the return of each year appropriations sometimes large and again smaller, were made for the support of schools. In 1754 the town was divided into three parts and the sum of eight pounds was given to each district. Coming down to 1870, the appropriation for schools was $1,000, and while the present day figures are not at hand, suffice to say that the town has good schools and that tax-payers do not begrudge the money thus expended.

Churches—As has been seen, the first settlers of this town were of the Scotch and Irish descent, so the natural church faith leaned toward the Presbyterian denomination. At a meeting of the proprietors in August, 1740, it was voted to build a meeting-house and 100 pounds Sterling was raised for that purpose. Later the Presbyterian church was changed and became known as the Congregational. A second meeting-house was built in 1838 near the "old center." In 1831 a Baptist church was formed by members at Enfield and vicinity, and this was situated at Packardsville. This society flourished thirty years and then virtually went down. What was known as the First Union Congregational Church, was organized at Packardsville. A meeting-house was built by the society in 1869 soon after the church was formed. This building cost $6,500 and was dedicated in 1871. A church bell was presented by one of the classes at Amherst College. The Methodist Episcopal society dates back to 1831, when Rev. Isaac Stoddard was invited to preach. Pelham and Greenwich united and a church was formed in 1831-32. It had 125 members at that time. About 1840 a church was erected in the west end of town. A small Society of Friends was formed in the town at the west end, and was supported by a few families a number of years. The Unitarians also had a society at one time, but not for many years.

Military—The town has taken part in the various wars that have agitated the country since its incorporation, as well as some in the early Indian wars. Nearly all of the able bodied men of the town served in the army in the Revolutionary struggle. Other parts of this work will mention the part taken in the more recent wars.

Industrial—Aside from agriculture there has never been much attempted in way of industries in this town. Along Fort river, in the west end of town, there was some manufacturing, as well as along Swift river, but to no great extent. At the west end, saw and grist mills once operated successfully. One was by Nathan Jillson, father of Amasa and Riley, who moved into the town in 1806 and bought both the water-powers at the west end. Later a fulling-mill was added and at the lower site, George Macomber engaged in the manufacture of clothing. The saw mills and making of fish-poles, bedsteads and other hard-wood articles, made up the principal list of articles produced in these small factories. "Pelham Granite" and asbestos were also products of the town which flourished seventy-five years ago. About 1830 wagons and carriages were made at Packardsville, but later the business was moved to Belchertown.

Belchertown—Twelve miles east of the Connecticut river, in the eastern part of Hampshire county this town is situated. It is bounded on the north by Pelham, on the south by Palmer and Ludlow, in Hampden county; on the east by Ware and Enfield towns, and on the west by Granby and Amherst, Hampshire county. This town ranks among the largest in area in the state, and is twelve miles long north and south and has an average width of about five miles. Much of the land is rough and hard to cultivate. The southern portion is more level and contains the best land. There is one part of the town in the north very good land, also. The highest elevations are Great Hill, Turkey Hill, Fischer's Knob. Water courses are abundant. Swift river forms the eastern boundary for a considerable distance, and affords two excellent water-powers. Upper, Middle and Lower Ponds are within this town and are the sources of Bachelor's Brook and Fort river. The population of Belchertown in 1920, was 5,058.

Settlement—History of this part of Massachusetts tells us that the tract of country from Shutesbury to Chicopee River was formerly distinguished as the best hunting-ground in this section of the State. The hunters were accustomed to encircle a large tract of land by a line of fire, which, burning in every direction,

gradually encompassed the game in a circle so narrow that they became an easy prey to their pursuers. In course of time the native forests which had covered the land were in a great measure consumed by this process. But the lands that had been thus burnt over were soon covered with a species of wild grass, affording excellent pasturage for cattle, and for many years great numbers of cattle and horses were annually sent out from Northampton and Hadley to graze upon these hills during the summer season. The tract of land thus burnt over included the territory of the present town of Belchertown, and the practice of burning over the lands continued for a considerable time after the first settlement.

"The town was at first known by the name of 'Cold Spring.' It took its name from a noted spring, which still exists, on the Cyrus S. Bartlett farm, near the path that was formerly traveled from Northampton to Brookfield and Boston."

In 1727 the State of Connecticut sold its rights in the territory of Belchertown to seven individuals residing in and near Boston in six equal divisions; the first division to Paul Dudley, two-thirds, and Col. John Wainright, one-third; second division, one-sixth to John Caswell; third division, one-sixth to Col. Thomas Fitch; fourth division, one-sixth to Adington Devenport; fifth division, one-sixth to Jonathan Belcher, Esq.; sixth division, one-sixth to William Clark's heirs. During the months of October and November of that year the territory was surveyed and platted by Col. Timothy Dwight, of Northampton. Col. Dwight was much employed in his day in surveying and platting towns in this section of the country, and was the grandfather of Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D., afterward president of Yale College.

The first three settlers located with their families in July, 1731—Samuel Bascom, the Hookers, and Benjamin Stebbins. The same year came Aaron Lyman and John Bardwell. Very soon came Col. Timothy Dwight who located in the center of the town and he owned land a mile each way from the centre. He only remained a short time and returned to Northampton from where he had emigrated. Between 1736 and 1742, there was little increase in the population of the town, but after it was lawful to tax property for support of the Church as well as for other things, the population increased rapidly. In ten years it doubled in number. In 1752 there were fifty families. Samuel Bascom, one of the pioneers started the first tavern in the settlement. The license to keep such a place was dated 1733. Daniel Dwight, another early settler

also conducted an inn. One of the first stores was kept by "Squire" Caleb Clark. During the War of 1812 the town supported five general stores. About 1800 the stage line between Northampton and Boston was established and it had for one of its stopping places Belchertown. In 1758 the first pound was provided for the town. Belchertown Center postoffice was established in 1812; the first postmaster was Philo Dickinson. One of the important men of his day was Dr. Josiah G. Holland. He was born in this town, a son of Harrison Holland. He rose to be one of the country's great editors and authors of prose and poetry. At one time he edited the Century Magazine and again edited the Scribner's Magazine.

Civil Organization—The first meeting of the settlers of Cold Spring, convened April 28, 1740. June 23, 1761 the town of Belchertown was incorporated and named in honor of Jonathan Belcher, who was governor of the province of Massachusetts from 1730 to 1740. The list of town officers is all too long to here be given, but it should be said that the present (1925) town officers are as follows: Town clerk, George H. B. Green; treasurer, Courtland G. Bartlett; accountant, William E. Shaw; selectmen, Joseph C. Bothwell, Edward A. Fuller, Jacob V. Cook; tax-collector, Dwight F. Shumway; school superintendent, Alvan R. Lewis; assessors, Henry H. Witt, Clayton R. Green, Albert S. Brown; constables, Guy C. Allen, Jr., James A. Peeso, Bertram A. Shaw, Dwight F. Shumway, Leon E. Williams; tree-warden, George W. Kelley. Several other appointive positions have been omitted.

The latest assessors' report gives the value of real estate in the town as $1,099,930; of personal property, $326,940; tax-rate per thousand dollars valuation, $39.00; number of acres of land, 31,605; horses, 426; cows, 1,403; sheep, none; swine, 47; fowls, 12,732; dwelling houses, 513.

The town treasurer's report gives the assets and liabilities of the town at the beginning of 1925, as $33,326.57. Net bonded debt, $58,000.

The school account summary shows membership, 528; number enrolled, 492; average attendance, 433; per cent in attendance, 94.

Villages and Hamlets—The principal village within the town of Belchertown is the village by the same name. It stands near the geographical center. It is ranged chiefly along the road from Northampton to Ware, and is about one mile in length. In the center of the village is a fine "common" or park which was the

gift of Col. Elijah Dwight by a deed dated April 1, 1791. In 1873 it was neatly fenced by the Belchertown Park Association. Around this have clustered much of the business and social interests of the town. Bardwell village in the southeasterly part of the town has had numerous manufacturing plants in its history. It was named for the pioneer Bardwell family. Dwight station is a station point in the northwestern part of the town named for the illustrious Dwight family. What was once styled New Mills, now Slab City is a hamlet on Swift river, and marks the best water-power site in the entire town. Barrett's Junction, in the south part of the town, is where the Springfield, Athol and Northeastern railroad crosses the New London Northern road.

Among private educational institutions in this town may be noted one of great excellence, called the Belchertown Classical School, which was incorporated in 1836 and started out with sixty pupils.

Among newspapers published here have been the "Hampshire Sentinel" and "Farmers and Manufacturers Journal," established in 1826, by J. R. Shute. Later this paper merged with the "Northampton Courier."

Churches—As was the general rule in all New England towns, the Congregational denomination was first to claim the religious field. The exact date which this church was organized is not known, but certain as early as the spring of 1737. A meeting-house was completed in 1746, but many bickerings and disappointments beset the congregation for many years, including the anti-Masonry excitement commencing in 1825, when the church was divided asunder and a new society formed known as Brainard Church and Society. The two churches were reunited in 1841 and the building built by the Brainard branch went into the hands of the Baptists. The Baptist church was organized in Belchertown in 1795, with sixteen charter members. The Methodist Episcopal denomination established itself in the south part of the town, near Bardwell village, but later consolidated with the church at Thorndike in Palmer. The first Methodist minister stationed in Belchertown Centre was Rev. William Gordon who commenced in March, 1865.

Vernon Lodge, A. F. & A. M. was chartered as Mount Vernon Lodge in 1869, but the following year the word "Mount" was dropped from its name.

The Farmers and Mechanics Bank was in existence in this town from about 1826 to 1836.

While farming and kindred branches of agriculture have usually occupied the attention of the people in this town, there has been some attention paid to manufacturing of carriages and wagons; also the Belchertown Woolen Company, at Bardwell village, formerly carried on quite a business in the manufacture of satinets, while J. & S. Clark operated a successful wrapping-paper factory. At "Slab City" there was a shoddy factory and numerous saw mills. The Boston Duck Company, whose mills are in the south part of the town, at Bondville, in the town of Palmer, later erected another mill on the Belchertown side of the river. These mills are still running in full capacity and are owned largely by Boston capital.

In the line of military affairs this town has ever been abreast with other parts of Hampshire county in furnishing men and munitions for war.

CHAPTER X

EAST, WEST AND SOUTHAMPTON TOWNS

Easthampton is one of the river towns, though its territory borders the Connecticut for only a short distance south of the "Oxbow." At that point Easthampton divides Northampton, so that the latter is not made up of contiguous territory. Northampton has a sort of outlying territory, consisting of Mount Tom and a section of narrow river valley. This separates Easthampton, from what would seem to be its natural eastern boundary, the Connecticut. Easthampton is the smallest town within the county, only having an area of 6,613 acres, as shown by the recent surveys. This town is a portion of the original purchase from the Indians by the proprietors of Northampton, and the title to the soil is, therefore, traced back directly to the treaty by which the tract was obtained.

Unlike all other towns of this county west of the river, there are few elevations that can really be called hills within its borders. The Mount Tom range walls it in on the southeast. At the northwest the town line just clears the southern spurs of Mineral Hill group. At the southwest corner it cleaves a slice from one of the lower declivities of Mount Tom. There are numerous streams in the town, the most important being Manhan river and Broad Brook, which have long been utilized for manufacturing purposes.

Early Settlement and Later Growth—Undoubtedly John Webb was the first settler in the territory of what is now Easthampton. He was granted a piece of land December 13, 1664, at Pascommuck to build a house upon. He was known as a settler in Northampton as early as 1657. It is shown by record that he bought wolf scalps of the Indians for the purpose of getting a bounty on them in 1664. The first settlement on the "plain" was effected by Sergt. Ebenezer Corse about 1728.

Organization—Steps were taken to organize a town here just before the Revolutionary struggle, the same to be independent of others. Petitions appeared for this purpose in 1773, but the war came on and all proceedings were ended for the time being. It was not until 1785 that the new town was set off. The act incorporating Easthampton was dated June 17, 1785.

Villages—In New England the town is the unit and the villages

have no municipality. The village of Easthampton is situated almost exactly in the geographical center of the town bearing the same name. The first tavern in the town was kept by Joseph Bartlett and received its license in 1727. Soldiers enroute to Boston from here in Revolutionary days, stopped at this place for refreshments. Major Clapp conducted the place then. A postoffice was established at this village in 1821. The office then paid about $75 per year salary. Later it came to be one of the best offices in the county. In the autumn of 1875 H. DeBill started a weekly newspaper called the "Easthampton Leader." The first number was issued October 14th. This was later sold and the name changed to "The Enterprise." Another village settled at an early day was Glendale where an elastic fabric factory plant was established, but later they moved to the Centre village. Mount Tom Station is the eastern terminus of Mount Tom railroad. The place is romantically situated, but has never grown to be of much importance. Mount Tom railroad was originally constructed by home capital and later was taken over by the Connecticut Valley Railway Company. The first train over this line was on Thanksgiving Day, 1871. It is three and one-half miles long, but boasted forty years ago of having six stations including its terminal.

Schools of the Town of Easthampton—It is believed that the first school taught in this town was in 1739, when Northampton appropriated money to carry on this pioneer school. In 1797 the town was divided into four school districts. In 1864 the district system was abandoned since which time the town committee have had full control. A central high school was established in 1864. In 1878 the town had sixteen schools, with 653 pupils enrolled. The report for 1924 shows the number of pupils enrolled to be 1,652. Number of separate schools, six.

Besides the public schools this town has long been noted for the Williston Seminary, founded by Hon. Samuel Williston in 1841. The first was a frame building which was burned in 1857 and replaced by a fine large brick structure, costing over $20,000. Nearly $300,000 was left this institution by Mr. Williston at his death. This school was started for the education of both sexes, but in 1864 became exclusive for young men. Up to 1875 there had been connected with this Seminary 5,166 male and 1,077 female students. The school has long since been known as an academy and its 1924-5 catalog gives the total number of students enrolled the last year as 168, while the grand total of enrollment since the in-

stitution started in 1841 is 11,125. There are thirteen buildings on the beautiful campus.

The Williston Junior School is closely connected with the Academy, and cares well for the younger boys who want an education in the right environments.

Churches—Even before the civil organization had been secured in this town, preparations were being made to provide a meeting-house, and a frame building was erected in the spring of 1785. Rev. Payson Williston was called and accepted as the first pastor of the church, the date being August, 1789, and he continued until 1833, when he resigned and resided in the town until his death in 1856, when he was ninety-two years of age. The site of the original meeting-house is now within a beautiful park in which is growing the stately elm known as "pulpit elm."

A Methodist Episcopal church was organized here in 1863 and a church building was dedicated in 1866. The Protestant Episcopal church was organized in April, 1871 with fifty families as members. The Roman Catholic church was quite early in this field and soon became a strong denomination. The present churches of the town include these: Congregational, Episcopal, German Evangelical Lutheran, Providence Methodist, Episcopal, Immaculate Conception (Roman Catholic), French Catholic, Polish Catholic.

Banking—The banking business of Easthampton commenced in 1864 with the organization of the First National Bank, with a capital of $150,000. The Easthampton Savings Bank was established in June, 1870. The present-day banks are: Easthampton Co-operative Bank, Easthampton Savings Bank and the First National Bank.

Library Association—As early as 1792 there was interest taken in public library matters, and thirty persons subscribed two dollars each and organized a library association. From that day to this the town has never lacked a library which the public was entitled to use, under certain conditions. The present Library Association was organized in 1869.

Industries—Originally, and down to about 1850, this was purely an agricultural town, but since then has grown into a line of profitable and extensive manufacturing plants. First was the grist mill and saw mill of pioneer days; then came the fulling cloth mill, the tannery, the weaving of "hard-times" cloth in 1837 in which was run the first power loom of the town. These all refer

to the industries prior to 1847, when modern Easthampton commenced to put on new interests. The same man who had founded the Seminary, Mr. Williston, in 1847-48 with Horatio Knight started the National Button Factory. In 1879 nearly two hundred hands were employed here. Other industries sprang up as if by magic. Among these were the Rubber and Thread Company, formed in 1863, and they used up 250,000 pounds of pure rubber annually for many years. The Easthampton Gas Company was formed in 1864; Mount Tom Thread Company, formed in 1864; the Valley Machine Company, organized in 1868.

The present interests of business in Easthampton include: Rubber Band Manufacturing plants, Rubber Thread works, Brick Making establishments, Elastic Web works, Phillips Manufacturing Company, makers of hardware articles; Cotton Fabric works by the West Boylston Manufacturing Co.; Drop Forge works, the Glendale Elastic Fabric Company, Planing and Moulding factories, and the West Boylston Yarn factory.

The present newspaper of the place is the "Easthampton News."

Of the town affairs at this date, the report of the various town officers show these facts: Tax rate is $25 per thousand dollars valuation; number firms and persons assessed, 2,225; value of realty, $609,260; real estate and personal valuation, $13,740,000; number horses assessed, 275; cows, 537; neat cattle, other than cows, 68; swine, 61; dwellings assessed, 1,385; acres land assessed, 9,193.

The town's assets and liabilities in 1924 were $170,171. Balance on hand at close of 1924, $48,000.

The present town officers include the following: Moderator, George L. Munn; selectmen, Ralph H. Clapp, William H. Campbell, John M. Dineen; treasurer, George F. Evans; tax-collector, Arthur J. Pepin; assessors, Addison J. Ferris, D. T. Pepin, E. M. Duda; attorney, David A. Foley; town clerk, William A. Walker; accountant, William A. Walker; tree warden, John J. Lynn; school committee, Edith B. Gaylord, Oliver W. Cobb, William L. Pitcher.

The 1924 Federal census reports gave Easthampton a population of 11,261, which has slightly increased since that date.

The present (1925) fraternal organizations in this town include these: Masonic Order, Knights of Columbus, Red Men of America, Foresters and Ancient Order of United Workmen.

Westhampton—The town of Westhampton lies west of the

town of Northampton, and is about seven miles distant from the courthouse. It is bounded on the north by Chesterfield and Williamsburg, east by Northampton and Easthampton, south by Southampton, west by Huntington and Chesterfield. The town is a part of the original Northampton tract, and the title is traced back to the treaty conveying the land from the Indians to the first proprietors. In 1714 the town of Northampton voted to throw up three miles of the west end of the westerly division of commons, and to lay said three miles into two ranges. This tract was known as the Long Division. This was nearly fifty years before any attempt at settlement had been made. This town is drained to the southeast and mostly by tributaries that unite to form the north branch of the Manhan river. This is one of the mountainous sections of the county. The elevations include Canada Hill, Spruce Hill, Gob Hill, Breakneck Mountain, and Red Oak Hill. In the center, north of the village, is Tob Hill.

Settlement—It was more than a century after the settlements in Northampton had been effected, (and yet the territory was still a part of Northampton), before that portion now known as Westhampton was settled. Strange to relate it was within a few miles of the Connecticut river and settlements had been made in Hatfield and Hadley. It was fifty years after pioneer settlements had been made in Southampton before anyone ventured out among the hills of Long Division. From an historical address delivered by C. Parkman Judd, at the Westhampton reunion, in September, 1866, it is gleaned that the first settlement in Westhampton was made in the southwesterly part of the town, by Abner Smith, from Connecticut in 1762. He built a log house and opened up the wilderness—then but a "green, glad solitude." The second settler was Ebenezer French, from Southampton sometime in 1763. He had an interest in the pioneer saw-mill. In 1770 ten more persons located in the town, making sixteen families in all. Here as elsewhere the pioneers had not reached the ten-hour state of working perfection, but usually put in fourteen hours and in some seasons of the year, as many as sixteen hours. Before the Revolutionary period lead mining engaged the attention of many of the first settlers here. Great excitement obtained, but no lasting business advantages resulted from their efforts.

Organization—From 1762 to 1778 sufficient population had located in this town to warrant becoming a separate town organization. The General Court granted the incorporation of "Westhampton" on September 29, 1778.

The first town meeting was ordered held at the house of Nathan Clark, on November 19, of the same year of the town's incorporation. As was the universal custom in New England, before the newly formed town could provide a suitable town-house, the first meeting-house was used for a meeting place for the town officers. The records of this town are as good as the best in those days and reflect great credit upon the pioneer officers who had charge of public affairs. The list of selectmen and other officers is all too lengthy to here be given. It may be of some interest in years to come, to know who held such positions when this history was compiled, hence follows the list of town officers and other data of the town in the years 1924-25:

Moderator, Clifford M. Bartlett; town clerk and treasurer, Gilbert I. Flint; auditor, Dwight S. Bridgman; tree warden, John C. Hathaway; school committee, Edith G. Bridgman, Jared C. Williams, Mrs. Clayton A. Bartlett.

The assessors' report shows for 1924 that the tax levy was $6,407; personal and real estate valuations were $32,563; tax-rate was $8.75 per thousand dollars; number horses assessed, 133; cows, 257; sheep, none; neat cattle other than cows, 148; swine, 7; dwellings assessed, 101; acres of land assessed, 15,929; fowls assessed, 1,195.

School report shows in 1924 reports from the four public schools. The total enrollment for the town that year was only fifty-two. School expenses for the year, $4,973.

The treasurer reported receipts and disbursements as being about $21,000. At the close of the year 1924 there was a balance on hand amounting to $7,184.

Villages—This part of the town's history is quickly treated, for the size of the villages or hamlets found within Westhampton have never reached to any considerable importance, commercially. The so-called Centre derived its importance from the location of the meeting-house. A small stream falling rapidly down from the western hills has furnished ample water-power for the sundry mills that have been operated. Other collections of houses or communities have been termed villages and such list includes Shack Street, in the northwest part of the town, where pioneers used to send their swine to fatten upon the rich nuts in autumn time; Babcock's Corner, from a family residing there. Loudville with its mills, stores and shops, owed the existence it had to both Northampton and Westhampton—they worked in one place and resided in another town, but in church ties were affiliated with Westhampton. The first postmaster was Jonathan Judd.

Schools—In addition to what has been stated concerning schools it should be added that the modern school system of the town, founded by the untiring energy of the fathers is in steady and successful operation today and has been the stepping-stone to higher education, as it is shown that in 1880 there had been more than forty college graduates native to this town.

The Churches—The incorporation of this town, as in most other parts of New England, was largely a matter of having convenient places in which to erect suitable meeting-houses, where old and young might congregate on the Sabbath day and worship God according to their own religious faith. Records show that at a town meeting in March, 1772, this section, known as Long Division, voted to support a minister. In the northern part of the town preaching commenced in 1774. The minister was Mr. Taft, a zealous Whig and preached and prayed for liberty from the mother country. He also refused to drink tea when England was forcing America to pay an unjust tax thereon. With the passing of time, changes in church life, meeting-houses and ministers styles were numerous, but to the present date the religious element here predominates and the fruit of the efforts of the pioneer fathers and mothers is yet seen and felt in the people of the town today.

Industries—For a long period of time this town depended upon its agriculture and the cutting and selling of lumber and firewood from its forest lands. Not until the people commenced to use coal and other materials for fuel did this matter change, but after that the town lost much in way of its revenue and by the hundreds the people flocked to some one or more of the Central and Western States, where free land and a rich soil unobstructed by stones and stumps, might be had for a small amount per acre. Thus the census reports show a decrease instead of an increase in the population of Westhampton. From the Revolutionary times to the present, this town has been loyal, for the most part, to the principles of good government, and has furnished freely her sons in all of the wars, to do battle for the true and just issues as they have come up. The census of 1920 gave Westhampton a population of three hundred and five.

Southampton—Southampton is situated southwest of the county seat and is about eight miles distant from Northampton. It is bounded on the north by Westhampton and Easthampton, east by Easthampton and Hampden county, south by Hampden county, west by Hampden county and Huntington. In the petition of

1741 by its settlers, it is spoken of as consisting of 14,000 acres. Tables found in the 1875 State census give the acreage at that time as 17,138. The territory of Southampton is a part of the original purchase from the Non-o-tuck Indians, and all titles are easily traced back to the treaty with that tribe. The first proprietors of Northampton owned lands now included in Southampton. It was their heirs or assigns who constituted the body of proprietors that, in 1730, proceeded to divide up and settle the "new precinct."

The main water courses are the Manhan river and its numerous tributaries. Other streams include the Alder Meadow Brook, Red Brook, Moore Brook, and Triple Brook. It was written by a historian in 1879 "The town has a considerable variety in its surface, including hilly and even mountainous tracts, as well as a large area of rolling country. It is one of the finest agricultural towns in the county, comprising a large proportion of tillable land."

In the north part of this town is found a lead-bearing strata which has attracted both miners and geologists for more than two centuries. A fine landscape view can be had by standing on such altitudes as Pomeroy's Mountain and Wolf Hill, of this town.

The early settlement of the town was effected about 1730 and surveys of the lands were made during May and June of that year. The first thirty land owners drew a lot and twenty years later another drawing was had. The first and second lot owners did not at once come in and live upon their lands, but made preliminary improvements, as best they could, and still be within the law. Among the petitioners for incorporation as a precinct, July 8, 1741, were the names of Pomeroy King, Selah Clark, Aaron Root, Elias Lyman, Jonathan Miller and Charles Phelps. From the inscription on a tombstone in the burying-ground it appears that the first settlers were: "Ensign Ebenezer Kingsley and Mary his wife." The stone also states that "They were the *first settlers* in Southampton."

The date of this town's organization was March 19, 1773, when the name "Southampton" was first officially used. The first town meeting was held at the house of Phineas King. A tax-house was built in 1841.

Villages—Southampton Centre was the first point of settlement by the first thirty pioneers above mentioned. Forty-five years ago this village had a Congregational church, a Methodist church,

Sheldon Academy, a brick schoolhouse, town hall, postoffice, and several shops, including the Quigley whip factory, and a settlement of old retired men of worth to the community. In the southwest part of the town is a community known as Russellville, named for the Russell family. The town has never been the seat of any large business interests.

The schools were first started here while the town was yet a part of Northampton, in 1748; one of the early teachers was Ebenezer Kingsley. As the years rolled by much interest was manifest in education and in 1880 the list of college graduates from this town numbered fifty-five. The number of ministers who have gone out from this town to various parts of the world is indeed legion. The number of foreign missionaries from Southampton is also large. Sheldon's English and Classical School was founded in this town in 1828 and for many years was highly successful, but with the establishment of Williston and other schools nearby it lost many of its prospective students and members of its faculty.

In 1741 the proprietors of this town appointed a committee to obtain a minister. The first pastor was Rev. Jonathan Judd, in 1743, when the church was organized. Pastor Judd served for sixty years, until claimed by death, at the age of eighty-four years.

A Methodist Episcopal church was formed in 1842 and in 1844 a church edifice was erected and this denomination has had services in the town ever since that date.

As to the military aspect of this town let it be said that in common with other towns of this county, whenever war has come there was no lack of men and means in proportion to the population. All has been done that could be done to restore peace. Some of the best blood of the town has been sacrificed on the altar of war. During the Civil War one hundred and twenty-eight men were furnished from Southampton and this included five commissioned officers.

The industry of this town has been largely agriculture, since its native forests have been cut down and sawed up into lumber. There were numberless saw mills and wood-working concerns here in the long ago days. Many years there was sawed 300,000 feet of native lumber, until the forests have been nearly depleted.

Present Town Government—The town officers in this town for 1925 are as follows: Town clerk, Nelson B. Crowell; treasurer,

Nelson B. Crowell; selectmen, Edward K. Parsons, chairman, Arthur S. Gunn, Nelson B. Crowell; constables, Wilfred J. Lyman, Morris L. Frary; tax-collector, Edwin L. Atkins; assessors, Samuel G. Waite, Edwin L. Atkins and M. John Madsen.

The total resources of the town in 1924 were $7,483; liabilities, $3,220. Cash on hand, $4,263. Total property valuation, $835,611; total tax, $19,078; tax-rate per thousand, $22.50; persons assessed, 457; residents assessed, 307; polls assessed, 264; horses assessed, 280; cows, 778; neat cattle, 208; swine, 24; sheep, 3; fowls, 6,540; acres land assessed, 17,840.

CHAPTER XI

POPULATION STATISTICS—MISCELLANEOUS

Towns	Organized	(Colonial)	U. S. 1800	U. S. 1850	U. S. 1920
Amherst	1759	915	1,358	3,057	5,550
Belchertown	1761	972	1,878	2,680	2,058
Chesterfield	1762	1,092	1,323	1,014	441
Cummington	1779	——	985	1,172	489
Easthampton	1785	——	586	1,342	11,261
Enfield	1816	——	——	1,036	790
Goshen	1781	——	724	512	224
Granby	1768	491	786	1,104	779
Greenwich	1754	890	1,460	838	399
Hadley	1661	681	1,073	1,986	2,784
Hatfield	1670	582	809	1,073	2,651
Huntington	1773	742	959	756	1,425
Middlefield	1783	——	877	737	280
Northampton	1654	1,790	2,190	5,278	21,951
Pelham	1742	729	1,144	983	503
Plainfield	1785	——	797	814	332
Prescott	1822	——	——	737	236
South Hadley	1753	584	801	2,495	5,527
Southampton	1753	740	983	1,060	814
Ware	1761	773	997	3,785	8,525
Westhampton	1778	——	756	602	305
Williamsburg	1771	534	1,176	1,537	1,866
Worthington	1768	639	1,223	1,134	409
Totals		12,154	22,885	35,732	69,599

The United States census report for 1924 gave the total population of this county at 69,599; males, 33,845; females, 35,754; native whites, 53,160; foreign-born, 16,122; negroes, 292; per cent native white, 76¾.

The Mill River Flood—On May 16, 1874 occurred what is known as the "Mill River Disaster" by which the entire valley of Mill River, from Williamsburg to Northampton was devastated and when the flood had subsided it was found that many lives and thousands of dollars worth of property had been lost. The loss of human life was one hundred and thirty-six. In a collection of Reminiscences compiled in 1895, Clayton E. Davis gives the following picture of this sad affair: "The defective reservoir, which was the cause of the terrible catastrophe, was situated about three

miles above Williamsburg, in the northeastern part of the town. In the month of May, 1874, there were standing a costly array of mills, factories, shops, offices, and banks. Nearly all were in operation. The stream was low, and, upon the evening of the fifteenth, the families retired to rest with no thought of the impending danger; mill owners, bankers, capitalists, were engrossed in their schemes for the future; all was prosperity and comfort. The morning of the sixteenth dawned—the fatal day had arrived.

"The reservoir was in charge of George Cheney, and he inspected the dam, as usual at six o'clock on the eventful morning, and found everything satisfactory. But very soon his father from the house discovered the break, and Cheney grasping at once the situation, sprang on his horse, and started for Williamsburg. The rides of Cheney to Williamsburg, of Collis Graves and Jerome Hillman to Haydenville, and Myron Day from Haydenville, through Leeds to Florence, have long since passed into history.

"Hardly had Cheney started when the dam began to crumble more and more. The wall fell away faster and faster, and soon with a sudden roar the great mass was carried out at once. The imprisoned waters, pouring through with indescribable fury, began their terrible work of destruction. Pages could well be filled with an account of the mad rush of waters from the time the flood burst at Williamsburg until it had passed Florence.

"The water dashed out from its heretofore strong house, and, seeming to mock the dam that previously had held it in check, flew into the valley below. The waters first struck the village of Williamsburg, and houses, mills, bridges, and fifty-seven persons were grasped within its arms. The same story can be told of Skinnersville, where four lives were lost, in Haydenville, where forty-one buildings and twenty-four persons swelled the list of dead; and in Leeds, where fifty-one of its inhabitants lost their lives, making one hundred and thirty-six in all. Out of the thirty buildings along the main streets in Leeds, but three withstood the flood.

"The village of Florence awoke, as usual, that morning, and its people hurried through the rain to their different places of toil. Soon after eight o'clock, Myron Day drove into the lower part of the village, and alarmed the employers of the shops and mills. The alarm quickly spread, and the employees fled to places of safety, there to watch the mad rush of the waters. The warning flew through the village, but before many could get to the river

the flood had passed, and the angry waters had added another chapter to the disasters of this country.

"The first rush of the advancing flood was formidable as a tidal wave, sweeping everything before it. It rolled onward in a billow from six to ten feet in height, and it entered Florence, laden with a mass of flood-wood, comprised of dismantled houses and bridges, factory buildings, fences, uprooted trees, dead animals, and fearful to relate, human bodies—men, women, and little children, rent, bruised, stripped of their clothing, battered almost beyond recognition. While people were yet wondering, dazed, and confounded at this terrible rush of waters, the Meadow Street bridge gave way with the crash, and was hurled onward toward the iron bridge at the brush shop. In a twinkling of an eye, this second bridge was torn from its supports, and a minute later both bridges went over the dam. At about the same moment the wooden bridge just below the Nonotuck Silk Company, yielded to the force, and that, too, passed onward. In ten minutes the water had risen to six feet above the highest water mark, and the scene for the next hour was absolutely appalling. Scores of dwellings on every hand in the lower part of the village, stood like so many islands in a wilderness of angry waters, and people were running in every direction, alarmed and bewildered by the catastrophe which had so suddenly come upon them. Lower floors had to be abandoned and the families had to remove to the second stories.

"But little property was lost in Florence. The Nonotuck Silk Company lost an addition to their dye house, a blacksmith's shop and other small structures. Also one hundred cords of wood belonging to the same company. * * * * * * * * * * * John F. Warner sold at one dollar a load each, six hundred loads of flood-wood from his meadow. This gives an idea of the vast amount of debris strewn over the land.

"Although it was raining hard before noon Saturday people began to arrive. Sunday the day being fair, thousands came to the scene. Lumber wagons, buggies, carriages, and express wagons (that was before the introduction of automobiles) crowded the entire route of the disaster. The railroad made hourly trips to accommodate the anxious throng. Main street was filled all Sunday in Florence, and here and there was to be seen a casket that was to hold the remains of some victim. By actual count, four hundred and seventy teams passed the residence of the late

Moses Warner in one hour on Sunday and all going in one direction. The work of finding the dead bodies was pushed as soon as the waters had passed by sufficiently, and by Sunday morning, forty-two had been found on the Florence Meadows."

Hampshire Missionary Society—This society was incorporated February 21, 1804. Officers were chosen annually during the month of August. The original officers were as follows: President, his Excellency, Caleb Strong; vice-president, Rev. Samuel Hopkins; treasurer, Ruggles Woodbridge; corresponding secretary, Rev. Enoch Hale; the trustees were—Hon. John Hastings, Joseph Lathrop, D.D., Hon. Ebenezer Hunt, Joseph Lyman, D.D., Justin Ely, Rev. Solomon Williams, William Billings, David Parsons, D.D., Charles Phelps and Rev. Richard S. Storrs. With the passing years and decades this society accomplished much good, and with other organizations of a local nature in various churches, the object for which this society was formed was taken care of in other ways, as it is today.

The Hampshire Bible Society—This was organized July 10, 1816, at a meeting called to order at the courthouse at Northampton, "for the purpose of securing the distribution of the Holy Scriptures without a note or comment." At this meeting Noah Webster, Esq., was chairman, and Joseph Dwight, secretary. At the same meeting a constitution was adopted, which provided that any surplus funds not needed for use within the limits of the society shall be forwarded to the American Bible Society at New York City, to which said society it shall be considered an Auxiliary. During the passing years many thousands of Bibles have been distributed among such persons as were unable to purchase for their own use, throughout this county, as well as furnishing thousands of dollars for the parent Society in New York City.

Post Offices of the County Today—In Hampshire county, the present-day postoffices, aside from the complete net-work of rural free delivery routes, are as follows:

Amherst	Dwight	Hadley
Bancroft	Easthampton	Hatfield
Belchertown	Enfield	Haydenville
Bradstreet	Goshen	Leeds
Chesterfield	Granby	Lithia
Cummington	Greenwich	Middlefield
Cushman	Greenwich Village	Mount Tom

North Amherst
Northampton
North Hadley
North Hatfield
North Prescott
Plainfield
Prescott
Ringville
Smiths
South Amherst
Southampton
South Hadley
South Hadley Falls
South Worthington
Swift River
West Chesterfield
Ware
West Cummington
West Hatfield
West Worthington
Williamsburg
Worthington

CHAPTER XII

TOWN AND CITY OF NORTHAMPTON

Northampton, the county seat of Hampshire county, was first settled by the white race in 1654. It was established as a town May 14, 1656 from common land called Nonotuck. June 4, 1685 bounds between Northampton and Springfield established. June 4, 1701 a strip of common land divided between Northampton and Westfield. November 12, 1720 bounds between Northampton and Hatfield established. January 5, 1753 part established as Southampton. September 29, 1778 part established as Westhampton. September 29, 1778 part annexed as Southampton. June 17, 1785 part included in the new district of Easthampton, April 15, 1850 part of Hadley annexed. March 12, 1872 bounds between Northampton and Westhampton established. June 23, 1883, Northampton incorporated as a city. September 5, 1909 part annexed to Holyoke. April 21, 1914 bounds between Northampton and Easthampton established. This city is about five and one-half miles wide (north and south) by six and one-half miles east and west. Its area is 25.5 square miles equal to 22,720 acres. Its population in 1920 was 21,951. Net bonded indebtedness at close of 1924 was $512,000. Tax-rate, $28.10.

The Beginnings—There appears little doubt that the real projectors of the scheme that finally gave the organization of Northampton was John Pynchon, son of William Pynchon, the founder of Roxbury and Springfield, Elizur Holyoke, son-in-law of John Pynchon, and Samuel Chapin. Without wearying the reader with a long original petition, asking for this grant of land, it may be said that a second petition supplemented the first and this last one, signed by John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin, asked that the original prayer be heard, and stated that twenty-five families at least, were desirous of forming a new settlement, "many of them," to use their own words, "of considerable quality for estates and fit matter for a church when it shall please God to give opportunity that way;" and further on it is stated that "the inducement to us in these desires is not any sinister respect of our own, but that we, being alone, by this means may have some more neighborhood in your jurisdiction."

This petition was granted by the General Court, May 18, 1653 and Messrs. Pynchon, Holyoke and Chapin were chosen as com-

missioners to lay out the plantation of Non-o-tuck. The next important thing was to buy the land in question from the Indians, and this was accomplished in the same Christian spirit in which Mr. Pynchon's humane father had dealt with the red men of the forest. The Indians having sold the land to the proprietors, the title became effective, and October 3, 1653, not two weeks after the close of the sale by the Indians, the proprietors met at Springfield to confer on future steps to be taken. The twenty-four proprietors were as follows:

Edward Elmore, Richard Smith, John Gilbert, Wm. Miller, John Allen, Richard Wekley, Thomas Burnham, Matthias Foot, Thomas Root, Wm. Clark, Joseph Smith, John Stedman, Jonathan Smith, Wm. Holton, Robt. Bartlett, John Cole, Nicholas Ackley, John Webb, Thomas Stedman, Thomas Bird, Wm. Janes, John North, Joseph Bird, and James Bird.

In the language of another it may be here repeated:

> It is a somewhat singular fact that of the twenty-four petitioners for the settlement of Non-o-tuck only eight settled here, viz., Edward Elmore, William Miller, Thomas Root, William Clark, William Holton, Robert Bartlett, John Webb, and William Janes.
>
> The home-lots of the first settlers were located in the vicinity of what is now known as Market, Pleasant, King, and Hawley Streets. As the plantation increased, settlements were next made west of the "old church," and later south of Mill River.
>
> The pioneers evidently gave but little attention to the laying out of streets and it has been said that they were laid out by the cows, the inhabitants building wherever these animals made a path.
>
> The causes which drove the fugitives from their native country to Plymouth Rock were still fresh in their minds, and the settlement had hardly been effected ere a movement was made toward the erection of a house of worship. It was placed under the control of the town, the town voting for the selection of a minister, his wages, etc. The first meeting-house was contracted to be built by five of the settlers, and to be completed by the middle of April, 1655.
>
> March 13, 1657, the town employed an agent "to obtain a minister, and to devise means to prevent the excess of liquors and cider from coming to town." This commission alone clearly portrays the character of the pioneers of Northampton. They were religious and temperate, firm in the right, and with a strength of character that rendered them conspicuous. They left their impress upon the following generations, and the "New England traits of character" have ever been synonyms with honesty, uprightness, sobriety, and Christianity.

The difficulty with the Indians in later years—the King Philip's war and later conflicts are treated elsewhere in this work, hence omitted here.

CENTRAL PART OF NORTHAMPTON, MASS., IN 1859,
SHOWING THE COURT-HOUSE, FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, ETC., AS SEEN FROM THE ROAD IN A NORTHEASTERN DIRECTION.

City Hall. Public Library. First Congregational Church. Court-House.

CENTRAL PART OF NORTHAMPTON, MASS., IN 1879.

Early Events—The first druggist in this section was Levi Shepherd, who came from Hartford, locating here in 1765. Later the firm was styled Shepherd & Hunt. Their drugs were imported, and their trade extended over a large scope of territory.

The Hampshire Gazette of 1786 contains an advertisement of Breck, Shepherd & Clark, who inform the people that "they have just received a fresh supply of goods, which they propose to sell for Cash, Grain, Pork, Potash, Salts, Flaxseed, etc." The printing-office advertises for sale the first, second, and third part of Webster's Institute, also Watts' Hymns, and one copy of Col. Humphrey's poem. Soon after this date an advertisement of Levi Shepherd appears, and also of Prescott & Dixon.

In the issue of March 4, 1787, James Sheperd is authorized to receive the several articles hereinafter enumerated, at the price thereunto annexed, for all arrearages of taxes assessed during the year 1784, viz.: good merchantable beef at 1s. and 8d. per hundred; pork at 3½d. per pound; wheat, 5s.; rye, 3s. and 6d.; corn, 3s.; oats, 1s. 6d.; peas, 5s.; beans, 5s. per bushel; well-dressed flax, 8d. per pound; wheat flour, 16s. per hundred; good tobacco packed in casks, according to law, 25s. per hundred; potash, 16s. per ton; pearlash, 39d. and 10s. per ton; and on all nails the same sum shall be allowed as in the stores in the town of Boston.

Soon after its settlement Northampton became an important point in Western Massachusetts. Before and during the Revolution it kept pace with other towns in the Commonwealth and its places of entertainment, such as inns, taverns or hotels were numerous and well ordered. At the close of the Revolution, 1794, Ashael Pomeroy, who had been a brave soldier in that struggle for independence, built the Warner House, which was one of the fixed institutions of Northampton for a period of seventy-six years. It was sold in 1821 to Oliver Warner, hence its name. It was kept by various landlords and finally, on the morning of July 18, 1870, the old building succumbed to the flames. Another prominent hotel was the old Mansion House. In those times the stage-line from Northampton to Boston and Albany, frequently had eight stage-coaches arrive and depart in one day, but with the advent of railroads the blast of the horn and the crack of the driver's whip has forever ceased. Fifty years ago the hotels of this place were the Hampshire and the Nonotuck.

Among the great fires of the place before 1872 was that of May 19, 1870, when the Hunt building and the celebrated old Ed-

wards church edifice were destroyed and the fire, July 18, the same year, when the Warner Hotel, the Warner Block and Lyman Block were reduced to ashes, by a fire started in the kitchen of the hotel.

The matter of a fire company was early agitated here, and a department was formed, but the details of the same are lost with the lapse of years. The present records begin with 1854, when a series of by-laws and a constitution were had and a fire company fairly equipped. Ansel Wright and Benjamin E. Cook were among the first chief-engineers.

The first attempt to furnish Northampton with water was made in 1867, when the experiment of organizing a water company was made. Not enough stock-holders could be secured and the enterprise was abandoned. July 26, 1870 just after the big fires of that season, above named, a meeting was held and a committee consisting of D. W. Bond, J. S. Lathrop, M. M. French, Lucius Dimock, and Luke Lyman were appointed to investigate various plans for supplying Northampton, Florence and Leeds with water. One thousand dollars was appropriated to defray their expenses. The result was the issue of $200,000 in town bonds and the appointment of a board of water-commissioners. In 1871 an act of incorporation was obtained. Work commenced in May, 1871, and on September 11, the reservoir was filled. It had an area of three to four acres and had a capacity of four million gallons. The supply was from sundry mountain streams and springs found in the towns of Northampton, Westhampton, Chesterfield and Williamsburg. These works were finished in the autumn of 1871 and were really tested in December that year. The pressure was indeed wonderful. At Florence, a perpendicular stream was thrown to a height of seventy feet. Up to February, 1879, these waterworks had cost $208,836. The number of miles of water pipes laid at the above date was twenty-one; gates eighty-four and street hydrants, 123. The present (1925) number of miles of sewers is 68; number of catch-basins is 1,410; miles of water pipes eighty-seven. The two reservoirs of the water-system today, have a capacity of 505,000,000 gallons; number of water meters is 3,489; water service connections, 4,081; fire hydrants, 674. The last great extension was made in 1902-05. Total cost $1,068,000.

Gas and Electric Lighting—The Northampton Gas Light Company was incorporated in 1853, by W. H. Stoddard, S. A. Fish, and Daniel Kingsley. In 1855 a company was organized. The

works were completed in 1856 at a cost of $35,000. The first building (a restaurant) was lighted on the night of December 12, 1856. Joseph Lathrop was the first president and the first superintendent was J. A. Shepherd.

Electric Lights were first seen in Northampton about 1884, when a small plant was installed, near the gas works, but was not very successful—people were not ready for innovations—so it operated for less than two years. The next attempt proved successful when the Northampton Lighting Company was incorporated with Chauncey E. Pierce as its treasurer. The date when "lights were turned on" was November 15, 1886. Changes in owners and methods have been made from time to time. The present company, known as the Massachusetts Lighting Company was established January 11, 1907, and the electricity is purchased of the Turners Falls Power and Light Company.

The First Electric Cars to be introduced here were those operated in 1892, by the proprietors, J. A. Sullivan and John C. Hammond, who took over the old defunct horse-car line and introduced electric power. From that beginning has come the present excellent system of street and interurban railway lines of today.

The Town and City Halls—For many years after Northampton was incorporated it held its town meetings in the Church, and later in the courthouse. The first town hall was finished in 1823; it stood on the corner of Main and King streets, and was rented to the town several years at $175 per year. The town then purchased it and used the same until 1849, when a new location was obtained and in 1850 the present building was erected.

The present Fire Department has equipment including Steamer No. 1, Florence; Steamer No. 2, Masonic station; Hose Co. No. 2, Bay State; Hose Co. No. 3, Florence; Hose Co. No. 4, Leeds. The present chief-engineer is John H. Marlow.

Early Events of Interest—The first building used exclusively for school purposes in Northampton was on the eastern portion of the meeting-house hill, east from the site of the present courthouse. The first town house (also used for court purposes) stood on a part of the court-house lot and it was erected in 1737.

The first postoffice in Northampton was kept in the store of Robert Breck & Son, at the corner of Main and King streets, where the First National Bank now stands. The first postmaster

was Robert Breck. The first newspaper published here was the Hampshire Gazette, in 1786. The first banking house in Northampton was the "Northampton Bank," opened in 1803, and was succeeded in 1813 by the Hampshire Bank.

The first ferry between Northampton and Hadley was established in 1661, when Hadley was first settled. It was then known as Goodman's Ferry. The first bridge over the Connecticut at Northampton was built in 1808. The fifth bridge at the same site was constructed in 1878. The first jail was built in 1707, at Main and South streets. It was sold in 1760 and for a dozen years there was no town jail, but in 1773 a jail was built of logs, on Pleasant street. In 1801 a new jail was provided; it was built of stone and stood on the side of the old one. The present jail was built in 1853 on Union street. The first mill built in Northampton was in 1658 on the north bank of Mill River, just west of the gas works. The regular naming of the streets was by a committee in 1826.

The first railway constructed into Northampton was the Connecticut River Railroad, opened in December, 1845. The next year it was built to Greenfield and in 1849 on to the Vermont line. The "Canal Road" was built in 1855 and the Massachusetts Central was opened in 1887. The first street railway (horse) was built in 1866. The first savings bank here was the Northampton Institution for Savings, organized October, 1842. Northampton was organized as a city the first Monday in January, 1884.

Population—The population of Northampton in colonial days was 1,790; in 1800 it was 2,190; in 1850, 5,278; in 1900 it was 18,643; in 1910, 19,431 and according to the 1920 United States census it had reached 21,951.

Churches—There have been many churches of various denominations in Northampton. It would require more than one large volume to outline their history. A brief review of these churches is here only attempted. The first church and parish according to an historical account written many years ago by J. R. Trumbull reads as follows:

> In the original document asking permission to plant a new settlement on the "Conetiquot" River, the petitioners described Nonotuck as a suitable place for "propagating the gospel, . . . whereby they might live and attend upon God in his holy ordinances without distraction." Accordingly, the first public act of the early settlers was the erection of a house of wor-

ship. They arrived in October, 1654, and in April, 1655, the building was completed. The contract for this house is as follows:

William Holton
Richard Lyman
Joseph Parsons
John Lyman
Edward Elmore

They are to build a house for the Towne of Northampton, of Sawen Timber, 26 foot long & 18 foot wide, 9 foot high from the lower pt of ye cell to the upper part of the raisens.

And to frame the Roofe of Sawen Timber 4 pair of Rafters with Coller beams, 7 great laths 5 inches broad 3 inches wide, the Spars 6 inches one way & 5 the other, with the punching for the gable ends 5 below the coller beams, one above. Two chimny-peeces, 4 braces for the roofe nailed on, only the Towne must find ye nails & help to raise ye roofe. Two halfe Somers & one Somer & Mortis, the Somers for the joyce & to make a doorway, two window places, the peeces 8 inches thick below & 6 above this, to be done by the middle of April, next, under the same forfeit which the Towne agree for their part, for which the said partyes are to have £14 of the Towne & ye foresaid partyes must out of this pay their rates to the house, & the rest of the £14 the Towne is to pay in worke or corne as they shall agree upon by the middle of April next, 55.

This instrument has no date; there is no intimation that the house was intended for religious purposes, and no entry on the town records of any vote authorizing such a building. That it was so used, however, there can be no doubt, for in 1658 the burying-place is fixed upon "Meeting-House Hill," which would not be thus designated unless a meeting-house stood upon it, and in 1661 a vote was passed to erect a "new meeting-house." The location of this building is not known other than it was upon Meeting-House Hill, and upon that elevation a house dedicated to the worship of God has ever since occupied a prominent position.

The first minister called was Rev. Mather, who was called in 1658, three years before the real organization of the church. It will be remembered that in those days the town and church were closely connected and that the people were taxed for church purposes the same as for other things connected with the local government. A meeting-house had been built and a minister called before the organized church was perfected in its entirety. This was known as "The First Church of Christ in Northampton." In 1668 forty-six articles of faith were adopted. By 1663 seventy-eight settlers had arrived. The first meeting-house served seven years. It had no steeple nor bell. In 1663 it was converted into a school-house. The next church building stood seventy-seven years and had but three settled pastors—Revs. Eleazer Mather, Solomon Stoddard and Jonathan Edwards.

The Edwards Church (named in honor of Jonathan Edwards) was made up of members from the First Church, and was formed in 1833 during which year a church building was erected and

served until burned in 1870, when the new church that had to be erected was changed in site to its present location.

The First Baptist Church was formed in Northampton, April 30, 1824, with eleven members. Prior to that date a few Baptist sermons had been listened to in this section of Massachusetts and when the first persons were baptized according to gospel ceremonies and methods, more than one thousand persons were curious on-lookers at the rite of immersion at the riverside. Rev. Benjamin Willard was the first pastor.

The Second Congregational Society in Northampton was organized in 1825. This was the beginning of Unitarian church life in Northampton. The corner-stone of their church edifice was laid with Masonic rites, May 25, 1825.

The Methodist Episcopal Church of Northampton was formed in 1842, but services had been held by this denomination for a dozen years prior to that time, by Revs. Ward and Knight. A building was erected in 1851.

The first Protestant Episcopal Church services in Northampton were held in August, 1826, and the corner-stone of their first edifice was laid June 13, 1829.

St. Mary's Catholic Church of Northampton was formed in the early thirties, a lot was purchased on King street in 1834 and ten years later a church building was erected. In February, 1866, the Northampton parish was erected. Since the above events this denomination has grown to be very strong in the community and their work is broad and highly successful.

With the passing years and decades other churches have been formed here until today the list includes the following:

First Baptist, First Church of Scientists, Edwards Congregational Church, First Church of Christ (Congregational), Florence Congregational Church, St. John's Episcopal, B'nai Israel Congregation (Hebrew), First Methodist Episcopal, Second Methodist Episcopal, Florence, Church of Assumption (Roman Catholic), Church of St. Catherine the Martyr, St. Mary's Church of the Assumption (Roman Catholic), Sacred Heart (Roman Catholic), Church of the Blessed Sacrament, St. John Contitus Polish (Roman Catholic), the Unitarian Church, Free Congregational Society (Unitarian).

The Young Men's Christian Association is strong in Northampton and own a handsome property on King street.

Lodges—Here as is the general rule in all intelligent communi-

FORBES LIBRARY, NORTHAMPTON

ties in America for the last three-quarters of a century secret, civic and benevolent societies and fraternities have been popular. The first lodge organized in Northampton was Hampshire Lodge of Masons, January 30, 1784. This much is known and nothing more appears of record. Jerusalem Lodge was chartered June 13, 1797. The petitioners resided at South Hadley where its sessions were held for many years. Its charter members were Samuel Alvord, Thomas White, Frederick Milton, Joseph White, Justin Alvord, E. Goodman, Jr., Adonijah Nash, Joseph Kellogg, John Bennett, Jr., Bezulial Alvord, E. Dwight, and Simeon Goodman. The lodge moved from South Hadley to Northampton in 1802. In 1807 it was moved to Williamsburg, where it remained until 1817, then back to Northampton, its present home. Although demanded by the Grand Lodge, this lodge refused to surrender their charter during the trying years of the Morgan excitement in the forties and later, when secret societies had a ban upon them in many sections.

The Royal Arch Chapter was constituted here in 1825; the Commandery of Knights Templar was instituted in 1870-71.

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows lodge was instituted March 11, 1845. The lodge surrendered its charter in 1866 and had it restored September 16, 1872. It is known as Nonotuck Lodge, No. 61.

Following these ancient and honorable orders have grown many many others and a directory of various lodges and societies here in 1925 is as follows: Masonic, in all of its degrees, including Eastern Star work of the ladies; Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and their auxiliaries; Knights of Pythias, founded in 1865, in Washington, D. C.; the Knights of Columbus, (Catholic Order); Ancient Order of Hibernians, (Catholic Order); Ancient Order of United Workmen; Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, No. 997; and several other beneficial societies.

Public Libraries—The chain of steps leading up to the present splendid equipment found today in the two public libraries of Northampton commenced with the Northampton Social Library, followed by the High School Lyceum Library ,and in 1834 by the Northampton Young Men's Society. In 1839 a book club was formed. In 1845 came the Young Men's Institute of which Henry Bright was president. In 1850 this library was moved into the new town hall. April 21, 1853 under a new law in Massachusetts, an act was granted by the Legislature incorpor-

ating the "Young Men's Institute." The first catalog of this library was published in 1857. Since 1860 the town or city has appropriated for public library funds. As to buildings it may be stated that: In 1868 lots were purchased from donated funds furnished by E. H. R. Lyman on Whiting Street. At the annual town meeting in 1869, a vote was passed appropriating $25,000 for the purpose of erecting a memorial hall and public library combined in one structure. This was conditioned only on the proviso that an equal amount should be raised from other sources. The largest sum was subscribed by John Clarke, amounting to $7,000 of which $5,000 was for the building fund and $2,000 to the Young Men's Institute. The full amount was raised in the summer of 1871. In July, 1869 occurred the death of Mr. John Clarke, who in his will left the sum of $40,000 in trust to the town of Northampton, for the benefit of the Public Library. With such an excellent fund to draw from the work of providing Northampton went forward rapidly. The building was finished and the books moved into the new "Memorial Hall and Public Library" in March, 1874. The total cost of building and grounds was $77,249.79.

In 1881 Judge Charles E. Forbes left his entire estate, about a quarter of a million dollars, to establish another library. This institution was opened in 1894 and in 1903 contained 90,000 volumes. This is known as "The Forbes Library." January 1, 1925 the total number of books was 180,849. This includes the books once kept in the Clarke Library.

In 1916 the Clarke Library was transferred to the Forbes Library, since which time the two have been combined.

Twelve years after the founding of the Clarke Library, the Free Congregational Society gave books to found a library at Florence, to be a branch of the main library. Alfred T. Lilly provided this branch with a building and hence its name "Lilly Library."

Smith Charities—This institution was founded by Oliver Smith of Hatfield who died December 22, 1845, leaving an estate valued at $370,000. In his will Mr. Smith directed that a board of trustees should be constituted in the following manner: The towns of Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Amherst and Williamsburg in Hampshire county and Deerfield, Greenfield and Whately in Franklin county, should choose at each annual town meeting persons who should consist a board of trustees to have control and man-

NORTHAMPTON

MAIN STREET

SOUTH STREET SCHCOL

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH

POST OFFICE

TOTEM TEA ROOM

agement of all funds. He then set apart $200,000 which was to be managed by the trustees as an accumulative fund, until it should amount to $400,000. This was to be divided into three distinct funds. One was for $30,000 for the Smith Agricultural School; $10,000 for the American Colonizing Society; third, $360,000 for the benefit of indigent boys and girls and young women and widow women. Since the will went into effect in October, 1848 to May 1, 1924 (last year), there had been paid to the people of the eight towns named, $2,659,004. The taxes paid by this institution have amounted to $403,635. The amount paid for boys, $884,500; for girls, $257,000; widows, $425,000. The amount on hand at present is $1,677,724.

The Clarke Institution for Deaf Mutes—This was the first institution in the United States where the deaf were taught to read the lips and the dumb to speak. It was chartered in 1867, and endowed by the founder, John Clarke, in the sum of $50,000. The benevolent founder died in 1869, and made the institution his residuary legatee. By 1880 the total endowment amounted to $365,000. It was first located in the old Gothic Seminary on Gothic street, but in 1870 was moved to its permanent home on Round Hill, on an eleven acre plot, which has been wonderfully improved with the passing years. Much of the early success of this school was the efforts put forth by its first principal, Miss Harriet B. Rogers, elected in 1867. This school was long before the experiments made in instructing the now celebrated Helen Keller, but along the same fundamental lines. The names of the original incorporators are as follows: Osmyn Baker, William Allen, Lewis J. Dudley, Julius H. Seelye, George Walker, Gardiner G. Hubbard, Theodore Lyman, Horatio G. Knight, Joseph A. Pond, William Claflin, James B. Congdon and Thomas Talbot, elected in 1867.

It should be stated that the founder of this institution was the same Clarke who so generously founded "The Clarke Public Library" now a part of Forbes Library.

The Cooley-Dickinson Hospital—The doors of this institution were opened to the public on January 1, 1886. It was founded by Caleb Cooley Dickinson, of Hatfield, to be a free hospital to those unable to pay for the services there to be rendered. It is located on the corner of North Elm and Locust streets, on an original tract of sixteen acres in one of the finest sections of Northampton, in the Florence district. This land was furnished by the city.

The original wooden hospital building was replaced by the present modern brick structure and an isolation building erected. In 1902, Thomas M. Shepherd built the Shepherd Surgery as a memorial to his father, Henry Shepherd. In 1920, in memory of Alexander McCallum, there was built a magnificent, large brick structure from funds supplied by Mrs. Alexander McCallum and George Bliss McCallum, the same being known as the "Nurses Home and Training School." This building stands a little way from the main hospital building and was founded, according to the markings on its face, "For the Welfare of Nurses."

In all that is excellent, this hospital affords the best of modern equipment, as well as skillful nurses and physicians who care for those needing treatment. The grounds of these premises are indeed beautiful, at any season of the year. It is within easy access to the highway and car line, yet far enough to be quiet at all times in the various wards.

The foundation of this splendid hospital and Nurses Training School rests upon the legacy of about seventy thousand dollars from Caleb Cooley Dickinson. The site was practically donated by Northampton. The legacy of Emerson Draper amounting to twenty-seven thousand dollars and that of Mary Williams, nearly nine thousand dollars, were received in 1900. The commodious annex, was given in 1901 in memory of James G. Wright by his sisters.

The institution is well managed by a board of trustees of representative citizens.

State Hospital for the Insane—This institution was established in Northampton in 1854. The buildings were commenced in 1856; the cornerstone was laid July 4th, by Masonic hands. Its original cost was $430,000. Since 1867 the institution has been self-sustaining and more land has been added, making a half section in all. (For a general history the reader is referred to the State Reports on Public Institutions).

United States Veterans' Hospital No. 95 has a large group of buildings erected on Bear Hill, in the northern part of Florence, dedicated May 12, 1924, for the care of shell-shocked soldiers of the World War. It has accommodations for about five hundred patients.

The Old Ladies' Home (Lathrop Home)—This humane institution was opened November 10, 1884 for the reception of in-

SMITH COLLEGE

COLLEGE BUILDINGS AND CAMPUS
BIOLOGICAL LABORATORY AND STUDENTS' BUILDING
LIBRARY—BOAT HOUSE

mates. The Home owes much to the wisdom of its first president, Mrs. A. Lyman Williston. The first year twenty women were admitted and treated free by various physicians of Northampton. This institution stands out prominently as an example of the kindly spirit of charity on the part of many persons both within and outside the various churches. Its walls are sacred to many whose relatives have here received tender care and medical aid. It was not an easy matter to raise the necessary funds to establish this Home. It was easier to collect for far away Japan and the "India's coral strand" than for the homeless and friendless who have shelter and peace within its walls. But the community was fortunate in having men and women who saw their duty clearly and donated for the worthy cause. The Home was first situated in a private residence, not far from the present site on South street. The new building, a fine red brick structure at No. 215 South street was opened September 22, 1921, and was the munificent gift of Mrs. Fanny B. Look, erected in memory of her mother, Mrs. George H. Burr. It has a capacity of caring for thirty-eight women. In July, 1925, there were thirty-two inmates. These aged ladies pay twenty dollars per month for their keeping. The grounds are very attractive and all about the premises has the appearance of a well-kept and happy Home. The present matron is Mrs. E. A. Trow.

The Peoples' Institute—This institution was founded in 1887 under the name of the Home Culture Club. At first, meetings were at private houses. The foundation principles are that the individual must be considered in his relation to his home, and the family as the unit of society.

In 1892 the students of Smith College offered their services, and from that time the town and College have co-operated heartily. Lyman House in Center street, was established in 1894, through the liberality of E. H. R. Lyman, and in 1904 it was enlarged.

The Flower Garden competition was begun in 1899. The Women's Council came into active work in 1901. The School of Household Arts was begun in its present domicile, the Harriet James House, in 1904. Carnegie House was built in 1904-5. The Model Garden was established in 1906.

What is now the People's Institute, all came from the establishing of the above mentioned Home Culture Club, by that talented novelist, George W. Cable who resided in Northampton after 1884 for many years. He died in Florida in January, 1925, aged

eighty-one years. Being a close friend of the Iron Master, Andrew Carnegie, he paid him a visit in his home in Scotland and there got a glimpse of Carnegie's "garden contest" and wanted him to aid in establishing the same in Northampton, and later he induced Mr. Carnegie to build the present magnificent and spacious building on Gothic street, the cost of which was $65,000, all of which Mr. Carnegie donated.

In 1894 E. H. R. Lyman donated the old Methodist church building on Center street which was remodeled and used for the first Club House. The Home Culture Club was chartered in 1906.

The work of the Institute has materially built up the love and true care for flowers in the city, and all departments of the institute have benefitted citizens generally. Domestic Science, Recreation, Work Groups, Fresh Air Babies, Better Homes, Magazine articles, each and all have been thoroughly worked by the members of this Society.

The present officers of the organization are: President and chairman of the Executive Board, Dr. John A. Houston; William E. Shannon, vice-president; Harry N. Gardiner, secretary; Edwin K. Abbott, treasurer; the trustees last year were: George W. Cable (founder), Calvin Coolidge, (now President of the United States), William Cordes, Mrs. J. W. Heffernan, Mrs. B. B. Hinckley, William A. Neilson, Chauncey M. Pierce, Mrs. L. W. L. Scales, Mrs. L. M. Scoville, Walter L. Stevens, Miss Mira B. Wilson and the officers. The Director up to August, 1925 was Annie E. E. Simmons.

Chamber of Commerce—The Northampton Chamber of Commerce has an active membership of over five hundred and is a thoroughly up-to-date organization. Other civic societies include the Associated Charities, Red Cross, Civic League, Children's Home Association and City Planning Board.

Academy of Music—It is believed that Northampton has the only endowed municipal theatre in the country, the same being the Academy of Music, which play-house was given the city in 1892, by a native son, the late E. H. R. Lyman, and it is administered by a board of trustees, of which the mayor of the city and the president of Smith College must be members. It is a beautiful, modern structure and in it has gathered many a large audience, to listen to the most noted speakers of the country. Here the immense audiences are wont to congregate, for all pub-

lic occasions, including concerts, lectures and speeches, theatrical plays, moving pictures, etc. The commonwealth may have as good, but none more excellent than this building.

Educational Interests—The important matter of schools was very early in the minds of the pioneer band who located in Northampton. It was first the Church, then came the education of the rising young that engaged the attention of these first comers to the place now so noted as an educational center. The first record book shows that in 1663 the town voted "to give Mr. Cornish six pounds toward the school and to take the benefits of the scholars, provided that he teach six months in the year altogether." A grammar school was established in 1712 and the experiment of such a school was to run for a period of twenty years. In April, 1835 a boys' high school was established. A year later the girls' high school was provided for. In 1852 the higher branches were first taught to both sexes in the same school rooms. In 1863 a handsome school building was erected in Florence, by Samuel L. Hill, at a cost of $33,000. In 1864 Northampton had a large high school building erected at an expense of $37,000, eight thousand of which was the gift of J. P. Williston.

The present (1925) public schools of the city include these: High school, Hawley Grammar school, Bridge Street school, Florence Grammar school, Hospital Hill school, King Street school, Leeds School, Mount Tom school, Pine Grove school, Pine Street school, Prospect school, Slough Hill school, South Street school, Vernon Street school, West Farms school, Williams Street school, Auxiliary Classes, and the Compulsory Continuation school.

The total number of pupils in 1924 was 3,504, of which number the grades had 2,944; High school, 471; mixed, 68; kindergarten, 21.

The school rooms are entirely insufficient in size and number to accommodate the increasing number of pupils seeking admission to the public schools. This question is just now agitating the minds of the best men and women in the city.

There are at present two excellent parochial schools in the city.

Of the private schools of today may be mentioned the Smith College for Girls, of which see later; Burnham Preparatory School for Girls; Northampton School for Girls; Clarke School for Deaf, mentioned elsewhere; Hill Institute; Northampton Commercial College and Smith Agricultural College.

With reference to early private schools here it should be said

that "Round Hill School" was established by the celebrated George Bancroft of United States History fame, associated with J. G. Coggswell, in 1824. It was the finest private school in Massachusetts at that date, and continued until 1830.

The Gothic Seminary, on Gothic street, was built in 1834; was conducted by Miss Margaret Dwight as a young ladies seminary and continued until the decease of its founder in 1846.

Northampton Collegiate Institute was established in the defunct Gothic Seminary, by Lewis J. Dudley, in 1849 and continued until 1862, after which the building was occupied by the Clarke Institution for Deaf Mutes. Later the place was used as a Medical Home for invalids, by Dr. A. W. Thompson and was then called Shady Lawn.

Smith College—From various reliable sources the following facts concerning the object and history of the greatest young ladies school in the United States—"Smith College"—have been collected especially for this work on Western Massachusetts:

Smith College was founded by Miss Sophia Smith of Hatfield, Massachusetts, who bequeathed for its establishment $393,105, a sum which in 1875 had increased to almost half a million dollars. She also appointed the first trustee of the College, selected Northampton as its seat, and stated as its prime object *"the establishment and maintenance of an institution for the higher education of young women, with the design to furnish them means and facilities for education equal to those which are afforded in our colleges for young men."*

The College was incorporated and chartered by the State in March, 1871 and thereby empowered "to grant such honorary testimonials, and confer such honors, degrees, and diplomas as are granted or conferred by any university, college, or seminary in the United States." It opened in September, 1875, with fourteen students and granted its first degrees in June, 1879.

The Rev. John M. Greene, D.D., pastor of the Church at Hatfield, first suggested to Miss Sophia Smith the idea of this college and was her confidential adviser in her bequest. The foundation for a Chair of Greek was established in his honor. The fortune with which this institution was made possible, was left to the founder by her brother Austin Smith, nephew of Oliver Smith, founder of the Smith Charities institution of Northampton.

The College is Christian, seeking "to realize the ideals of character inspired by the Christian religion. It is, however, entirely

SMITH COLLEGE—CAMPUS VIEWS

unsectarian in its management in instruction. As there is no College church the students are expected to attend the churches of the city. They are expected to be present at the daily religious exercises of the College. A volunteer vesper service is held on Sunday afternoons in the John M. Greene Hall. The religious life of the College is further expressed in Smith College Association for Christian Work, membership in which is open to students and faculty, whatever their religious affiliations. In this organization are united the various religious and philanthropic activities of the College."

One remarkable feature of this college is the fact that it has just celebrated its semi-centennial anniversary, and has had but three presidents, as follows: Rev. L. Clark Seelye called from a professorship at Amherst College, and administered the presidency for thirty-seven years with marked success, and then became President emeritus and in the autumn of 1924 passed from earth. Upon his voluntary retirement he was succeeded by Rev. Marion Le Roy Burton, who served as president from 1910 to 1917, when he resigned to become president of the University of Minnesota and subsequently to take the presidency of the University of Michigan. The third and present president of Smith College is William Allen Neilson, a Harvard professor, who is giving an able administration.

The fiftieth anniversary occasion was saddened by the death of both Dr. Seelye and Dr. Burton, whose presence had been expected at the June anniversary, this year.

It has been said that President Seelye's ideal of a college for woman was the "refined and intelligent gentlewoman," that President Burton's ideal was "culture plus efficiency," that President Neilson's is "culture and liberty."

The campus of this institution contains twenty modern buildings, including Sage Hall, by Mrs. Russell Sage; the John M. Greene Hall, by John D. Rockefeller, and others; the Library, by Andrew Carnegie, and others; the Observatory, by President L. Clark Seelye and A. Lyman Williston, in honor of their wives.

The summary of students attending in 1924-25 is as follows: Freshman Class, 529; Sophomore Class, 554; Junior Class, 478; Senior Class, 462; Graduate Students, 49; Non-Collegiate Students, 8; total number of students in 1924-25, 2,008.

Laurel Park and the Chautauqua Assembly—Among the educational institutions for which Northampton is famous may justly

be reckoned the Chautauqua Assembly at Laurel Park. The park itself is a beautiful natural grove of chestnuts, pines, and maples. It covers a hundred acres. It is three miles from the center of the city and is reached by the trolley line to Hatfield. The Boston and Maine and the New Haven lines of steam railways have stations within a short distance from the entrance of the park. The Connecticut Valley Chautauqua was organized in 1890. For nearly as many years before, the grove had been used by the Methodist Episcopal church for Camp Ground purposes. It had been dotted with tents and frame cottages; an auditorium was built and boarding halls accommodated the thousands who annually attended these meetings. Dr. W. L. Davison was superintendent of the Chautauqua from 1895 on for many years. This enterprise has sometimes been styled "The People's University." With the annual return of the Chautauqua season one may see people coming in from far away points to take advantage of the literary treat in store for them. Most all the noted speakers of the country have spoken from the platform of the pavilion on these charming grounds.

Newspapers of Northampton—The "Hampshire Gazette" is the pioneer newspaper in Hampshire county, the date of its founding being September 6, 1786, more than one hundred and thirty-eight years old. It is the ninth oldest paper in the United States; and the third in Massachusetts. The "Salem Gazette" was established in August, 1768 and the "Worcester Spy," July 17, 1770. The "Northampton Gazette" was established by William Butler, then only twenty-three years of age. He came from Hartford, Connecticut. He also had a book-bindery and conducted a book store. It announced itself as being " a few rods east of the courthouse." There being no mails in this region then, the papers were circulated by post-riders whose route was as follows: Hadley, Amherst, and Belchertown; to Easthampton and Southampton; to Westhampton, Norwich, Middlefield and Chester; Roberts Meadow, Chesterfield and Worthington; Williamsburg, Goshen, Cummington, Plainfield, and Hawley; to West Hatfield, Conway, Ashfield, Buckland, and Charlemont; Hatfield, Whately, Sunderland, Deerfield, Greenfield, Shelburne and Heath. The paper was then a weekly.

Six years after the founding of the "Gazette" the Northampton postoffice was established, the date being 1792 and for many years

NORTHAMPTON—PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S RESIDENCE

SMITH COLLEGE—PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE

it was the only postoffice in the county. Mr. Butler, proprietor of this paper, built the first paper mill in the county. The first directory for Hampshire county was published by the "Gazette." During the Mexican War a daily was conducted a short time and also in the Civil War from April 25th to May 25th, 1861 it appeared as a daily. The name of obsolete newspapers in the town of Northampton is legion. Like Tennyson's Brook, the "Hampshire Gazette" "goes on forever."

The Militia and Armory—Northampton has always been noted for its excellent military company, since the pioneer days when she had to defend herself against the savage Indians. As it is not the province of this work to repeat too much familiar history, it is sufficient to say that Company I, of the Second Massachusetts regiment, long represented the "consummate flower," of Militia organizations in Northampton. Under the present National Guard system, the military here is represented by Company G, One Hundred and Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, with Captain L. J. Levalley in command.

After the Spanish-American War, the city erected a brick armory by an appropriation of $17,000. It stands on the corner of King and North streets. It was built in 1900; dedicated in the fall of 1901 and taken over by the State in 1914.

Northampton Postoffice—The present government postoffice building was first occupied in January, 1905, prior to which date a private building had always been leased for postoffice uses. The grounds on which this postoffice stands cost the government $14,000 and the building itself cost $70,000. The present number of postal employees is forty-seven; letter carriers, fourteen; number mail trains daily, twenty-one each way; number of free rural deliveries, two. The present postmaster is Charles H. Sawyer; assistant postmaster, Edward A. Barrett. Postmaster Sawyer's commission bears date of May 19, 1924. The branch postoffices are Florence, and stations No. 3 and No. 5.

Railways—Northampton and its railway service are mentioned in general remarks on railways elsewhere, so it only needs to be stated in this connection that the city has the Boston & Maine and the New York, New Hampshire & Hartford systems, entering a modern union station, centrally located. These highways, together with the net-work of interurban lines and numberless

auto-bus lines, speeding hither and yon to almost every point in western Massachusetts, give ample facilities for both passenger and freight traffic.

American Legion—Post No. 28 of this military society at Northampton was organized in July, 1919 with sixty-two charter members. The first commander was Major A. G. Beckman. The present membership is about two hundred and eighty-eight. The 1925 officers are: Commander, Wallace Howes; Vice commander, Warren Gere; Adjutant, Arthur S. Fretz; Financial officer, Jesse A. G. Andra. The post meets in Memorial Hall.

There are also Posts of this order at Ware and Amherst, this county.

In passing from the military topic it should be stated that during the Civil War period from 1861 to 1865, Northampton responded loyally and promptly in sending men and means to carry on that great conflict. There were seven hundred and fifty-one men furnished by this town and the expenses connected with the paying of bounties to soldiers who enlisted in the various calls for troops amounted to ($71,512) seventy one thousand, five hundred and twelve dollars.

In the Spanish-American War, Northampton furnished her quota through its National Guard system, spoken of elsewhere.

The Grand Army of the Republic Post of Northampton has dwindled down by reason of deaths and removals until only thirty-six now remain on the roll which at one time contained hundreds. It will be recalled that the last gun was fired in that great conflict sixty years ago.

Banking Interests—The old Northampton Bank, organized in 1803, was the first banking house of the place. Its directors were: Ebenezer Hunt, Jonathan Dwight, Samuel Porter, Oliver Smith, Benjamin Prescott and Erastus Lyman. The first president was Levi Shepherd, and Levi Lyman the first cashier. In the autumn of the same year the bank went into operation, when a new board was chosen, and Samuel Henshaw was chosen president, Mr. Lyman continuing as cashier. This institution only survived about a dozen years.

The New Hampshire Bank was organized August 15, 1813, when the following were directors: Joseph Lyman, Ebenezer Mattoon, Seth Wright, Oliver Smith, and Ebenezer Hunt, Jr. Joseph Lyman was elected president, and Thomas Swan cashier.

The capital stock was $100,000. This concern continued for twenty years and all of that time under the presidency of Hon. Joseph Lyman.

The Northampton Bank, of which the Northampton National Bank is the successor, was organized April 13, 1833, with a capital of $100,000 and in 1837 increased to $200,000. The first board of directors was as follows: Eliphalet Williams, Thomas Napier, Lewis Strong, and John Hopkins of Northampton; David Mack, Jr., of Amherst; Thomas White, of Ashfield; and Nathan Coolidge, of Hadley. Eliphalet Williams was president, until he resigned in 1850 and was followed by J. D.Whitney.

The First National Bank was the successor of the Holyoke Bank, which was organized in 1848, with a capital of $100,000. It increased its capital in 1849 to $150,000, and in 1850 to $200,000. It was organized as the First National Bank of Northampton, May 2, 1864, with a capital of $300,000. In 1865 the capital increased to $400,000, and in 1869 to $500,000. The bank was located in the second story of the building on the corner of Main and Pleasant streets until 1865, when the present bank building was erected, corner Main and King streets, at a cost of $40,000.

Hampshire County National Bank was organized in May, 1864 and was chartered with a capital of $100,000. Luther Bodman the original promoter, was made its president, with W. C. Robinson cashier. In 1864 the stock was increased to $200,000, and a year later to $250,000. A bank building was erected in 1872, costing $26,000.

The Northampton Institution For Savings was incorporated March 1, 1842. The incorporators were: J. H. Butler, Samuel L. Hinckley and Stephen Brewer. C. P. Huntington was the first president.

The Northampton Savings Bank was organized in May, 1869, with J. C. Arms as president, Lewis Warner as treasurer and Luther Bodman as secretary.

The Florence Savings Bank was organized April 5, 1873. January 1, 1879, the deposits amounted to $89,000.

The above banking institutions had operated in Northampton before 1879 and the present banking interests are as follows: Two National Banks, a Trust company, three Savings Banks, and a Co-operative Bank and the "Smith Charities," making a grand total of deposits amounting to ($25,000,000) twenty-five million dollars.

The Northampton National Bank, shows by its late statement,

resources and liabilities amounting to $4,959,427. Deposits $3,-997,599. Its officers are Warren M. King, president; Chauncey H. Pierce, vice-president; Edwin K. Abbott, cashier.

The First National Bank has resources and liabilities amounting to $3,645,826. Total deposits $2,908,258. The present directors are: Edward L. Shaw, Frank E. Clark and William Astill, et al. The cashier is Elbert L. Arnold.

Northampton Institution for Savings, established in 1842, corner Main and Gothic streets, shows by its statement of January 2, 1925, assets and liabilities, $10,146,092. Amount of deposits was on that date $9,415,290—almost ten million dollars. The present officers are Edwin F. Stratton, president; Henry M. Tyler, John L. Lyman, vice-presidents; Walter L. Stevens, clerk of corporation. The treasurer is Ralph E. Harlow.

The Hampshire County Trust Company is managed by a board of forty directors; in the month of July, 1925, its officers were Gordon L. Willis, president; John W. Mason, vice-president; Arthur W. Witherell, treasurer; Harold R. Newcomb, manager savings department. It had on the date of its last statement, resources and liabilities amounting to $2,597,990. Its deposits were then $2,247,527. This institution was then on the "Roll of Honor" among the banks of the United States. This means that it protected its depositors doubly, by having surplus and undivided profits amounting to $182,922 in addition to its capital of $150,000. This is five times the usual legal banking requirements. Not more than one bank in five the country over can boast of such a condition.

The Northampton Co-operative Bank, now thirty-six years old, has liabilities and resources amounting to $4,021,219. It commenced in 1890 with assets amounting to only $11,222; in 1920 it had $1,840,702. The guarantee fund has been increased $10,524 or to $69,197. Their cash account shows a balance on hand of $140,835. The officers are Louis L. Campbell, president; Richard W. Irwin, vice-president; Herbert R. Graves, treasurer. The affairs are under the watch-care of a board of twelve directors.

The Florence Savings Bank, incorporated in 1873, on the petition of Samuel L. Hill, George A. Burr, A. T. Lilly, A. L. Williston and Isaac Parsons. A. T. Lilly was the first president. The 1925 officers are William Cordes, president; A. M. Ware and Homer C. Bliss, vice-presidents; E. C. Hillenbrand, treasurer; the trustees are: H. C. Bliss, F. R. Barnes, H. J. Campbell, R. H.

SMITH COLLECE—JOHN M. GREENE HALL

SMITH COLLEGE—PARADISE POND, SHOWING PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE IN BACKGROUND

Cook, William Cordes, F. C. Ely, E. F. Foley, E. E. Graves, E. A. Haven, H. B. Haven, E. C. Hillenbrand, S. W. Lee, E. M. Plimpton, W. H. Rice, H. E. Riley, O. M. Smith, A. W. Ware, A. C. Warner, and their clerk is Frederick C. Ely.

On July 1, 1925 the liabilities and assets of this bank were $1,763,628.18. Amount on deposit on that date $1,590,472.77. The assets in real estate loans was $1,077,871 all of which shows an excellent condition.

The 1925 officers and trustees are as follows: President, William Cordes; vice-presidents, Arthur W. Ware, Homer C. Bliss; treasurer, Ernest C. Hillenbrand; Board of Investment, William Cordes, A. M. Ware, W. H. Rice, H. B. Haven and H. J. Campbell; Trustees, H. C. Bliss, H. J. Campbell, R. H. Cook, William Cordes, F. C. Ely, E. T. Foley, E. E. Graves, E. A. Haven, H. B. Haven, F. R. Barnes, H. C. Hillenbrand, E. M. Plimpton, W. H. Rice, H. E. Riley, O. M. Smith, A. M. Ware, A. C. Warner, W. E. Caldwell; Clerk of Corporation, Frederick C. Ely. Since 1919 this bank has paid a dividend of four and one-half per cent.

Nonotuck Savings Bank, at No. 81 Main street, was organized on February 9, 1899 and eleven of the trustees are still serving on the board. Its present officers are Orville W. Prouty, president; first vice-president, H. N. Gardiner; second vice-president, C. W. Kinney; treasurer, Sterling R. Whitbeck. The first treasurer of the bank was John Prince. The first president was George L. Loomis, of Northampton, who died in 1901, and was succeeded by Henry L. Williams, who served till his death in 1917, and was succeeded by Calvin Coolidge, now President of the United States. Following Mr. Coolidge came the present president, Orville W. Prouty. In the early part of 1921 the building known as the Lambie building was bought and in 1904 the bank was removed from its former place in the First National Bank building. The present assets of the "Nonotuck" are in excess of $1,800,000.00. Its published assets and liabilities on April 17, 1924 were $1,805,-073.50. Deposits by five-year periods: 1904—$648,854; 1909—$768,966; 1914—$961,241; 1919—$1,373,494; 1924—$1,663,832.

Northampton Bank Robbery—The principal facts concerning one of the greatest bank robberies in the country in which over a million dollars of money and bonds were taken from the Northampton National Bank, may be given in the following paragraphs:

On Wednesday morning January, 26, 1876 it was discovered that the National Bank had been robbed at Northampton. The

night before seven masked men had entered the home of the cashier, John Whittelsey and took charge of the seven inmates of the house and handcuffed them and bound them. They then compelled the cashier to give up the combination to the vault from which they took $12,000 in cash and nearly $800,000 in bonds, and decamped.

The house of Mr. Whittelsey was occupied that night by the following persons: Himself and wife, Miss Mattie C. White, of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, a niece of Mrs. Whittelsey, and Kate Nugent, the kitchen girl; also by T. B. Cutler, a "Hampshire Gazette" printer, his wife, and Miss Benton, an invalid lady, making seven occupants of the home, the sleeping rooms all of which were on the second floor.

After the robbers had secured their loot they hid the same in the schoolhouse on Bridge street, under a little board beneath the blackboard, where it remained until one of the robbers was suspected of treachery by the other six, when it was taken from the schoolhouse and carried to New York City, for safer keeping. The sequel as given at the time this robbery happened is as follows:

The case was immediately placed in the hands of the Pinkerton Agency, and that astute and experienced detective and his assistants strained every nerve to ferret out the robbers. After the lapse of many months suspicion seemed to rest upon Robert Scott, James Dunlap, "Red" Leary, and William Connors as the real personnel of the gang. The burglars, however, upon discovering that they had taken over $1,000,000 in money and bonds, felt very secure, as they knew that the individual losers would be only too anxious to recover the stolen bonds, and that they would be safe even if suspected, and immediately negotiations for a compromise were begun. William D. Edson, a salesman for the Herring Safe Company, and the same person who opened the vault after the robbery was committed, began ostensibly to assist the bank-authorities in negotiating for the funds, and he was soon suspected of "having a hand in it," which proved true. Edson was one of the gang, and had been connected with the robbers a number of years while in the employ of the Herring Company as salesman and lock-expert, which readily gave him access to any bank using this company's safe. He was concerned with the gang in the attempt to rob several other banks in this part of the East.

At last Edson was charged with being an accomplice, and for a sum of money (likely $10,000) he went to the Pinkerton Detect-

ive Agency and gave a detailed account of the entire robbery, which led to the arrest of Scott, Dunlap and Connors, and to the flight of Leary. The real cause doubtless which led to the revelation by Edson, was his unsuccessful attempts to secure his portion of the plunder. Connors escaped from the Ludlow Street jail, but Scott and Dunlap were tried and convicted in Northampton, and sent to State prison for twenty years. At last account the stolen bonds had never been recovered.

Calvin Coolidge's Home—The Chamber of Commerce of Northampton have the following biographical facts concerning President Calvin Coolidge attached to the present-year literature which goes out over the country:

Born at Plymouth, Vermont, July 4, 1872; son of John C. and Victoria J. (Moor) Coolidge. A.B. Amherst College, 1895; Studied law with Hammond & Field, Northampton, Massachusetts. Married Grace A. Goodhue, of Burlington, Vermont, October 4, 1905. Began practice of law at Northampton, 1897; Councilman, Northampton, 1899; City Solicitor, 1900-01; Clerk of the Courts, 1904; Chairman Republican City Committee, 1904; Member General Court of Massachusetts, 1907-08; Mayor of Northampton, 1910-11; Member State Senate, 1912-15; President of the Senate, 1914-15; Lieutenant-Governor, Massachusetts, 1916, 1917, 1918; Governor of Massachusetts, two terms, 1919-20; Vice-president of the United States, 1921-23; took the oath of office as President of the United States, August 4, 1923.

Ever since Mr. Coolidge located here as an attorney, he has maintained a home on Massasoit street.

Industrial—A part of the industries of Northampton have been noted in the section on that part of the city known as Florence, hence only need be referred to in this connection. We refer to the great silk mills—the "Nonotuck," established in 1830 by Mr. Whitmarsh, and which have now grown to be world-famed for their productions. The word "Corticelli," is a household word and stands for a superior grade of silk. The plants are situated at Florence and Leeds, suburbs of Northampton. As far back as 1880 there were five hundred persons employed in this industry.

The Belding Brothers Silk mills were established in Northampton in 1874 in the building once used by the Arms Manufacturing Company. Another silk industry was established here in 1844, known as the "Warner's Silk Mill." Northampton is

noted as a silk manufacturing center and includes the plants above mentioned, also the McCallum silk hosiery industry. Other industries of note and importance are the following: Prophylactic brushes; cutlery, filtering plants, indelible ink, paper boxes and bottles, sulphate pulp, shovels, baskets, in which industries are now employed over four thousand men and women.

A city directory published in 1924 gives a list of manufacturies in Northampton, including these items: The Williams Basket Factory, one of the largest in the world, established in 1850; Blank-book Manufactory; New England Bottle Manufactory, makers of purity paper bottles and cups; The Kingsbury Box and Printing Company; Braid Manufactory—the Corticelli Silk Company; two Brick-making plants; Pro-phy-lac-tic Brush Company, where tooth brushes, hair brushes, nail brushes and lather brushes are made in endless quantities; The "Jif-E On Chair" Company's plant; The Clement Cutlery Company; The International Silverware Company; William A. Rogers (Limited) Silverware Company; Sash, Doors and Blinds; An Elevator Manufacturing Company; The Norwood Engineering Company, makers of Hydrants, etc.; The Wood Pulp Factory at Mount Tom, known as the "Mount Tom Sulphite Company."

Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary—On June 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1904, Northampton celebrated the Quarter-Millennial anniversary of its settlement, the same having taken place in A.D. 1654.

The first anniversary of the settlement had been made in 1854, on October 29th when Rev. William Allen, D.D., a former president of Bowdoin College, later of Northampton, suggested and became the leader of the first celebration which marked the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement. This affair was held in the Old Church and was well attended. Dr. Allen delivered the address and a choir of old folks sang an original hymn.

It was fifty years later that occurred the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary. It was not until the winter of 1903 that any definite steps were taken toward the event. The venerable editor of the "Hampshire Gazette," Henry S. Gere, had called attention, in his paper, as to the importance of the approaching event, and the desirability of celebrating it in a suitable manner. During the winter just mentioned a petition was circulated and received several hundred signatures approving such a celebration. Charles F. Warner, a descendant of one of the early settlers of the town started

SMITH COLLEGE—GILLETTE AND NORTHROP HOUSES

SMITH COLLEGE—BOTANICAL GARDENS

the petition to the city authorities, asking them to take action toward the celebration. The petition read as follows:

To the Honorable, the Mayor, the Board of Aldermen, and the Common Council, of the City of Northampton, Mass.:

The undersigned, citizens of Northampton, respectfully represent that the coming year, 1904, will mark the two hundred and fiftieth, or quarter-millennial, anniversary of the settlement of Northampton; and whereas, it is fitting, patriotic and desirable that the people of this city should recognize the event in some proper public manner; and, whereas, the Legislature of this State has, by Chapter 109, of the Acts of 1902, given towns and cities the power to appropriate money for the observance of "Old Home Week," in the last week in the month of July:

Your petitioners, the undersigned, therefore ask your honorable bodies to take steps, by the appointment of a committee of both boards, with the mayor of a member ex-officio, and a committee of three or more citizens to be named by the mayor, to act together in formulating a plan for the combined celebration of "Old Home Week," and the 250th Anniversary of the settlement of Northampton, during the last week of July, 1904, or at such other time as may be deemed suitable, said committee to have permission to call upon such other citizens for sub-committees, in executive capacity, as may be necessary. And to the end that such celebration shall be a fitting, comprehensive and proper one, your petitioners ask that such committee be appointed at once, that they may have ample time to make the great anniversary one worthy of the historic interest which is attached to the city by the country at large, and commensurate with the pride possessed in her by her sons and daughters.

This petition was circulated and signed by three hundred and forty-eight names. A mass-meeting was held and the petition acted upon favorably by the mayor and council. Mayor Hallett soon announced the appointment of committees, every society, trades union, individuals, board of aldermen, Common council, city clerk, Egbert I. Clapp and Mayor Henry C. Hallett, all being represented on such committees. Charles F. Warner was chosen secretary at the first regular meeting.

Easthampton, Westhampton and Southampton, together with all the surrounding towns and villages took part in what turned out to be recorded as "the biggest anniversary ever held in New England." Even a list of the names of those who served in an official capacity on committees and otherwise would take the space allotted for this article, hence the long roster of names must here be omitted.

Every hour of every day of this celebration was crowded full of unique, historic and highly interesting events. Education, Religion, Civic life, Municipal life, Industrial life, Street Parades of

rare and never-to-be-forgotten beauty, each and all had their important places. Whether old or young, whether resident or stranger within the gates, all classes here found what can rarely be seen again, so long as Time endures. An oration was delivered by ex-governor John D. Long, while the address of welcome was by President L. Clark Seelye, of Smith College.

Among the notable invitations sent out by the committee on invitations was one to Edward Lewis, Mayor of Northampton Borough, England, after which Northampton, Massachusetts, was named. While Mayor Lewis was not permitted to be present Hon. Samuel S. Campion, an Alderman of Northampton, England was present to represent a place that was founded before America was discovered. His speech was historic and very witty.

The floats making up the grand parade were works of real art and will never be forgotten by any who chanced to see them. The closing function of this master celebration was given by Betty Allen Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Tuesday evening, June 7th, 1904. The fire-works must have been seen to be even partially described. They were divided into fifty-two sections and the last number was the motto—"Adieu." This motto was composed of immense double-line letters, and sun cases over the top threw a rainbow arch of fire, to close the exhibit.

Notwithstanding fifty thousand people participated in this anniversary, it passed off without accident of special note. No loss of property, or general disorder day or night. Although the saloons were open and did a thriving business no drunken men were seen upon the streets. This feature was the talk of all present.

After the great celebration had ended a book was published containing five hundred and twenty pages, giving a full, authentic history of the entire affair with names of all committees, and a detail of each day's program. It was profusely illustrated and printed in high modern art style. Its selling price was three dollars and many copies are still found in the homes of Massachusetts. Its title reads "The Meadow City's Quarter-Millennial Book, 1654-1904."

Northampton City Officials—Since Northampton was incorporated as a city in 1884 the following have served as mayors: Benjamin E. Cook, Jr., 1884-87; Arthur G. Hill, 1887-89; Jeremiah Brown, 1889-91; Jasper E. Lambie, 1891; John B. O'Donnell, 1892-94; Harry A. Kimball, 1894-96; Henry P. Field, 1896; John L. Mather, 1897; Henry P. Field, 1898; John L. Mather, 1899-1900;

Arthur Watson, 1900-01; Henry C. Hallett, 1902-05; Theobold M. Connor, 1905-07; Egbert I. Clapp, 1907-; James W. O'Brien, 1908-10; Calvin Coolidge, 1910-11; William H. Feiker, 1912-16; Alvertus J. Morse, 1917-20; Michael J. Fitzgerald, 1920-22; Harry E. Bicknell, 1922-24; Edward J. Woodhouse, 1924; William H. Feiker, 1925.

The present (1925) city officials include these: William H. Feiker, mayor; Aldermen, Ward One, Daniel D. Moriarty; Ward Two, George W. King; Ward Three, Edward L. Olander; Ward Four, Samuel A. Eyre; Ward Five, Austin W. King; Ward Six, Howard A. Marshall; Ward Seven, Robert P. Emrick.

City Clerk, James R. Mansfield; City treasurer, Albina L. Richard; City auditor, Horace C. La Fleur; Collector of taxes, John L. Warner; City physician, Sidney A. Clark, M.D.; City solicitor, Jesse A. G. Andre; City engineer, William I. Baucus; Superintendent of Streets, Edward H. Latham; Superintendent of Waterworks, A. H. Tillson; Assessors, Frederick M. Starkweather, Chairman; Chief of Police, George W. Gilbert; Captain, Michael J. Lyons; Sergeant, Bartholomew Bresnahan.

The number of persons subject to military duty in 1924 was 3,640; assessed polls, 5,930; number of dwellings in 1923 was 4,162; assessed valuation 1924, $25,026,340; total tax-levy, $657,000; county tax, $45,178; tax-rate per thousand, $25. Exempt valuations, $8,000,000; net bonded indebtedness January, 1924, $423,200.

CHAPTER XIII

FLORENCE

While the location known as "Florence" is not and never has been a separate incorporation, but is a part of the city of Northampton, yet it has had a distinct and interesting existence apart from the town and city government of Northampton. From the early days of Northampton until 1847, what is now Florence was known as "Broughton's Meadow." After 1810 it was simply styled "Warner's School District." The Northampton Association of Education and Industry started in 1842, and while it existed the common term given to the settlement was "The Community." In 1848 these three names gave way to Bensonville, and when two years later Mr. Benson failed, and the old name became objectionable, the village was called Greenville, from the new cotton company. In the autumn time of 1852 the villagers about to have a postoffice established, sought a new name. "Shepherd's Hollow" with its woolen mill had been named "Leeds" after Leeds, England, and the name of the great silk center of Italy was offered by Dr. Munde as a suitable name for the place now called Florence. The people thought well of the name and since then that portion of Northampton has been called "Florence."

Its first settler was Joseph Warner; in 1812 the place had only seven houses and in 1847 had only reached a few more than a dozen houses. The first industry here was the manufacture of silk. It was believed that the mulberry tree could be made a success and between 1835 and 1845 it was the all-prevailing speculation. While the scheme was a failure, yet it was not without good results, for between four and five hundred acres of mulberry trees were set out and cultivated, under leadership of Samuel Whitmarsh. Many people moved in and high hopes were entertained for the silk industry from native grown mulberry leaves from which silk was to be made in large quantities. The silk has been made there but the raw material comes from abroad and not from the soil of Hampshire county.

The population of Florence in 1860 was 1,000; in 1863, 1,200; in 1867 it had reached 2,000; by 1895 it was estimated at 3,500. The census of 1920 gave Florence 2,490.

The first store in Florence was established by the "Northampton Association" in 1842. Members of the "Community" (of which later) purchased their goods at ten per cent above actual cost. December 28, 1852 a postoffice was established at Florence. Other postmasters, after I. S. Parsons, the first one, were J. L. Otis, Henry F. Cutler, J. F. Angell, H. K. Parsons and William M. Smith who was commissioned in 1891.

In the days before the Civil War, Florence was an important station on the "Underground Railroad" (a secret route by which abolitionists aided fugitive slaves from the southern states to Canada where they were not legally held as slaves) but of the very nature of the case, a complete history was and never can be written. Those who ran it upon the principles of the brotherhood of man did so at their peril. One of the station-points at Florence was the home of Samuel L. Hill; others who were active agents of the system, (which, of course was unlawful in view of the famous Fugitive Slave Law), were A. T. Lilly, Charles C. Burleigh and Mary W. Bond. Quite a number of "through passengers" temporarily took up their abode in Florence, where the general public opinion was in their favor.

Educational—Until 1866 Northampton was divided into two school districts. Each district had a complete organization of its own. The district in which Florence was located was named "Warner District." Leeds was then styled "Rail Hill District." The printed record of the town begins with 1838. The first school house was a one room structure on North Main street. In 1845 the expense for schools in Florence district was $94.00. At that date a half cord of wood sold at $1.25 and to saw and split two cords of stove-wood cost $1.00. But now the schools of this part of the town of Northampton are all intermingled with the remainder of the city schools and are covered in their reports elsewhere in this work. Both the now popular systems of Kindergarten and Manual Training schools, had their origin in Florence, the former in 1876 and the latter in 1892. There may have been earlier attempts at founding Kindergarten and Manual Training schools in the United States, but certainly there were but few and there is no record of them.

The Florence Lyceum for many years was an interesting feature of the village life. Wonderful debates were held on many topics by local men and women, with also some from other sections of the country.

The Lilly Public Library, a fine collection of books, etc., donated by A. T. Lilly, has now become a branch of the Northampton Public Library system.

The Florence Dramatic Club, the Sewing Machine Band, the Eagle Baseball Club, the Fire Department, each and all had their day and gave a real zest and spirit of liveliness to old and young, within the community known as Florence.

The military record of Florence from away back is one to be proud of. Company C, Tenth Massachusetts regiment, the first to go from Hampshire county, was well represented from Florence, as she has been in various other regiments ever since. In passing it may be of historic interest to note that the infamous Wirz, who had charge of Andersonville rebel prison-pen in Civil War times, was employed two years just prior to that conflict, in the water-cure establishment of Dr. Munde at Florence.

Industrial—Florence has long been known for its manufacturing interests. Its earlier factories are spoken of in the article on the old "Community." The following treats in brief on the plants having operated since the dissolution of the Community:

The Nonotuck Silk Company stands first in the list of industries. It was the result of the mulberry fever and silk enterprise of Samuel Whitmarsh. The original mill was burned in 1852 and a new plant reared better than the former. The Nonotuck Silk Company was incorporated in 1866 for $75,000. Later additions were made by the company at Leeds and Haydenville. In 1895 the capital of the concern was $1,000,000.

The Florence Furniture Company was formed in 1873, on a $20,000 capital. In 1892 the Norwood Engineering Company was formed to operate a general machine and foundry business. The Crown Braid Company, the Hiram Wells Company, machine works and lesser concerns came in about the same date.

The Florence Manufacturing Company was established in 1854 to make *papier-mache* buttons, picture frames, cases, etc. Later this concern took up the manufacture of tooth brushes and made a specialty of the Prophylactic pure aluminum goods. Additions and changes have gone forward until it is now a great plant, the largest of its special line in the world.

The Florence Tack Company was formed in 1874 to make tacks and small nails. Fire consumed the works and in 1877 was rebuilt, but in 1892 the company failed. The Florence Sewing Machine Company was formed in 1861 and in 1862 had a capital

of $200,000. In 1866 the capital was $500,000. In 1882 the Crown Sewing Machine superseded the "Florence."

In November, 1890, the Central Oilgas Stove Company was organized and took over thirteen oil stove factories in various parts of the United States. The company also absorbed the old Florence Sewing Machine Company. Among other products of these works is the manufacture of wood cabinets for silk manufacturers, the Crown sewing machine and many kinds of oil stoves.

The present large industries in Florence center around the silk and brush manufacturing establishments.

The Florence "Community"—About 1835 Samuel Whitmarsh purchased of William Clark four hundred acres of land, embracing the site of present Florence. A company was formed with a capital of $150,000, called the New York and Northampton Silk Company. This purchase included the old oil mill and the water power. Mr. Whitmarsh soon went to Europe in search of a better variety of mulberry seed. He brought back a large amount of what he was pleased to call "Alpine mulberry." One hundred acres of meadow land were planted out to this variety of mulberry. Excitement ran high, people from all over the country came this way to take advantage of the new scheme for money-making. It proved a speculative bubble and when it burst hundreds were financially ruined. In 1840 the property was purchased by Captain Joseph Conant, and in 1842 he sold it to the Community Association or as it was generally known "The Community." The objects of this association were "progress toward a better state of society and the development of a true social and moral life." Its founders were doubtless attracted hither by the failure of the silk company and the sale of its property. The total investment of the association was $50,000 its members numbering one hundred and fifty, and the estate included about five hundred acres of land, a silk factory, saw and grist-mill, and five houses. One department of its business was the making of silk, and from that beginning has come the modern-day silk works, the Nonotuck Silk Company. The Association or Community was dissolved in 1846. But seed had been sold for a manufacturing place and such has the place been even since. This unique "Community" was made up of many kinds of people—all were good and temperate persons and nearly all were anti-slavery, liberty-loving men and women. Some had the Quaker element in their make-up,

while others were "cranks" on vegetable diet. No distinction was made on account of color, race or sex. After four years of struggle and partial success, it was deemed wise to disband. It was here that anti-slavery advocates gathered. Frederick Douglass was introduced to Northampton through the Florence Community circle; among the curiosities kept sacred in Florence, is a stone that was thrown at Frederick Douglass while he was trying to speak to a Northampton audience. Sojourner Truth, the famous African slave woman was here; the New Hampshire concert singers "The Hutchinson Family" were heard in Florence, more than once.

Churches—October 20, 1860, the "Florence Church Society" was organized and the following season a neat church was completed. It goes without saying that it was a Congregational church. The Methodists, however, were first to preach in Florence and in 1848 came Rev. Thomas Marcey as a supply. In 1855 Rev. Jonas M. Clark was appointed pastor of the newly formed church. The Church of Annunciation was formed in 1878, although Catholic services had been held long before. The Free Congregational Society of Florence had its start, really, in the days of the old "Community." Among the improvements brought to Florence through this society was the building of Cosmian Hall, a noble edifice holding seven hundred persons, which was largely donated by Messrs. S. L. Hill, A. T. Lilly and a few others. Its cost was $40,000. It was dedicated in 1874.

PART III

BERKSHIRE COUNTY

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY

Berkshire county is bounded on the north for fourteen miles, by Bennington county, Vermont. The town of Monroe, in Franklin county, Massachusetts, juts into its northeastern boundary, joining it for about four miles at this point on the north. The southern line of the county runs nearly twenty miles along the northern boundary of Litchfield county, Connecticut. The western boundary line of the State and county dividing it from New York, is almost fifty miles long. The counties of Hampshire, Hampden and Franklin are next east of Berkshire, the dividing line being very irregular in its outlines; the average breadth of the county is twenty-eight miles. Its area is 950 square miles. A noted professor of geography regards the great inland topographical feature of New England to be a double belt of highlands, separated by the deep and broad valley of the Connecticut. He regards these as belts, not simply two ranges. He says in substance: "They are vast swells of land, with an average elevation of a thousand feet above the level of the sea, with an average width of fifty miles, from which, as a base, mountains rise in chains or in isolated groups to an altitude of sometimes several thousand feet more. The western belt which bears the general name of the Green Mountains is composed of two principal chains with several smaller ones which run along them. Between the principal chains a longitudinal valley can be traced, although with some interruption from Connecticut to Northern Vermont."

The rise of the valley is irregular. In Connecticut its bottom is five hundred feet and in places seven hundred feet above sea-level. In Southern Massachusetts it is eight hundred feet. It rises thence two hundred feet to Pittsfield and one hundred more to the foot of Greylock, whence it descends to an average height of a little more than five hundred feet in Vermont. Thus it is in Berkshire county that the western swell presents, if not the most elevated peaks, the most compact and consolidated structure. Hence it will be observed by the logic of Professor Guyot, Berkshire is really the summit county of the Green Mountains, and this together with others of local character, gives it a marked individuality.

The contrast between the rugged and almost unbroken wall by which the Hoosacs separate Berkshire from the rest of the commonwealth, with the thin barrier by which the narrow Taconics with their infrequent passes, divide it from New York, will impress the reader.

The line between Berkshire and Vermont is marked by rude and massive mountains, the highest, Bald Mountain, in Williamstown and Clarksburg, being 2,270 feet high. Still they are so separated as to afford along this short boundary, roads of a moderate grade. The valley through which the North Branch of the Hoosac enters Clarksburg leads into a good section; but the grand pass is that of the main Hoosac river. This affords an easy passage both to Vermont and the great West generally. It was earliest known as an Indian war-path, but was of interest after the Indian War. Through it the Berkshire militia and the Connecticut Commissioners went to join Ethan Allen in the capture of Ticonderoga, and it enabled the men of the county to reach the battle field of Bennington speedily. Over it a portion of Burgoyne's captive army marched to Boston, and in many ways it has long been noted.

The most conspicuous feature of the interior topography of Berkshire, as one that has great influence upon others, and also upon the history of the county, is the Greylock chain of hills, which divides equally, a large portion of the northern section. The pioneers in Central Berkshire saw what looked to them like a single noble mountain crowning the valley at the north with its grand and graceful double summits. As outlined against the sky these summits bear a strong resemblance to those of a saddle, and so it was that they come to known as Saddleback Mountains. Its highest peak is 3,500 feet above sea-level; it is in the town of Adams, near where North Adams unites with Williamstown. This peak is known as "Greylock" and is mentioned by the poet as "Greylock, cloud girdled on his mountain throne." This is the most elevated mountain top in all Massachusetts.

The watersheds of this county are numerous and diversified. In the northeast corner the streams flow into the Deerfield river. The Westfield river rises near the center of Savoy. Then there is the Farmington river, rising in Becket town. Other beautiful streams include Kinderbrook, Stephenton creek, Berry Pond, a charming little lakelet on the summit of the mountain. Green river, Hoosac river, Dalton river, Yukon river, May brook, Wil-

liams river, Konkapot brook, are all streams that gladden the landscape scenes of Berkshire county and have ever been duly appreciated by the generations as they have come and departed. And while Berkshire county is known as the "Mountain County" of the State, it is also noted for its many fine creeks, rivers and lakes. Within its borders there are more than a hundred lakes of varying size, some of these are Lake Ashley, and Berry Pond on the Taconic summit, lie upon the mountain-tops and are fed by never failing springs. Others include Lake Mahkenac, Pontoosuc, Onota, Buel, Great Lake, Rand's Pond and scores of sheets of water which rejoice the heart of man. These lakes originally had an abundance of fish and in recent years the State and United States have stocked them with many species of useful fish including trout, salmon and these have increased until today the fishing, under rigid laws, has come to be a very interesting feature of out door life during the "fishing season."

Geological Formations—Without attempting to treat the county's geological strata in any detail manner, in passing it should be noted that the chief mineral wealth found here is in the iron ore, marble, limestone, and granular quartz. The earliest settlers found immense quantities of rich iron ore in masses from boulders of a ton's weight to that the size of a pebble. Beds of this ore are still found in the Berkshire fields, and rich deposits are known to exist in the drift of the valleys. The profusion of the surface boulders made iron the first manufacture in Berkshire, after potash and leather; all beginning soon after the pioneer settlement was effected. The opening of mines and the substitution of blast-furnaces for the forges first employed, increased the business.

Marble and limestone have been great features in the development of this goodly section of Massachusetts. The dark blue limestone found in Great Barrington and Sheffield quarries, have long yielded their substantial incomes in the products which found ready market over a wide scope of territory. The largest portion of the National Capitol, at Washington, D. C. came from the white marble quarries in Lee of this county. The Sheffield quarries furnished the white marble for the Berkshire court-house; also found stone for the completion of parts of the National Monument at Washington. These quarries are found in many other towns of the county, but their location and distance from reasonable transportation forbids their development, as yet. Another

valuable stone formation is stealtite or soap-stone which has found its way into many avenues of trade in the last half century. One of the largest quarries of this is at Middlefield, Hampshire county, and it extends over into Hinsdale, Berkshire county.

The virgin soil of Berkshire was originally well adapted to the growth of grains, including wheat. Outside the Connecticut valley, New England has no better agricultural sections than Berkshire affords.

CHAPTER II

EARLY SETTLEMENT OF BERKSHIRE COUNTY

It was more than fifty years after every other part of Massachusetts had been settled to quite an extent, before Berkshire county had a single settler within her borders, save an occasional Dutch trader who lived among the Indian tribes at Housatonuck. It was in the year 1670 when the first daring pioneer constructed his rude log cabin on what was destined to be "the dark and bloody ground" of Deerfield. Until about 1725 the country westward from the Connecticut to the Hudson river was an unbroken wilderness. Later on the Indian troubles and the unsettled Connecticut-New York and Massachusetts state line questions all had a bearing and retarded the further settlement of Berkshire county. In 1724 the Westfield Indian treaty was effected between the whites and Chief Konkapot and "twenty other Indians." This opened up for settlement a large area of land and included the present towns of Sheffield, Great Barrington, Mount Washington, Egremont, most of Stockbridge, West Stockbridge, and Lee as well as a small portion of Alford.

In 1731, the survey of boundary lines was made between New York and Connecticut and this also affected Massachusetts and Berkshire county. After these matters had been adjusted and the Indian tribes had made peace treaties, the settlement commenced in earnest in Berkshire.

Early Customs—About two centuries have passed since the real settlement was effected in this part of Massachusetts. The pioneers came here when the forests were unbroken and dense—the forest kings were supreme in their sway and power. The first highways were simply widened Indian trails. Only the things absolutely necessary could be brought into this wilderness by the first comers. First the pioneer had to build his cabin home by felling small trees and fastening their notched corners. These log houses were usually about fifteen to eighteen feet square and seven feet high. Often no floor was laid for a number of years until mills were cutting lumber freely. Every cabin had a fireplace with its chimney made of split sticks plastered with mud or "slime" from clay and water. One door was provided and its

hinges were made from wood and its latch had its "latch-string" hanging out through the day and pulled inside at night—this "locked" the door! The bedsteads and chairs were made by the use of poles and slabs and hewed pieces made by much hard work and a few edged tools. Sometimes wooden trenchers were made and kept on rude shelves. A dinner pot, a dish kettle, a frying pan and a bake kettle constituted the entire stock of iron ware. When the "house" had finally been thus equipped it served the purpose of a kitchen, drawing room, sitting room, parlor, and bed room, and sometimes a work-shop as well. For the man of the house had to mend his sleds in winter and make ox-yokes at other times during the year. Much of this work was accomplished in the "long winter evenings" of which poets love to write. The light furnished on such working-hour occasions was usually from the rousing fire in the fire place already mentioned. Sometimes a "coon's oil lamp" was used. Here also later on in the settlement, might have been heard the raking of hand-cards and the whir of the spinning wheel; for in those days the clothes for both summer and winter wear had to be made by hand loom process. At first the pioneer wives had to color or dye the goods after woven into suitable cloths. Flax was much used in cloth making. Woolen goods were mostly home made and a "broadcloth coat" was an evidence of either unpardonable vanity or unusual prosperity.

It almost goes without saying that the first settlers were plain livers and were satisfied with hasty pudding, Johnny cake, or corn pones, the meal for which was ground in a pioneer mill, or wooden mortar. The dainties such as short cakes were set before visitors only. But such food produced a healthy, robust family of children such as is not known where modern sweetmeats are made the daily diet for the growing children.

Nearly every article used in the house or on the farm was home-made, for the era of factories had not yet been ushered in. The expert tailoress, if faithful and not afraid of long hours, received twenty-five cents per day and a girl doing house work received seventy-five cents a week. Shoe shops were many and at first it was a paying trade. Some of the shoemakers went from house to house and made up the family's shoes. The village or country blacksmith was supposed to find time in which to make all the wrought nails needed in the community. Wooden pins were employed wherever possible, but in cases wrought nails must needs be used. Rivets, horse shoe nails and common building

wrought nails gave the smithy a large amount of work, much of this could be done in the evening by the "glowing forge so bright." "Carpenters and joiners" took lumber in the rough and did all the work of building a house, hand sawed and hand planed finishing lumber was the only method known then in these parts. Carts, wheelbarrows, cradles and coffins all had to be worked out by these mechanics.

CHAPTER III

BERKSHIRE DURING THE REVOLUTION

Of all the counties in Massachusetts, save the vicinity of Boston, Berkshire county was foremost in its activities and hardships coincident with the struggle for National Independence, this being largely on account of its being a frontier county.

The people of Pittsfield, in a memorial to the General Court, May 29, 1776, state correctly and concisely the conduct of all Berkshire up to that time. They say, "that they with their brethren in the other towns in this county were early and vigorously opposing the destructive measurers of the British administration against these colonies; that they early signed the non-importation league and covenant, raised minute men and agreed to pay them, ordered their public moneys to be paid to Henry Gardner, the treasurer appointed by the Provincial Congress, and not to Harrison Gray, appointed by the Governor; cast in their mite for the relief of Boston, and conformed in all things to the doings of the Honorable Continental and Provincial Congress."

On account of being so far inland the people of Berkshire could only act by resolution and remonstrance; and these gave no uncertain sound. The stamp act came home to them, and their opposition to it was so general and determined that Colonel William Williams, judge of probate, found it expedient to be sick and not attempt to hold a court in which he must either obey the law and require the use of stamps or disregard it and dispense with them. June 14, 1766, he wrote to the register, Elijah Dwight, of Great Barrington, "My state of illness has prevented my attention to almost any sort of business; but the stamp act being repealed, and being some better, I desire you to disperse the following advertisement as soon as may be among the several towns." Both the judge and register were at that time attached to the Province House loyal party. As time went on and the Boston Tea Party excitement was uppermost in the mind of every true American, Berkshire, including Pittsfield, became among the radical of the radicals. As the Massachusetts towns received information of the coming attacks upon the liberties they, almost without exception, declared their determination to resist and maintain them, but not often without a few dissenting voices. The

counties held "Congresses" of deputies from their towns to consider the alarming state of public affairs.

Berkshire may well be proud that she was first—and considering the rapidity with which events followed each other in the summer of 1774, by a long interval the very first—to deliberately and formally take this stand and put its act on record. The Berkshire Congress met at Stockbridge, July 6th, 1774 and was in session two days. The next in order of time was Worcester, August 9th.

Every town in Berkshire county was represented in this Congress, except what is now Otis and Windsor and there were delegates from the unincorporated towns of East Hoosac (Adams and North Adams) and Jericho (Hancock) towns. John Ashley was chosen chairman and Theodore Sedgwick clerk, both being lawyers and residents of Sheffield. A long set of spirited resolutions were unanimously adopted at this Congress in which the stamp act was bitterly opposed and King George told so in no uncertain language. Other "congresses" were held in Berkshire county but space forbids an account of their deliberations.

In the spring of 1775, Berkshire by her vigorous action was well prepared for the commencement of military activities. Her two regiments of minute men were composed of the flower of the youth of the county, and appear to have enlisted from the newly organized militia without being detached from it except when on duty as minute men. Captain Noble had command of the Pittsfield company which also contained the Richmond men. In a short time the Stockbridge Indians made up a full company and aided very materially against the English. Colonel Patterson's regiment was stationed at Cambridge and that of Colonel Fellows at Roxbury. On the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, Patterson's regiment with three others was held in reserve for the protection of Cambridge, till late in the day when they were ordered to the hill but failed to get there before the American forces had to retreat. Both of the Berkshire regiments were employed in the siege of Boston, until its evacuation. Both afterward did distinguished service in the Continental army and both their colonels were made brigadiers. While these minute men were thus engaged others from Berkshire county were rendering excellent service elsewhere and were praised for their actions on more than one campaign and battle field before the struggle ended.

Concerning the battle of Bennington it may be stated that Berkshire county may ever be proud of the way that battle ended, for she had her full part in it. The victory was complete. In both engagements Stark only lost thirty killed and forty wounded, while the loss to the enemy wounded and prisoners was more than one thousand. The prisoners alone were at least 690, of whom 400 were Germans and 175 were Tories. The fruits of victory in materials of war, were fourteen cannon, 900 dragoon swords, 1,000 stand of excellent arms, and four ammunition wagons, besides what the militia men secured personally. Most of the prisoners of war were taken to Boston under General Fellows, a portion however, being left in charge of committees in Berkshire and Hampshire. Some of these men, as well as others taken from Burgoyne, became permanent settlers and valuable citizens of this commonwealth.

One historian writes of the battle of Bennington as follows:

> No battle was fought in the Revolution which took a more powerful and permanent hold upon the hearts of the people than that of Bennington. The dark back ground which it relieved contributed much to this effect. Its result shed light and hope where before there was almost unbroken gloom and dismay. At the moment when it took place the Tories were rapidly increasing in numbers from the ranks of those whose position was determined by the prospects of success; and we find in letters of that period that in Albany and Berkshire counties even some pronounced Whigs in their alarm, were seeking the intercession of their leading opponents with Burgoyne, in case his legions should reach them. Stark's victory changed all of that, and gave the people courage and vigor to meet him victoriously. The romantic scenery of the region in which the battle was fought, and the character of the soldiery by whom it was won, also contributed much to its effect on the imagination. In the sober view of history its importance can hardly be over estimated, but its name is also surrounded by a poetic radiance which gives its memory a peculiar luster.

Berkshire County's Part in the War of 1812—At the date of the second war with Great Britain (1812-14) Berkshire county continued to show the result of her mountain isolation from the State; uniformly from 1801 to 1815 choosing Democratic members in Congress, and State Senators of that political faith, save in a single instance, when two towns went contrary to democracy. The territorial position of this county, acting as a basis of character derived from the Puritans, had made its people independent thinkers; independent at least, of almost an external influence, however biased by traditional prejudice and well preserved feuds.

Considerable as the influence of Boston ideas and public opin-

ions were on Berkshire, it was not a prepondering power. It was more than offset by the intimate business relations between this county and the States of New York and Connecticut. The various material interests which had arisen in Berkshire tended to strengthen and confirm the Democratic majority in their support of the oncoming war with the Mother Country. East of the mountains manufacturers and agriculturists were secondary to commerce and all their productions found foreign markets, while in Berkshire manufactures had assumed considerable importance, and they gave promise of becoming still greater. It was easy to see that the war would be indeed a stringent protective tariff which would greatly enhance the interests that had sprung up here, and the love of country and hope of gain thus operated reciprocally on each other.

Again, the establishment of a military post within Berkshire, of course increased the number of the supporters of war and the bitterness and antagonism of their opponents. Then another support was fostered by the establishment in this county of what was styled the "Washington Benevolent Society." This was a secret federalist organization, tending to strengthen the opponents of the war. Although the county contained more than two thousand members of this society, they were never guilty of overt acts of treason, yet it was generally understood that their sympathies were with federalists.

An organization called the "Sons of Liberty" was established to offset the secret organization just mentioned. They succeeded in electing John W. Hulbert to Congress.

The early establishment of the cantonment at Pittsfield was of vital importance to its citizens as well as to the county in general. During the first ten days after it was opened thirty men enlisted, and Lieutenant Jared Ingersoll was stationed at Sheffield, Lieutenant David Perry at Adams, and Ensign William Browning at Pittsfield, all recruiting for the Ninth regiment; Lieutenant Ralph B. Cuyler recruiting for the Sixth regiment. While the activities by soldiery from Berkshire were not in keeping with those seen in the War for Independence, yet they performed their military work well and truly in the light they saw their duty. The two regiments, Ninth and Twenty-first infanty, became noted in the army of the northern frontier for their gallantry, their efficiency and their losses. Their foremost sacrifices and greatest military achievements were won at Chippewa, Lundy's Lane,

Niagara Falls, and Fort Erie. During 1814, when the war clouds hung heavy over the young republic, an order was made for 10,000 militia men from Massachusetts and Berkshire was swift to respond to this call. A full regiment of 700 men commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Solomon H. Chamberlain, of Dalton, marched from Lenox for Boston, September 15th. These troops were kept at Boston and thoroughly drilled for ninety days and were never needed for further active service, yet willing and well trained in the matter of military tactics.

Berkshire in the Civil War—1861-65—It is unnecessary to narrate the causes of the greatest of American conflicts, in this connection, but suffice to say in beginning this brief account of the part that Berkshire county took in the great Civil War, that in common with all New England and the Nation, nothing was left undone that could be done to sustain and preserve the Union of States for which the North and South were then contending. The citizens of Berkshire may well point with pride at the response to the every call for troops made by President Lincoln during those days that really tried men's souls. Every town in this county raised its quota of men—two raised the exact number, while all others had a surplus to their credit when peace was finally declared. In looking over the records kept at that date, it is learned that the county had three hundred and eighty men more than had been demanded by the several calls. The total number of men furnished during the four-year Civil struggle was between five and six thousand. The aggregate amount of money raised by the towns in the county for war purposes was $852,946. Of this amount $262,049 was raised for State aid to the families of volunteers, and it was reimbursed by the State of Massachusetts later. Bounties were given to volunteers at various times during the war, by the several towns in Berkshire county. From $75 to $400 were given each man who would enlist and thus keep the county from being subjected to a draft. Different towns gave different amounts, but it was always a question of getting the men to the front at the seat of war, cost what it might to accomplish it. The reader is referred to other historical volumes as well as to the Adjutant General's reports for Massachusetts, for detailed accounts of the men sent forth from the various towns of this county—a record to be proud of by "parent, brother, lover and friend."

The following is a list of the military organizations in which

Berkshire county was represented by considerable numbers of soldiers: First Regiment of Cavalry, 150 men from this county; Second Regiment, Infantry, had eighty men from this county; it took part in the never-to-be-forgotten battle of Gettysburg; was at Cedar Mountain, where 34 men were killed and 120 wounded; at Antietam 13 were killed and 50 wounded; this regiment was also with Sherman on his "March to the Sea."

Other commands were the Eighth Regiment, Infantry (three months) men.

Eighth Regiment Massachusetts Militia (one hundred days men).

Tenth Infantry Regiment, of which between three and four hundred men were from Berkshire county; its colonel was H. S. Briggs. This regiment saw service in many of the hardest fought battles of the war. At Malvern Hill eighty men were lost.

The Twentieth Regiment left the State in September, 1861; was at Ball's Bluff where it lost in killed, wounded and missing, 208 men. In July, 1863, it came out of the battle of Gettysburg with one captain, two lieutenants and 116 men. It was mustered out of service in July, 1865.

The Twenty-first Regiment, Infantry, had over eighty men from Berkshire county and saw hard service; was at Antietam, where thirty-five men were killed; was at Knoxville, Battle of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Petersburg, all great engagements.

Twenty-seventh Regiment, Infantry, was raised in Western Massachusetts and about 380 men were from this county. It left the State in the autumn of 1861 and saw severe fighting over a large scope of the war territory. When finally mustered out, it only had seven commissioned officers and 132 privates.

The Thirty-first Infantry Regiment, had its camp and first rendezvous at Pittsfield and later at Lowell. It sailed from Boston in February, 1862 and was the first to land with General B. F. Butler, at New Orleans.

The Thirty-fourth Regiment, was recruited from the five western counties of Massachusetts, and had about 200 men from Berkshire county. It left for Washington in August, 1862 and served until 1865.

The Thirty-seventh Infantry, was about one half from this county. It was rendezvoused at Pittsfield and its camp was named General Henry S. Briggs. It was organized in September, 1862, saw hard fighting in many of the great engagements of the ter-

rible rebellion. They followed the enemy to Appomattox Court House where Lee surrendered and were at the Grand Review at Washington where they were discharged in July, 1865.

The Forty-ninth Regiment was a nine-months command and was freely recruited in Berkshire county in the fall of 1862. It camped and drilled in Pittsfield at Camp Briggs.

The Fifty-fourth Regiment (colored) was formed in 1863. No bounty was offered by the county but the State allowed them fifty dollars each. In the far off South land, when entering a battle they cried "Three cheers for Massachusetts and Seven dollars a month." Later they were sworn into the United States army and received $13 per month.

The Fifty-seventh Regiment was largely composed of veterans, recruited in the autumn of 1863 and spring of 1864. It saw gallant service and endured great exposure and hardship in the South land, losing many men and not a few officers.

The Sixty-first Regiment commenced recruiting in August, 1864 and found their way to the front at Petersburg, Virginia. It was in action at Fort Sedgwick and Fort Mahone, where thirty-six men were killed in a hard fought engagement. The regiment was present at the Grand Review at Washington, D. C., in July, 1865 and was there mustered out of United States service.

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL HISTORY OF BERKSHIRE COUNTY

Other sections of this work have covered the general early history of the territory hence this chapter begins virtually with the incorporation of Berkshire county. Prior to that date this county was included in Hampshire, which was divided in 1811-12 into three counties—Franklin, Hampden and Hampshire. Berkshire named from Berkshire, England, was incorporated by an act of the Provincial Legislature passed during the session of May, 1761. At that time it included the towns of Sheffield, Stockbridge, New Marlboro, and Egremont. There were also within the limits of this county the plantations of Pontoosuck, now Pittsfield; New Framingham, now Lanesboro; West Hoosac, now Williamstown; No. 1, now Tyringham; No. 3, now Sandisfield, and No. 4, now Becket. At present (1925) the county is constituted as follows:

Adams, incorporated 1778; Alford, 1773; Becket, 1765; Cheshire, 1793; Clarksburg, 1798; Dalton, 1784; Egremont, 1760; Florida, 1805; Great Barrington, 1761; Hancock, 1776; Hinsdale, 1804; Lanesboro, 1785; Lee, 1777; Lenox, 1767; Monterey, 1847; Mount Washington, 1779; New Ashford, 1801; New Marlboro, 1759; North Adams, 1778; Otis, 1778; Peru, 1771; Pittsfield, 1761; Richmond, 1765; Sandisfield, 1762; Savoy, 1797; Sheffield, 1733; Stockbridge, 1739; Tyringham, 1762; Washington, 1777; West Stockbridge, 1774; Williamstown, 1765; and Windsor, 1771.

The act of incorporation described the boundaries as follows:

> Beginning at the western end of Granville, where it touches the Connecticut line, to run northerly as far as said west line of Granville runs, then easterly to the southwest corner of Bradford, and to run by the west line of the same town to the northwesterly corner thereof; from thence northerly in a direct line to the southeast corner of No. 4, and so running by the easterly line of No. 4, to the northeast corner thereof; thence in a direct course to the southwest corner of Charlemont, and so northerly in the west line of the same town till it comes to the north bound of the province, and northerly on the line between this province and the province of New Hampshire (now Vermont), and on the west by the utmost limits of this province.

This act took effect July 1st, 1761.

When the county was incorporated the boundary line between

Massachusetts and New York was not settled, and it remained a matter of dispute until after the Revolutionary War. The Dutch patentees claimed lands as far east as the Housatonic River, and the State of New York claimed jurisdiction over the territory embraced in these claims. Finally commissioners were appointed by Congress, at the request of both States to survey and establish the line, which they did in 1787. This line left a considerable portion of what was previously Hancock in New York, but along the towns of West Stockbridge and Alford it left in Massachusetts a gore, which was afterward annexed to those towns.

The town of Middlefield, Hampshire county, in 1783 was incorporated and then included the northeast corner of Becket, the south side of Partridgefield (now Peru) a part of Washington, and the land called "Prescott's Grants," all in the county of Berkshire. Afterward a strip of land belonging to Plainfield and Cummington, in Hampshire county, was annexed to Windsor, in Berkshire. In 1793 a portion of Hawley, then styled plantation No. 7, and lying within the limits of Berkshire county, was annexed to Hawley and Hampshire county. A tract of land in the northeast corner of Berkshire county was in 1822, made a portion of the county of Franklin, and along with a portion of the town of Rowe, in that county, was erected into the town of Monroe. The result of these changes was a slight diminution of the original area of Berkshire county.

For many years after the formation of the various towns of this county, there were three unincorporated tracts within the limits. One of these was west from Williamstown, and was in the form of a triangle three and a half miles in length along that town and one mile in width at its base on Hancock. This strip was annexed to Williamstown in 1838. Another known as Zoar, was a broken tract lying east from Florida, and principally east from Deerfield river. In 1800 this tract had a population of 215. It was a part of the town of Zoar in Hampden county in 1838. Boston Corner, so named because it was the southwest corner of "Boston State of Massachusetts" as Massachusetts was sometimes called, was a triangular tract of 940 acres which was not included in Mount Washington, though within the limits of Berkshire county. In 1850 the total number of inhabitants was only seventy-three. In 1853 it was ceded to New York.

County Seat History—By the same act, dated April 24, 1761, by which Berkshire county was incorporated, it was ordered that

its seat of justice should be at Sheffield. The wording was "for the present the county or shire town," and the offices were located at the North Parish which, being incorporated as the town of Great Barrington in June of the same year, became the county seat and the courts were appointed to be held at the latter place on the last Tuesday of April and the first Tuesday of September, and at Pontoosuck, or Pittsfield, on the first Tuesday of March and December of each year.

Before the organization of Berkshire county, Joseph Dwight, of Great Barrington, and Ephraim Williams, whose father founded Williams College, of Stockbridge, were the judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the original county of Hampshire, and William Williams, of Pittsfield, Timothy Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, John Ashley, of Sheffield, Jabez Ward, of New Marlboro, and David Ingersoll, of Great Barrington, were justices of the peace for the same county. As the courts were held at Springfield it was inconvenient and expensive for persons in the western part of the county to attend these sessions of court.

The judges of the Court of Common Pleas first appointed for this county were Joseph Dwight, of Great Barrington, presiding judge, and William Williams, of Pittsfield; John Ashley, of Sheffield, and Timothy Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, associate judges. Their first session was at the house of Timothy Woodbridge, July 13, 1761, when they appointed Elijah Dwight, son of the presiding judge, to act as clerk of the courts, and Mark Hopkins registrar of deeds. They held the first real session of court at Great Barrington in the old meeting-house then standing on the east side of Housatonic river, near the Great Bridge. By a special vote of the town this place was selected. The courts in Pittsfield were held in a large room set apart for such purpose in Fort Anson, which had been erected a few years before by Colonel William Williams, but was then dismantled and soon became the residence of Lieutenant Graves.

During the month of March, 1764, the Court of Sessions took steps to provide a building suitable for a courthouse at Great Barrington, and it is generally believed that this was first occupied by the court at its April session in 1765, although not fully completed till a number of years later. The total cost of this courthouse No. 1 was one hundred and fifty pounds Sterling. It was a plain, unpainted wooden building, about thirty by forty feet in size and was one and one-half stories high. It was located near

the middle of the street known as "Main street." It was then but little more than a country-like lane. The building fronted the east and stood far enough from the limits of the street that teams and wagons could pass on either side, to Castle street in the rear of the building.

A wooden jail was constructed at about the same time. It was built a few rods southwest of the courthouse, near where later stood the Episcopal church edifice.

In 1761 Great Barrington was quite near the center of the county's population, but as the country developed to the north, it was but natural that the seat of justice should be removed farther to the north in the county. At that date the Court of General Sessions, was composed of four justices and in 1767 the number was increased to ten. It is said by historians that likely the number of judges had increased before the breaking out of the Revolution, to as many as a dozen, but the records are silent on this matter today. In 1800 the number of judges is known to have been twenty-six. The courts, of course, were suspended during the struggle for independence, but just before that date there had been put forth attempts to build better courthouse accommodations at Pittsfield; two tracts of land had been already tendered for that purpose. A small amount of building material had been taken to these proposed sites, and a discussion arose as to the most suitable location tendered by the citizens. This was all prior to 1775.

The first record of a change in seat of justice and a place in which courts should be held was in November, 1782, when the Legislature on the petition of Asa Barnes, of Lanesboro, acting as agent for that and other towns appointed a committee "to repair to the county of Berkshire, take a general view of it, and determine where the courts shall in the future be held."

The committee—Charles Turner, Esq., General Artemas Ward, and Hon. John Sprague—visited the county in June, met the delegates of the twenty-two towns at Stockbridge, and made such an examination of the county as they thought necessary, or the delegates desired. At this conference it was decided that they would recommend to the Legislature that after January, 1784, the courts should be held at Lenox, in some convenient place between the meeting-house and the dwelling of Captain Charles Dibble. This act was passed in February, 1783, and "in the little parliament which assembled around the General Sessions at the Great Barrington term in May, a petition was set on foot praying for an

indefinite postponement of the proposed change, on the ostensible ground that the county was too poor to erect the necessary buildings."

The legislature granted a delay of two years, until January, 1786, and the opponents of Lenox made a busy use of the respite. In the autumn of 1784 a spirited contest was entered on for what was doubtless the object of the Barnes' petition, alternate courts at Great Barrington and Lanesboro, but the project met with little favor. But the people were not satisfied and the Legislature concluded to submit the question to a vote of the people at a convention assembled at Lenox. The date of this hearing was in September, and sixteen towns were represented. The convention adjourned after appointing Woodbridge Little, of Springfield, Timothy Edwards, of Stockbridge, and William Whiting, of Great Barrington, a committee to receive the proposals of the several towns which desired to become the county seat. October 12, 1786 this committee sent to all the towns in the county circulars, showing in detail the offers made by different places wanting the seat of justice. But the question as to whether courts should be held in one or two parts of the county came up and much feeling was manifest, and when put to a vote on the committee the one town proposition won out and Lenox was declared the place for holding courts—the vote stood eight for two towns and ten voted for one town only. But the mass of citizens was not satisfied and the General Court appointed a commission consisting of Caleb Strong, Warren Parks and David Smead, Esq., to view the towns of Great Barrington, Lenox, Stockbridge, Pittsfield, and Lanesboro, all of whom were desiring the coveted prize. This committee recommended that the courts should be held at Stockbridge and Pittsfield, and that Stockbridge should be the shire town and place of holding Superior court. The Legislature, however, adhered to the election of Lenox.

The Court of General Sessions at Pittsfield, May, 1786, directed Eli Root, John C. Williams, and Simon Larned, all of that town, to prepare a plan for the public buildings at Lenox, and report what material would be required.

The succeeding terms of court were obstructed by Shays' rebellion, and the committees had no chance to report until May,1787. But early in that year, to have the Berkshire courts settled, the Legislature made a peremptory order that the Court of Common Pleas should be held at Lenox in the ensuing February, and the

Supreme court in May. The first term of the Common Pleas court was held there and opened September 11, 1787.

While all this was going on, the Court of General Sessions, at the May term in Great Barrington, selected Theodore Sedgwick and John Bacon, of Stockbridge, and Major Azariah Eggleston, of Lenox, to determine on a site, and contract for the erection of the buildings, which David Rossiter, Nathaniel Bishop, and Benjamin Pierce were directed to superintend and have finished as soon as possible. The county buildings were actually commenced in the spring of 1788. The jail was completed and the prisoners removed from Great Barrington to it in the latter part of 1790, and the courthouse was completed either in 1791 or 1792.

This courthouse was a wooden building and was later used as a town hall. Another was erected in 1815, and was several times rebuilt and changed about in many particulars. The original jail was built on the hill a half mile south of the village of Lenox, on the old Stockbridge road.

The location of the county seat at Lenox was a constant source of conflict between the north and south portions of the county. This kept up for a period of eighty-one years, or until 1868, as will be seen a little later.

The jail burned in 1812, and the Legislature was asked to change the location of the county seat to Pittsfield. The issue was submitted to the people of the various towns in the county, which method caused it to be retained at Lenox. New county buildings were accordingly built and occupied in 1816. Ten years later, or 1826, the question was up again, but soon the excitement and interest all died away.

In 1842 the county commissioners contracted for the remodeling of the jail as a house of correction, at a cost of $5,250. During the same year the Western railroad was completed, giving Pittsfield some advantages, and another unsuccessful effort was made to effect the removal to the latter place.

As other portions of the county developed by the construction of the Housatonic railroad and other interests in the southern part of the county, county seat removal was again the all-absorbing topic in the "Kingdom of Berkshire."

In November, 1854, the Legislature submitted this question to the voters: "Do you desire a removal of the courts from Lenox, and if so, name the town or towns to which they shall be removed?" The county decided by a majority of fifteen hundred

in favor of Lenox. No further decided movement was made in favor of a change of the seat of justice until 1868. In that year, Hon. T. F. Plunkett made a movement in the Legislature to effect it, the opposition being really quite feeble. It seemed to be the general opinion that Pittsfield was the proper place for the capital of the county, and by a direct vote of the Legislature, the county seat was removed to Pittsfield, on condition that the town should furnish suitable sites for the courthouse and jail, and provide rooms for the courts till a courthouse could be erected. Pittsfield paid $35,000 for the courthouse site, and $6,500 for a site for the jail and house of correction.

The Legislature allowed the property of the county to be assessed for $350,000 for the erection of buildings. Of this amount $190,000 were expended for the jail, the remainder for the courthouse. These buildings were finished in the autumn of 1871. The courthouse at the date of building, was among the finest in Massachusetts. It is built of Sheffield marble. It was first used by the fall term of the Supreme court in 1871. The jail built at the same date, stands on North Second street, and is of brick and marble material.

CHAPTER V

OFFICIAL ROSTER OF THE COUNTY

The subjoined is a list of Berkshire county officials from its organization to the present date, as shown by county and State reports:

Sheriffs—Elijah Williams, appointed in 1761; Israel Dickinson, 1776; John Fellows, (during the Revolutionary War); Caleb Hyde, 1781; Thompson J. Skinner, 1791; Simon Larned, 1792; Henry C. Brown, 1812; Thomas Twining, 1838; Edward F. Ensign, 1843; Thomas Twining, 1848; Edward F. Ensign, 1852; George S. Willis, 1853; Graham A. Root, 1855; Hiram B. Wellington, 1881-86; John Crosby, 1886-96; Charles W. Fuller, 1896-1906; John Nicholson, 1906 and still serving in 1925.

County Clerks—Elijah Dwight, 1761; Henry W. Dwight, 1781; Joseph Woodbridge, 1803; Charles Sedgwick, 1821; Henry W. Taft, 1856-1897; Frank H. Cande, 1897-1917; Irving H. Gamwell, 1917- and in 1925 is still serving as County Clerk.

County Treasurers—Silas Kellogg, 1766; Mark Hopkins, 1774; Henry W. Dwight, 1784; Moses Ashley, 1788; Barnabas Bidwell, 1791; Caleb Hyde, 1810; Joseph Tucker, 1813; George J. Tucker, 1847; George H. Tucker, 1878-1903; Henry A. Brewster, 1903-19; William P. Martin, 1919- still treasurer in 1925.

Register of Deeds—From the incorporation of Berkshire, in 1761, to 1790 there was but one registry of deeds at Great Barrington. The register was Mark Hopkins who served until 1776, and Moses Hopkins until 1790; that year the county was divided into three districts—North, Middle and Southern. Previous records were then removed to the county seat in the Middle District. The registers in the Southern District since 1790, have been Moses Hopkins, Charles W. Hopkins, Samuel Newman, Isaac Seeley, and John C. New, to 1898; Malcolm Douglas, still serving in 1925.

In the Middle District the registers have been, Caleb Hyde, Samuel Quincy, Joseph Tucker, George J. Tucker, Theodore L. Allen, Henry M. Pitt, to 1920; Walter S. Dickie, 1920 and still serving.

In the Northern District: Wolcott Hubbell, James Barker, Tim-

othy Whitney, Samuel Bacon, Luther Washburn, George N. Briggs, Richard Whitney, Silas P. Butler, Herbert A. Fuller, E. Earl Merchant, was serving in 1885-98; Arthur W. Safford, 1898-still serving in 1925.

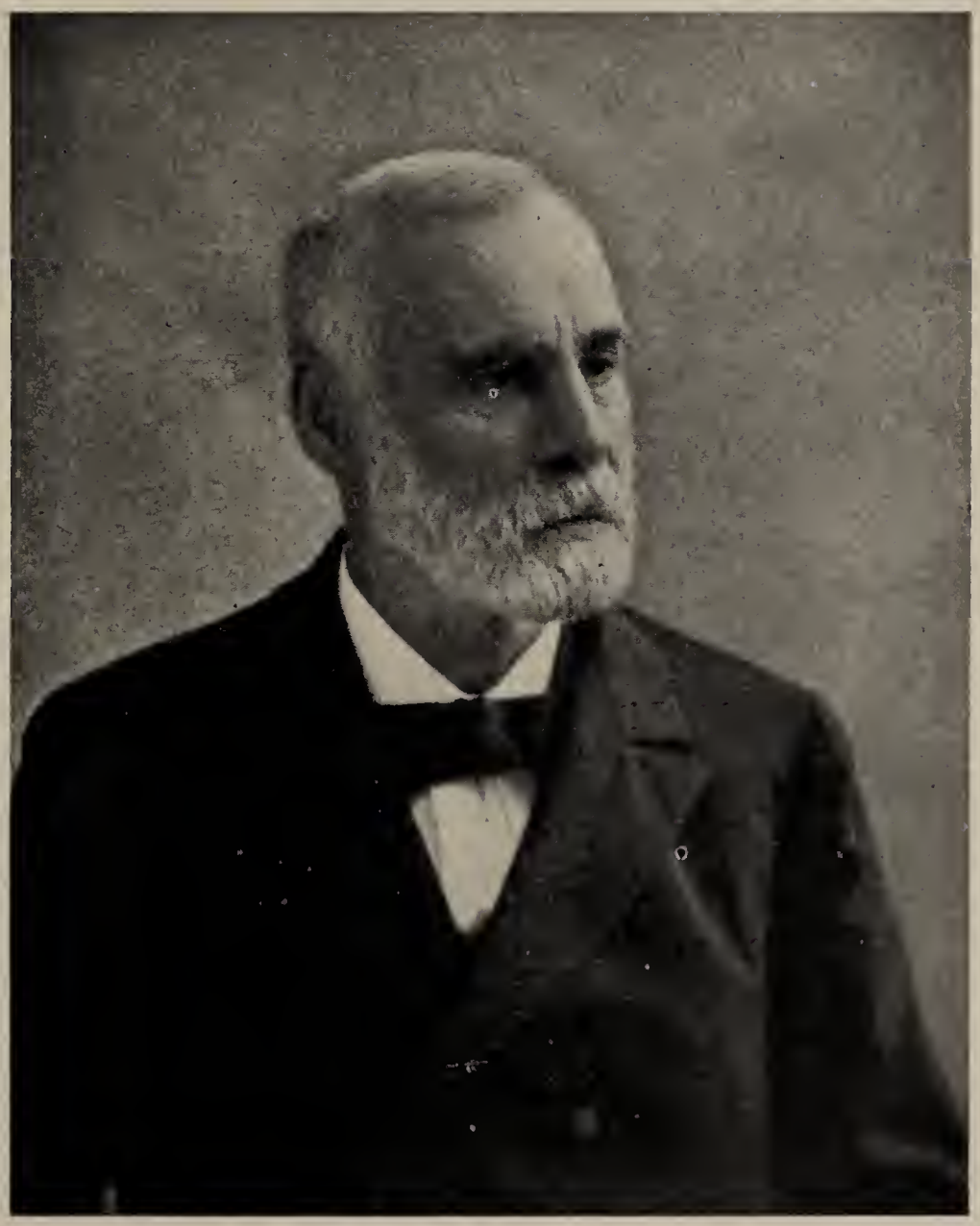
County Commissioners—Since 1880 the County Commissioners have been: Lyman Payne, whose term expired in 1881; John B. Hull, 1882; A. M. Preston, 1883; John B. Hull, A. W. Preston and Lyman Payne in 1882-84; Lyman Payne, John B. Hull and Ashley B. Wright, 1884; John B. Hull, A. B. Wright, J. H. Manning, 1885; A. B. Wright, John H. Manning and Ward Lewis, 1886; Ward Lewis, Charles H. Ingalls, J. H. Manning, 1887; Charles H. Ingalls, John H. Manning, William H. Spaulding, 1888; Manning, Spaulding and Ingalls, 1888-1891; Charles H. Ingalls, John H. Manning and J. W. Ferry, 1892; Manning, Ferry and Job K. Anthony, 1894; Anthony, Manning and William C. Dalzell, 1895; Manning, Anthony and Dalzell, 1896; Dalzell, Anthony and William P. Wood, 1898; Wood, Dalzell and James H. Flagg, 1899; Dalzell, William P. Wood and Frank S. Richardson, 1900-03; Wood, Richardson and Henry D. Sisson, 1905; Sisson, Richardson and Arthur W. Plumb, 1907; Plumb, Sissons and George B. Adams, 1908-12; Adams, Plumb and John H. C. Church, 1913-14; John H. C. Church, George B. Adams, George A. Grounds, 1915-16; George A. Grounds, John H. C. Church, S. Louis Lloyd, 1917-18; Church, John A. Bond, William H. Sherrill, 1918; Mr. Bond died and John Henderson was appointed in his place; Bond, Sherrill and Frank Howard, 1919-21; Bond Howard and Robert S. Tillotson, 1921-23; Howard, Tillotson and J. Henderson, 1923-24; Frank Howard, Robert S. Tillotson and John Henderson, present (1925) County Commissioners.

Trial Justices—Since 1880 the Trial Justices of this county have been these: William E. Spaulding, Henry J. Dunham and George A. Shepard, 1881 to 1892; W. E. Spaulding and George A. Shepard, to 1896; W. H. Spaulding, to 1902, when the duties of such office were transferred to other courts.

Representatives in Congress—Berkshire county has been represented in the United States Congress by the following members:

In the Senate—Theodore Sedgwick, of Stockbridge, 1796-99; Julius Rockwell, Pittsfield, 1854-55; Henry Lawrence Dawes, Pittsfield, 1875.

In the House of Representatives—Theodore Sedgwick, 1789-97;



H. L. Dawes

Thompson J. Skinner, Williamstown, 1797-99; Theodore Sedgwick, Stockbridge, 1799-1801; John Bacon, 1803-01; Barnabas Bidwell, 1803-06; Simon Larned, Pittsfield, 1806-07; Ezekiel Bacon, Pittsfield, 1807-13; Daniel Dewey, Williamstown, 1813-14; John W. Hulbert, Pittsfield, 1814-17; Henry Shaw, Lanesboro, 1817-21; Henry W. Dwight, Stockbridge, 1821-29; George Nixon Briggs, Lanesboro, 1829-43; Julius Rockwell, Pittsfield, 1843-53; John Z. Goodrich, Stockbridge, 1853-55; Mark Trafton, Westfield, 1855-57; Henry L. Dawes, North Adams, and Pittsfield, 1857-75; Chester W. Chapin, Springfield, 1875-77; George D. Robinson, Chicopee, 1877-84; Francis W. Rockwell, 1884-91; John C. Crosby, 1891-93; Ashley B. Wright, 1893-99; George P. Lawrence, 1899-1912; Allen T. Treadway, 1912- to present date—1925.

This county was at one time within Congressional District No. 11, and later in District No. 12, but since 1894 it has been a part of District No. 1.

This county has always been represented by two State Senators. For a short period a portion of Hampshire county was included with Southern Berkshire district, and Messrs. Kingman, Brewster, and Orcut, residents of that county, were elected for a single term from that district.

Space forbids a list of the hundreds of citizens who have served as State Senators and Representatives from the various towns of Berkshire county in the one hundred and sixty-four years of its existence. In passing it should, however, be said that the best of men, from all walks of life, have been elected by the people, who seldom err in their judgment as to who will best serve the people's interest.

Present County Officials—Judge of Probate and Insolvency, A. M. Robinson; Register of Probate and Insolvency, William S. Morton; Sheriff, John Nicholson; Clerk of the Courts, Irving H. Gamwell; County Treasurer, William P. Martin; Register of Deeds, North District, Arthur W. Safford; Middle District, Walter S. Dickie; Southern District, Malcolm Douglas; County Commissioners, Frank Howard, Robert S. Tillotson and John Henderson; Master of Chancery, J. Arthur Baker.

Population at Various Periods—The following figures are taken from the United States census reports. At the end of each decade the population of Berkshire county has been: 1790—30,291; 1900—33,835; 1810—35,799; 1820—35,720; 1830—37,835; 1840—40,882;

1850—49,591; 1860—55,120; 1870—64,827; 1880—69,032; 1900—95,667; 1910—105,259; 1920—113,033.

Foreign-born in county in 1920, 22,753; Negro population, 978.

The nationalities were represented, in part as follows: Austria, 462; Canada, 4,165; England, 1,709; France, 1,008; Germany, 1,421; Ireland, 3,202; Italy, 4,207; Poland, 2,703; Russian, 1,262; all other countries, 606.

The 1920 census returns gave the population of the several towns in Berkshire county as follows:

Adams,	12,967	Lanesboro,	1,054	Richmond,	561
Alford,	248	Lee,	4,085	Sandisfield,	460
Becket,	674	Lenox,	2,691	Savoy,	436
Cheshire,	1,476	Monterey,	282	Sheffield,	1,435
Clarksburg,	1,136	Mt. Washington,	73	Stockbridge,	1,764
Dalton,	3,752	New Ashford,	116	Tyringham,	267
Egremont,	441	New Marlboro	1,010	Washington,	240
Florida,	298	N. Adams, (City)	22,282	West Stockbridge,	1,058
Great Barrington,	6,315	Otis,	361	Williamstown,	3,707
Hancock,	464	Peru,	149	Windsor,	403
Hinsdale,	1,065	Pittsfield, (City)	41,763		

The foreign-born in Pittsfield in 1920 was 8,211; of North Adams, there was a total of foreign-born, 5,014.

Industrial Statistics— The United States census reports for 1920 gives these figures on the industrial affairs of Berkshire county in 1919:

Total number of establishments in county,	301
Total number of wage-earners in 1919	22,505
Amount of wages paid during the year,	$23,127,671
Value of Products, 1919,	114,805,837

Highway Distances—The following shows the distances between the postoffice in Pittsfield and the various points in Berkshire county:

	Miles		Miles		Miles
Adams, North	22	Dalton Centre	6	Lake Pontoosuc	2¼
Adams	16	Dalton, Cranes'	4	Lake Onota	2½
Alford	18½	Egremont	24	Lake Ashley	7
Becket	16	Great Barrington	20	Lebanon Springs	7
Bakersville	3	Hancock	8	Lebanon Shakers	8
Berkshire	7	Hancock Shakers	4	Lulu Cascade	5
Balance Rock	5	Hinsdale	9	Mt. Washington	31
Coltsville	3	Lanesboro	5	Monterey	21½
Cheshire	11	Lee	11	New Lenox	4
Clarksburg	24	Lenox	6½	New Ashford	11
Dalton, Village	5½	Lake Buel	25	New Marlboro	26

	Miles		Miles		Miles
Otis	24	Sandisfield	28	West Stockbridge	12
Peru	12	Savoy	17	Williamstown	21
Pontooscuc	2	Sheffield	28	Windsor	12
Pittsfield	1½	Stockbridge	12½	Wahconah Falls	9
Richmond	9	Tyringham	16		
Roaring Brook	5	Washington	9		

County Assets and Indebtedness—December 31, 1924 the assets of Berkshire county were as follows: Balance in treasury, $12,801; Courthouse and land at Pittsfield, $300,000; Furniture, $25,000; Jail and House of Correction, $125,000; Prison Building, $250,000; Engines, furniture and shops, $4,000; other furniture owned in county at various places, $7,000; Interest in town building at Great Barrington, $1,500; interest in the town building at Adams, $1,500; Law Library at Pittsfield, $20,000. Total assets, $792,-801.19.

The county debt, which consists exclusively of obligations due Massachusetts for the construction and up-keep of highways, $307,693.02. Of this amount about $42,000 was payable November, 1924.

CHAPTER VI

THE BENCH AND BAR OF BERKSHIRE

The courts of Massachusetts have progressed with the general development of the country. Under the Colonial government county courts were established. These courts had general Probate jurisdiction and "full power to hear and determine all cases, civil and criminal, not extending to life member or banishment." There was a right reserved to appeal from the inferior courts to the Court of Assistants, which was held as often as twice each year by the Governor or deputy governor and the rest of the magistrates. Then there was a court for strangers held by the governor and two magistrates. Small causes were tried by a single magistrate or by three commissioners of the towns where there were no magistrates. With numerous changes these courts were in operation until 1820 when a Court of Common Pleas was established, corresponding to the present Superior Court and holding its sessions in the several counties. By the act of April 24th, 1761, among other provisions the county seat was located at Sheffield. During the entire history of this county, for the most part, the various courts of justice have been presided over by men well versed in the law and men of rare judgment and a good degree of fairness.

What is known as a Circuit Court of Common Pleas was established by districts in 1811. Ezekiel Bacon, of Pittsfield, was chief justice of this court, for the Western District, from 1811 to 1814, there being no other member from Berkshire county. The district embraced Worcester, Hampshire, Franklin, Hampden, and Berkshire counties. In 1820 this court was abolished and the Court of Common Pleas for the State was established, and held its sessions in the several counties. The following were judges in this court from Berkshire: Horatio Byington, Stockbridge, 1848-56; Henry W. Bishop, Lenox, 1851-59; George N. Briggs, Pittsfield, 1853-59. The Court of Common Pleas was abolished in 1859, and the present system of Superior Courts was then established. It consisted of one chief justice and ten associate justices. Julius Rockwell, of Lenox, appointed in 1859, and James M. Barker, of Pittsfield, appointed in 1882 were the justices in charge in 1885. Since then the judges have been as follows:

SUPERIOR JUDGES SINCE 1885

1885—Chief-justice, Lincoln Flagg Brigham, Salem. He served until 1892. The justices were: Julius Rockwell, Lenox; Robert Carter Pitman, Newton; John W. Bacon, Natic; Peleg Emory Aldrich, Worcester; William S. Gardner, Newton; Hamilton B. Staples; Marcus P. Knowlton, Springfield; Caleb Blodgett, Boston; Albert Mason, Brookline; James Madison Barker, Pittsfield.

1886—The judges were the same as in 1885 except the additional member of Charles Perkins Thompson, Gloucester.

1887—The new judges for 1887 were J. Edgar Sherman, Lawrence; Justin Dewey, Springfield; J. W. Hammond, Cambridge.

1888—Lincoln F. Brigham, Chief-justice; Robert Pitman, Newton; J. W. Bacon, Natic; P. E. Aldrich, Worcester; H. B. Staples, Worcester; Caleb Blodgett, Boston; Albert Mason, Brookline; J. M. Barker, Pittsfield; Charles P. Thompson, Gloucester; J. W. Hammond, Cambridge; Justin Dewey, E. J. Sherman.

1890—Chief-justice, L. F. Brigham, Salem; R. C. Pitman, Newton; P. E. Aldrich, Worcester; Caleb Blodgett, Boston; Albert Mason, Brookline; James Madison Barker, Pittsfield; C. P. Thompson, Gloucester; Justin Dewey, E. J. Sherman, J. R. Dunbar, John Lathrop, Boston.

1891—Albert Mason, Chief-justice; Robert C. Pitman, P. E. Aldrich, Hamilton B. Staples, Caleb Blodgett, J. M. Barker, Pittsfield; Charles P. Thompson, Justin Dewey, E. J. Sherman, J. R. Dunbar, H. King Braley, Fall River; R. R. Bishop, Newton; D. W. Bond, Northampton.

1892—Albert Mason, Chief-justice; P. E. Aldrich, Caleb Blodgett, C. P. Thompson, John W. Hammond, Justin Dewey, E. J. Sherman, J. R. Dunbar, R. R. Bishop, D. W. Bond, Henry King Braley, John Hopkins, Elisha B. Maynard, F. G. Fessenden.

1893—Same as in 1892 except the addition of John McCorcoran and J. B. Richardson.

1894—Same as in 1893 except the addition of Judge C. S. Lilly.

1895—Albert Mason, Chief-justice; P. E. Aldrich, Caleb Blodgett, J. W. Hammond, Justin Dewey, E. J. Sherman, J. A. Dunbar, R. R. Bishop, D. W. Bond, H. K. Braley, John Hopkins, E. B. Maynard, F. G. Fessenden, John B. Richardson, C. S. Lilly, H. N. Sheldon.

1896—Same as in 1895 except the addition of Judge Gaskill.

1898—Albert Mason, Brookline, Chief-justice; Caleb Blodgett, J. W. Hammond, Justin Dewey, E. J. Sherman, J. R. Dunbar,

R. R. Bishop, D. W. Bond, H. K. Braley, John Hopkins, Elisha B. Maynard, E. G. Fessenden, James B. Richardson, Charles Sumner Lilly, Henry N. Sheldon, Frank A. Gaskill, John H. Hardy, Henry Wardwell, Salem.

1899—Same as in 1898, except the additional judge—John A. Aiken.

1900—Chief-justice, Albert Mason; judges, Blodgett, Dewey, Bishop, Bond, Braley, Hopkins, Maynard, Fessenden, Richardson, Sheldon, Gaskill, Hardy, Stevens, Bell, J. Adams Aiken, Frederick Lawton.

1901—Judges, Sherman, Bishop, Bond, Braley, Hopkins, Maynard, Fessenden, Gaskill, Hardy, Stevens, Bell, Aiken, Newton, Pierce and Jabez Fox.

1902—Same as during 1901.

1904—Judge Mason, Chief-justice; justices, Sherman, Bishop, Bond, Maynard, Fessenden, Richardson, Sheldon, Gaskill, Hardy, Stevens, Bell, Aiken, Lawton, Pierce, Fox, De Courcy, Lawrence, Harris, Lemuel Le Barron Holmes, Wait, William Scofield, White, Taunton, L. E. Hitchcock, Chicopee.

1905—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, Sherman, Bishop, Bond, Maynard, Fessenden, Richardson, Sheldon, Gaskill, Hardy, Stevens, Charles U. Bell, Lawton, Pierce, Fox, De Courcy, Holmes, Wait, Scofield, White, Hitchcock, Crosby.

1906—Same judges except the addition of J. J. Flaherty, Gloucester.

1907—Same as 1906 except add the name of Judge Dana.

1908—Same as 1906 except the addition of Judge Raymond, New Bedford.

1909—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, Sherman, Bishop, Bond, Fessenden, Richardson, Gaskill, Hardy, Stevens, Bell, Lawton, Pierce, Fox, De Courcy, Harris, Wait, Scofield, White, Hitchcock, Crosby, Dana, Brown, King, Sanderson, of Ayer; Raymond, New Bedford.

1910—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, Sherman, Bond, Fessenden, Richardson, Hardy, Stevens, Bell, Lawton, Pierce, Fox, Charles Ambrose De Courcy, Robert O. Harris, Wait, Scofield, White, Hitchcock, Crosby, Dana, J. F. Brown, King, Sanderson, Raymond, Morton, Jenney.

1911—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, Edgar J. Sherman, Daniel Webster Bond, F. G. Fessenden, James B. Richardson, Stevens, Bell, Lawton, Pierce, Fox, C. A. De Courcy, R. O. Harris, W. C.

Wait, William Scofield, White, Hitchcock, Crosby, Dana, J. F. Brown, King, Sanderson, Raymond, Morton, Jenney.

1912—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, Fessenden, Hardy, Stevens, Bell, Lawton, Pierce, Jabez Fox, Wait, White, Hitchcock, Crosby, King, Sanderson, Raymond, Morton, Jenney, Quinn, Salem; J. W. McLaughlin, John B. Ratigan, Judge Dubuque, Fall River; Keating, W. P. Hall, F. H. Chase, Nathan D. Pratt.

1913—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices same as 1912 except the additional judge, R. W. Irwin, Southampton.

1914—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, Fessenden, Hardy, Stevens, Bell, Lawton, Pierce, Fox, Wait, White, Hitchcock, Dana, J. F. Brown, King, Sanderson, Raymond, Morton, Jenney, Quinn, Dwyer McLaughlin, W. P. Hall, Judge Dubuque, J. B. Ratigan, P. M. Keating, F. H. Chase, R. W. Irwin, William Hamilton.

1915—Same as previous year except the addition of Judge Callahan.

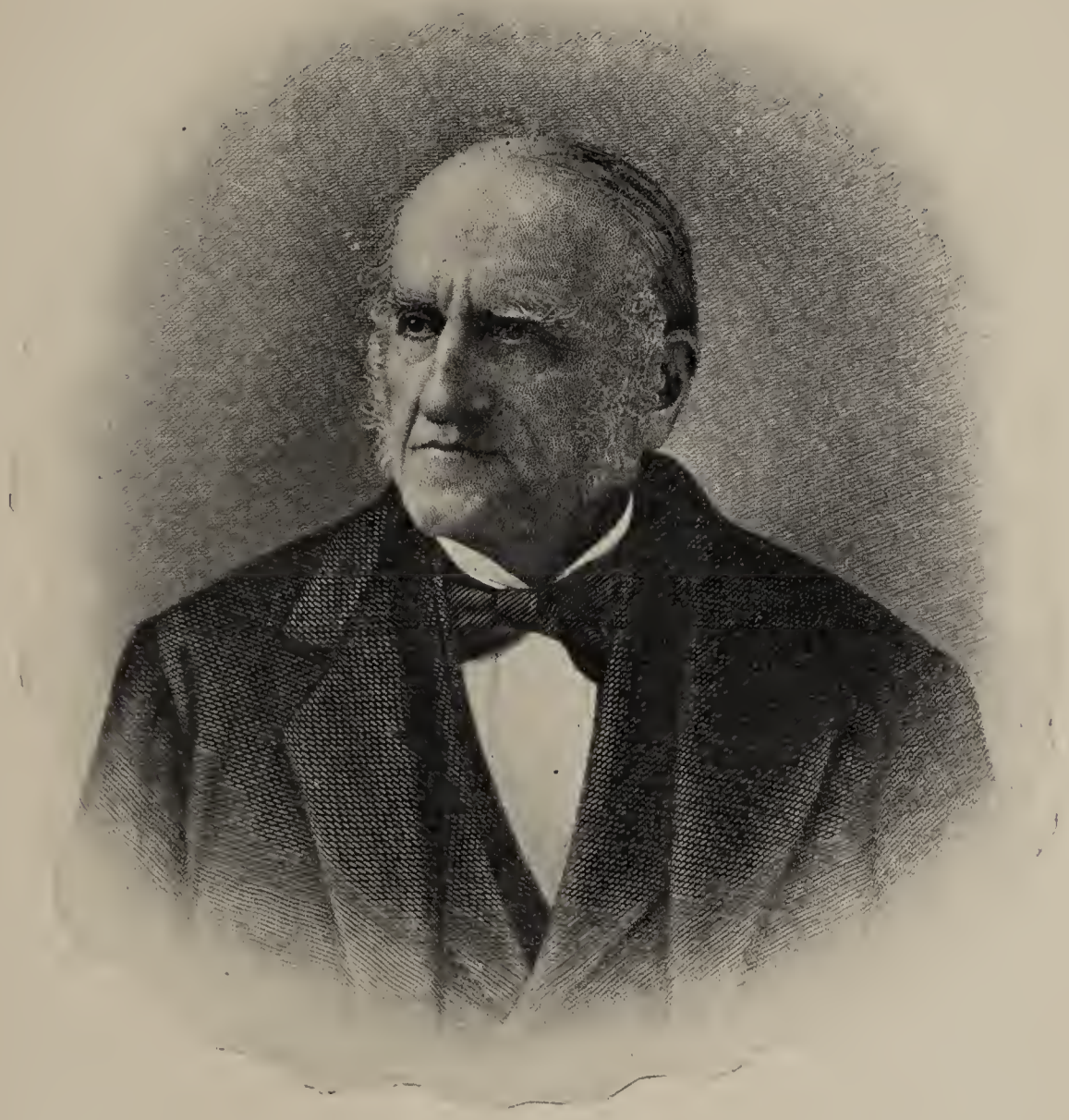
1916—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, and same associates with the additional judges, Sisk, of Lynn and P. J. O'Connell, Worcester.

1919—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, Fessenden, Lawton, Wait, White, Brown, Fox, Hitchcock, Dana, J. F. Brown, H. A. King, Sanderson, R. F. Raymond, Marcus Morton, C. J. Jenney, J. F. Quinn, J. D. McLaughlin, H. A. Dubuque, P. M. Keating, F. H. Chase, R. W. Irwin, C. Theodore Callahan, Webster Thayer, F. T. Hammond, N. P. Brown, Everett, L. S. Cox.

1921—Chief-justice, Aiken; justices, F. G. Fessenden, Lawton, Wait, White, J. F. Brown, King, Sanderson, Raymond, Morton, Quinn, Hall, Dubuque, Keating, Irwin, Callahan, Sisk, O'Connell, Thayer, Hammond, N. P. Brown, L. S. Cox, Ed. L. Shaw, Fred. Woodbury Fosdic, E. B. Bishop, Geo. A. Flynn, Henry T. Lummus.

1923-4—The latest published list of the Superior judges in these years was as follows: Chief-justice Walter P. Hall; Frederic Lawton, William C. Wait, John Freeman Brown, George A. Sanderson, Robert F. Raymond, Marcus Morton, J. F. Quinn, J. D. McLaughlin, H. A. Dubuque, P. M. Keating, R. W. Irwin, C. T. Callahan, J. H. Sisk, P. J. O'Connor, W. Thayer, Franklin T. Hammond, N. P. Brown, Louis S. Cox, Frederick Woodbury Fosdic, E. B. Bishop, George A. Flynn, Henry T. Lummus, William A. Burns, Stanley E. Qua, Alonzo Rogers Weed, Joseph Walsh, Frank Joseph Macleod, Winfield Holt Whitney.

The Court of Sessions from 1761 to 1807, consisted of all the



Mark Hopkins

justices of the county; from the latter period, with a few changes, it consisted of a chief justice and three or four associates until 1828, when it was abolished and its powers transferred to the board of county commissioners. The Chief-justices were Nathaniel Bishop, Richmond, 1807; Joshua Danforth, Pittsfield, 1808; John Bacon, Stockbridge, 1809; William P. Walker, Lenox, 1819-28.

The Bar of the County—While this is not to be looked upon as a complete list of all attorneys who have resided and practiced law in Berkshire county, it will furnish the most of the names of those who practiced here before the Civil War, which period commenced in 1861; John Ashley, of Sheffield, born 1709, died 1802, a graduate of Yale, admitted to the bar 1732.

John Huggins, Sheffield, admitted in 1743 and won an extensive practice.

Gen. Joseph Dwight, born 1703, died in Great Barrington 1765; was a graduate of Harvard College; was at one time judge of the Court of Common Pleas and was a judge of Probate under that judicial system.

Elisha Huggins, and Zadock Huggins, of Springfield, were early in the practice of law in this county.

Col. Mark Hopkins, son of Timothy Hopkins, Waterbury, Connecticut, was born in 1739. He was the first register of deeds in this county; also the first county treasurer and clerk. He was an eminent patriot, became a colonel in the army and commanded at Peekskill in 1776. The same year he was sent to White Plains, New York, where he sickened and died, aged thirty-seven years.

John Pell, Jr., was admitted to the Berkshire bar in 1761 and practiced his profession a few years. In 1762 he was fined ten shillings by the court for traveling on the Lord's Day.

Daniel Jones was born in Weston, 1740, graduated at Harvard 1759; was admitted to the bar in 1761 and practiced at Pittsfield. He served as a judge in this district and died in 1786.

General John Ashley, of Sheffield, son of John Ashley above named. He graduated at Yale in 1758, was admitted to the bar 1762 and settled upon his father's plantation in Sheffield and became one of the largest landowners in the town.

Jahleel Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, a graduate of Princeton 1761; was repeatedly elected to the General Court and was judge of Probate in this county many years. He died in 1796 and a record says, was esteemed "for his good sense, integrity and piety."

Dr. Perez Marsh, judge of the Court of Common Pleas from

1765 to 1781. He was born in Hadley 1729, graduated at Harvard, settled in Dalton.

Dr. William Whiting, of Great Barrington, presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas 1781-87. He was born in 1730, died 1792.

Woodbridge Little, born in Colchester, Connecticut, 1741, died 1813. He was admitted to the bar in 1764 and located in Pittsfield becoming the first lawyer of the place. He was several times elected to the General Court. For a few years he was not liked on account of his leaning toward the royal cause. At death he left his estate largely to charitable institutions.

Col. William Williams, born in Weston in 1711, died at Pittsfield in 1785. He was a graduate of Harvard in 1729 and studied medicine. He was among the earliest to settle in Pittsfield. In 1754 he built Fort Anson, which was accepted as a province garrison for which he was allowed sixty-three pounds Sterling. He was a justice of the peace many years, and chief-justice of the court from 1761 to 1765. He was judge of Probate for Berkshire county from 1765 to 1778.

Captain Charles Goodrich, born 1720, died 1816. He settled in Pittsfield in 1753 and was its first representative in the Legislature; was member of the Provincial Congress at Concord in 1774, and a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Berkshire county from 1784 to 1788.

Timothy Edwards, eldest son of President Edwards, graduated at Princeton in 1757. In 1770 he located at Stockbridge where he became very prominent in the bar and in his community. He was judge of Probate from 1778 to 1787. He died in 1813, aged seventy-five years.

Timothy Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, was born 1709, and died in 1774. He was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Berkshire county from 1761 until his death. Before this county had been incorporated he was judge of a like court in Hampshire. For many years he was an agent and superintendent of Indian affairs.

William Walker was born in Rehoboth, 1751, removed to Lenox in 1770 and there represented the people in the Legislature; was a Senator in 1783; register of Probate 1781 to 1785 and judge of Probate 1795-1824, when he resigned. He was a Presidential elector in 1829 and died in 1831.

David Ingersoll, Jr., of Great Barrington, was born 1765 and died 1796. He graduated at Yale, was admitted to the bar 1765;

was a representative in the General Court in 1770. When the Revolution broke out he favored the royal cause; in 1774 he was seized by a party of Connecticut patriots and taken to Litchfield county where he was imprisoned for a season. He went to Boston and soon sailed for England where he died in 1796.

Theodore Sedgwick, LL.D., born in Hartford, Connecticut, 1746, died in Boston in 1813, was educated at Yale College, admitted to the bar in 1765, studied law under Mark Hopkins, in Great Barrington, practiced a few years there and removed to Sheffield. He was repeatedly elected to the Massachusetts Legislature. He moved to Stockbridge in 1785 and became a member of the Continental Congress; took an active part in the suppression of Shays' Rebellion. In 1788 he was speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was again member of Congress in 1789 and served until 1796, when he was elected United States Senator and there remained until 1799 when he was again returned to the House and was made its speaker. He was a strong federalist. In 1802 he was appointed a judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court and held such position until his death. In 1780 John Ashley, of Sheffeld, brought suit to recover possession of his negro slave, Elizabeth Freeman; Mr. Sedgwick appeared for the defendant and secured her freedom under the Massachusetts bill of rights, shortly before adopted. This was in reality the death blow to slavery in Massachusetts.

Thomas Williams, son of Dr. Williams of Deerfield, born in 1746, studied law with Mark Hopkins and was admitted to the bar in 1770. He commenced practice in Stockbridge "with all prospects for eminence." He was a lieutenant-colonel in the War of the Revolution and while on an expedition in Canada he was taken sick and died at Whitehall in 1776, aged thirty years.

David Noble, of Williamstown, who was born in Connecticut, was a graduate of Yale College and admitted to the bar in 1770, settling in Williamstown. He was one of the first trustees of Williams College, to which he donated a bell and the grounds on which the president's house was erected. He was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1795 till his death.

John Bacon, of Stockbridge, was judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1789, and presiding judge from 1807 to 1811. He was born in Connecticut in 1737, graduated at Princeton in 1765 and was a minister in the Old South Church in Boston from 1771 to 1775. Was chosen speaker of the State Senate and later was a member of Congress. He died in 1820, aged eighty-three.

Gen. Thompson Joseph Skinner, although not a lawyer, was a justice of the Court of Common Pleas in 1788, and chief-justice of that court from 1795 to 1807. He settled in Williamstown in 1775 and soon became a man of influence. He served in the State Senate and House and was a member of Congress in 1797-99. In 1806 he was chosen treasurer and receiver-general of the commonwealth, but upon his retiring was found to be a defaulter to the sum of $60,000. In the army he rose to the rank of major-general. He died in Boston 1809, in his fifty-seventh year.

Col. John Brown, of Pittsfield, was a native of Essex county, born at Haverhill in 1744, and was killed in 1780, at Stone Arabia, New York. He graduated at Yale College in 1771, studied law and was later appointed king's attorney. In 1773 he settled in Pittsfield; was a brave patriot and possessed of fine abilities. He was a delegate to Provincial Congress at Cambridge in 1775.

Ashbel Strong, of Pittsfield, son of Thomas Strong, was born in New Marlboro 1754; graduated at Yale College 1776, and was admitted to the bar in 1781 and was a member of the General Court in 1799. He was a man of ability and was a noted federalist.

John Chandler Williams was born in Roxbury in 1755; graduated at Harvard 1778, studied law with Hon. John Worthington, of Springfield, and commenced law practice at Pittsfield in 1782. He was noted for his integrity both within and without the bar of the State. For many years he was a member of the General Court.

Nathaniel Bishop, born in Guilford, Connecticut, 1751, removed to Richmond in 1777 and soon rose to eminence. He served in the Legislature, was a register of Probate from 1795 to 1811. He served well his role as a public man and was a splendid example of good citizenship. He died in 1826.

Thomas Gold, a native of Cornwall, Connecticut, born 1760; graduated at Yale College 1778, admitted to the bar 1781, and settled in Pittsfield. At one time he was president of the Agricultural Bank of Pittsfield, also of the Agricultural Society. He attained some prominence as an attorney, but for some reason never had the full confidence of the people.

General Thomas Ives, born in Connecticut in 1753, died in Great Barrington 1814. He graduated at Yale College in 1777, received the degree of A.M. in 1780, and was admitted to the bar in Litchfield county, Connecticut. In 1782 he was admitted to the bar in Berkshire county. He located at Great Barrington and in 1783

was chosen by the General Court a collector of imposts and excise for this county. For thirteen years he represented his town as a member of the State Senate. He took much interest in military affairs and earnestly supported the government during the Shays' Rebellion. He loved agriculture and was a strong, brave federalist. His law practice was extensive and lucrative.

Erastus Pixley, son of Moses Pixley, graduated at Yale College in 1780 and was admitted to the bar in 1785. After practicing law in Great Barrington a term of years he removed to Vermont in 1790.

Elisha Lee, graduated at Yale College 1777, was admitted to the practice of law 1783 and settled in Sheffield.

Daniel Dewey, born in Sheffield, died in Williamstown 1815, was for two years a member of the class of 1780 in Yale College, from which he received the honorary degree of master of arts in 1792. He studied law with Judge Sedgwick, was admitted to the bar in 1787 and settled at Williamstown. He was an eminent lawyer and was a member of the governor's council from 1809 to 1812, representing Berkshire in the 13th Congress. By Governor Strong he was appointed one of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, which was a little more than one year before his death. The resolution spread on the court records at the time of his death, showed how strong a man he had been and how he had the respect, almost amounting to a sentimental love, of all within the range of his acquaintance. He was called hence at the very zenith of his successful manhood.

Ephraim Williams, Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in 1787.

Jonathan Woodbridge, Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in 1789.

Enoch W. Thayer, a native of Ware, was admitted to the bar in 1780, practiced for a while in Sheffield, Lenox and West Stockbridge.

Samuel H. Wheeler, born in Lanesborough, was admitted to the bar in 1791; was associate justice of the Court of Sessions from 1807 to 1809. Later he removed to New York State.

Thomas Gold, of Lanesborough, was admitted to the bar 1790.

Gen. John Whiting, of Great Barrington, was born 1771. His ancestors were from Hartford. He studied law under Gen. Thomas Ives and was admitted to the bar 1792; was appointed county attorney by the governor in 1814. He saved the county much expense. He became a captain of the town militia at a time when

it was untrained, but he promptly caused them to be well drilled. He rose to the rank of major-general and was highly praised by Governor Lincoln. For fifty-two years he attended every term of court save two. Judge Whiting was always an example of moderation and simplicity in diet and never indulged in the use of liquor or tobacco which in his days was indeed the rare exception.

Thomas Allen, Pittsfield, son of Rev. Thomas Allen, born in 1769, graduated at Harvard College in 1789 and was admitted to the bar in 1792. He was elected representative to the Legislature in 1805, and died in Boston while serving his second term, in 1806. He was a learned lawyer and a skillful orator in conducting his legal work at the bar. He was an ardent Democrat and possessed his father's religious opinions.

Eli Porter Ashmun, Pittsfield, was admitted to the bar 1794; was a United States Senator from 1816 to 1818.

Mason Whiting, son of Dr. William Whiting, of Great Barrington, was admitted to the bar 1795, practiced in Lenox and died in Charleston, South Carolina.

Eliab Brewer, graduated at Yale College 1793, was admitted to the bar 1797, settled in Lenox; died 1804, aged thirty-four.

John W. Hulbert, born in Alford 1770, was admitted to the bar 1797, practiced at Sheffield for a time, but removed to Pittsfield about 1800. He was a leading Federalist and was a member of Congress 1815-17. He was called "silver-tongued" by his friends at the bar. His eloquence was of the unstrained and genuine type of the old style orator.

Joseph Woodbridge, of Stockbridge, born 1771, was graduated from Dartmouth College, 1792, studied law with Judge Sedgwick, was admitted to the bar 1796. In 1803 he succeeded Henry W. Dwight as clerk of the courts which he filled in 1821. Once he was selected as Presidential elector. He had an uncommon reverence for the Bible, was a fine scholar in Greek and Latin. He died in 1829.

Ezekiel Bacon, of Pittsfield, was born in Boston, 1776. He graduated at Yale College 1794, was admitted to the bar 1798; was a chief-judge of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas for the Western District from 1807 to 1813; was controller of the United States Treasury. About 1815 he moved to Utica, New York. He ranked among the brightest and best of Massachusett's legal lights.

Calvin Waldo, of Dalton, graduated at Dartmouth College in

1789 and was admitted to the bar in 1799; he died 1815, after a successful career in his chosen profession.

Barnabas Bidwell, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar about 1790. He was appointed county treasurer of this county in 1791, and served as State Senator in 1801-04 and as a member of Congress 1803-06.

Samuel Quincy, of Boston, graduated at Harvard College 1782, studied law, and settled in Lenox. He was register of deeds from 1796 to 1801. He died 1816, aged fifty-one.

Thomas Allen was admitted to the bar here 1790, and practiced in Hinsdale.

Daniel Noble, born in Williamstown, 1776, and graduated at Williams College 1796; studied law and was admitted to the practice about 1800. Until 1811 he practiced in South Adams, then located at Williamstown. In 1817-18 he was representative in the General Court. Had it not been for his exertions, Williams College would have been removed to Northampton. He died while on duty for the College, 1830, up in Maine.

Henry Barnard, of Sheffield, was admitted to the bar 1796; later he removed to Franklin county.

Ephraim A. Judson, of Sandisfield, graduated at Williams College 1797, was admitted to the bar 1800; died 1807.

Chauncey Lusk, born in Stockbridge 1769, graduated at Williams College 1795; was then appointed a tutor in the college. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1800, settled in Lanesborough, where he died of consumption in 1803.

Thomas Williams and John Hunt were both admitted to the bar of Berkshire in 1804.

William Perrin Walker, son of Judge Walker, of Lenox, born 1778; graduated at Williams College in 1798 and was admitted to practice in 1802. He was State Senator 1810-11, and in 1815, member of the council in 1823, judge of Probate 1824-48, and chief justice of the Court of Sessions 1819-28. He passed from earth November 11, 1858.

Bartlett Allen, of Lenox, was admitted to the bar in 1805.

David Bishop Curtis, of Sandisfield, a native of Granville, graduated at Williams College in 1801, was admitted to the bar in 1806 and died at Black Rock, New York, 1812.

Moses Hayden, Jr., of Pittsfield, was born in Conway. He graduated at Williams College 1804 and was admitted to the bar 1808, settled in Livingston county, New York, where he died in 1830.

Samuel Howe, Pittsfield, Augustus Collins, of Guilford, and Douglas W. Sloane, of Lee, were all admitted to law practice here prior to 1808.

Henry Hubbard, of Sheffield, was born 1783, educated at Williams College, studied law, was admitted to the bar 1806, began practice in Lanesboro removed to Dalton in 1815, and to Pittsfield in 1821. He was a member of Governor Lincoln's council, and for nine years was editor of the "Berkshire County Whig." After a successful life he passed beyond in 1863, honored by all who knew of his many virtues.

Ezra Kellogg and Luther Washburn were admitted to the bar of this county in 1806, 1807, respectively.

Charles Dewey, of Sheffield, was admitted to the bar in 1805, and practiced here a few years and settled in Indiana.

Robert F. Barnard, Sheffield, was admitted to the bar in 1805; he served as county commissioner and master of Chancery, and was State Senator in 1828-29 and died 1855.

Samuel Jones and Henry Dwight Sedgwick, were admitted to the bar here in 1808.

Thomas Barnard Strong, born in New Marlborough, 1780, graduated at Yale College 1797, studied law and was admitted to the courts in 1800, and settled in Pittsfield. He was several terms a representative of the State Legislature; he inherited a handsome fortune, but stuck close to his chosen profession.

J. B. Luce and Ambrose Kasson, of Pittsfield, were both admitted to the bar in 1809.

William C. Jarvis, born in Boston, was admitted to the bar in 1811, removed to Pittsfield 1815, was member of the House of State Legislature four years—was its speaker. He removed to Woburn in 1825.

Other lawyers of about the last named dates, admitted to this bar were Thomas A. Gold, 1809; David Perry, Jr., 1809; Benjamin Sheldon, 1809; Samuel Johnson, 1809; Chauncey Hulbert, 1809; Lonson Nash, 1805; Charles Bushnel, of Sheffield, 1808; Robert L. Potter, 1810; George H. Ives, Great Barrington, 1810; Joseph Dennison, of Great Barrington, 1810 and John Hooker, of Springfield, was admitted to the bar in 1809 and practiced at Pittsfield for a time.

From 1810 to 1820 the number of lawyers was many, too numerous to be given in much detail. They included these: Josiah Hooker, of Springfield; Lester Filley, of Otis; John Mills, Otis;

Augustus Sherrill, Nathan Putnam, Col. Henry W. Dwight, of Stockbridge; Thomas Robinson, of North Adams; James Alderman Hyde, Reynolds M. Kirby, James Peepon, Fordyce Merrick, Ambrose Hall, of Williamstown; Daniel B. Bush, Pittsfield; Dyer Bancroft, Pittsfield; Calvin Hubbell, Jr., Lanesborough; Wolcott Lawrence, Pittsfield; Rollin C. Dewey, Sheffield; Alvan Coe, Granville; Rufus Bacon, Pittsfield; Cyrus Byington, Stockbridge; Calvin Martin, Plainfield; William Cullen Bryant, the celebrated American poet, was a member of the Berkshire county bar for ten years. He was born in Cummington, Hampshire county, Massachusetts, November 3, 1794, and died in New York City June 12th, 1878. He began the study of law with Judge Howe, of Worthington, completing his course with Hon. William Bayless, of Bridgewater. He commenced practice in Plainfield in 1814, but removed to Great Barrington the following year. He removed to New York City in 1825 and never practiced law thereafter. He was only a fair lawyer, resting his fame on literature. We always class Bryant, Longfellow and Whittier in thinking of our beloved American poets.

Other attorneys before 1820, and about that date were: Charles A. Dewey, Williamstown; Richard O. Hulbert, Sheffield; Joseph Tucker, of Lenox, admitted to practice in 1816; was register of deeds from 1801 to 1847 and was also treasurer of the county many years of that long period. Also William Porter, M. R. Lanckton, Lawson D. Bidwell, Thomas Twining, George Nixon Briggs, Henry Marsh, of Dalton; Charles Leavenworth, Egremont; Horatio Byington, Edward F. Ensign, of Sheffield; Parker L. Hall, Daniel D. Robinson, Homer Bartlett, and Theodore S. Pomeroy, of Stockbridge, the last named being admitted in 1821.

Other men who were admitted and practiced the law in Berkshire county nearly one hundred years ago will include the names of Henry W. Bishop, George Emery Washburn, Charles Baker, William P. Briggs, Joseph Sherrill, N. T. Leonard, Edward Kellogg, John C. Whiting, Increase Sumner, of Great Barrington, was admitted to the bar in 1825, and practiced at Great Barrington until his death in 1871. He was twice State Senator and three times member of the House. He served as judge of the District Court of Southern Berkshire from 1870 on to his decease.

From 1820 on for a score and more years the men who were admitted to practice in the courts of this county included these: Daniel Parish, admitted in 1825; George J. Tucker, who held

county offices a long period, as well as his father and grandfather, the three being in the office of county treasurer for three-quarters of a century. He died October, 1878, aged seventy-four years. About the same date of admission (1825) came Daniel Noble Dewey, Silas H. Gardner, Augustus Turner, Russell A. Wilson, Henry A. Raymond, Franklin Sturgis, Charles P. Huntington, L. K. Strickland, Robert A. Noble, John Z. Goodrich, Edmond B. Penniman, Charles R. Gold, of Pittsfield; Samuel Allen, Edward V. Whitton, Horace N. Chapman, John Richards, Ensign Hosmer Kellogg, Nehemiah Hodge, James Bradford, Henry A. Smith, Jonathan Edwards Field and James Denison Colt, the latter being admitted to practice in 1842.

From the last named date on to about the date of the breaking out of the Civil War, the following were admitted to the bar of this county: Henry Wheeler, 1842; George D. Wilmot, 1842; Thomas G. Gold, 1842; Edward Whitney, 1843; Charles Noble Emerson, J. F. Cook, George W. Hay, Thomas C. Rogers, Lyman C. Thayer, 1844; Henry Dwight Filley, 1845; William Lamphere, 1845; Lucius C. Smith, 1845; James N. Richmond, F. Eugene Mills, Benjamin O. Tyler, admitted in 1847; O'Connor B. Duncan, 1847; Napoleon J. Smith, 1848; Joel Stanley Page, 1849; Andrew A. Richmond, John B. Woodruff, admitted in 1850.

At about the same date (in the fifties) were admitted to the Berkshire bar these: Thomas W. Lowring, 1851; Horace Clark, 1851; Charles B. Ball, 1851; Almon C. Morse, of Dalton, 1852; John Price, 1851; Isaac A. Hoxie, 1852; Henry E. Fitch, of Alford, 1852; Franklin D. Richards, admitted in 1852; Calvin H. Carter, Great Barrington, 1853; Wesley L. Shepardson, Pittsfield, 1853; he raised 2,700 soldiers and was a captain in the Civil War; Ellsworth N. Bates, 1854; William C. Bartlett, William P. Porter, admitted to the bar in 1856; Jarvis Rockwell, North Adams, admitted in 1857; was member of the Legislature; practiced at Hinsdale; was a judge of the District Court upon its organization in 1870, holding his position until released by death in 1885. Newton T. White, of Stockbridge, was admitted to the bar in October, 1860.

Lawyers of Forty Years Ago—That ever reliable publication—Childs' Gazetteer—in 1885 gave the practicing attorneys of this bar at that date as follows:

From Adams—Nelson H. Bixby, Henry J. Bliss, Wallace M. Burt, Franklin H. Munson, Franklin O. Sayles.

From Cheshire—John C. Woolcott.

Great Barrington—A. Chalkley Collins, Justin Dewey, Herbert C. Joyner, Norman W. Shores, Billings Palmer, Frank H. Wright.

From Lee—John Branning, Albert B. Clark, Charles E. Hibbard.

From Lenox—J. E. Parsons, Thomas Post, Julius Rockwell, William S. Tucker.

From North Adams—Enoch H. Beer, Frederick P. Brown, Edward C. Kiely, George P. Lawrence, Mark E. Couch, Charles J. Parkhurst, Arnold G. Potter, Andrew Potter, A. W. Preston, James T. Robinson, Jarvis Rockwell, Shepard Thayer, S. Proctor Thayer.

From Pittsfield—Lewis K. Albro, James M. Barker, Samuel W. Bowerman, John C. Crosby, Henry L. Dawes, William T. Filley, Edward A. Gamwell, Lorenzo H. Gamwell, John F. Noxon, Thomas P. Pingree, William R. Plunkett, Charles Sedgwick Rackemann, Francis W. Rockwell, Edward T. Slocum, Henry W. Taft, Joseph Tucker, William Turtle, Andrew J. Waterman, Marshall Wilcox, Edgar M. Wood.

From Savoy—George M. Bourne.

From Stockbridge—Henry J. Dunham, Charles E. Evans.

From West Stockbridge—William C. Spaulding.

From Williamstown—Keyes Danforth.

The Present Bar of Berkshire County—The published list of lawyers for Berkshire county, by towns January 1st, 1925 was as follows, the roster also containing the date of their admission to the bar:

Adams—F. H. B. Munson, 1875; Fred R. Shaw, 1888; H. L. Harrington, 1894; William S. Morton, 1894; Cassiday & Cassiday, Thomas S. Cassiday, 1896; Francis W. Cassiday, 1910; Edwin K. McPeck, 1897; Walter J. Donavan, 1913; Ralph W. Orr, 1917; Paul Stoelzel, 1922.

Great Barrington—Herbert C. Joyner, 1865; H. N. Joyner, 1913; O. C. Bidwell, 1890; Walter B. Sanford, 1891; W. Taylor Day, 1902; Frank H. Wright, 1922.

Lee—Albert B. Clark, 1880; Albert Clark, 1914; James O'Brien, 1897; Bert Bossidy, 1900.

Lenox—George A. Mole, 1898; Cornelius J. Broderick, 1915.

North Adams—Mark E. Couch, 1882; P. J. Ashey, 1884; Carlton T. Phelps, 1891; William H. Woodhead, 1893; John E. Magenis, 1894; John H. Mack, 1895; James Tracy Potter, 1896; Arthur M. Robinson, 1897; William H. Thatcher, 1897; William F. Barrington, 1900; Hugh P. Drysdale, 1901; James O'Halloran, 1902; Earl D. Getman, 1904; William A. O'Hearn, 1909; J. Bernard Boland, 1911; John L. Burns, 1920; Francis J. Brothers, 1921.

Pittsfield—Francis W. Rockwell, 1871; John F. Noxon, 1881; Michael L. Eisner, 1901; John C. Crosby, 1882; William L. Adams, 1882; Patrick J. Moore, 1886; Henry J. Ryan, 1886; Charles M. Wilcox, 1886; George A. Prediger, 1888; Frank H. Cande, 1891; Walter C. Kellogg, 1902; Frederick M. Myers, 1912; Milton B. Warner, 1891; Arthur H. Wood, 1894; Charles H. Wright, 1894; Charles L. Hibbard, 1895; James Fallon, 1896; Thomas F. Cassidy, 1896; Francis W. Cassidy, 1910; Harriet L. Shaw, 1897; William A. Burns, 1900; J. W. Lewis, 1901; John Baker, 1902; Leroy E. Shaw, 1904; John B. Cummings, 1905; James M. Rosenthal, 1910; Joseph M. McMahon, 1905; John T. Coyne, 1905; Norman C. Hull, 1906; J. Arthur Baker, 1909; Irving H. Gamwell, 1910; Sheridan R. Cate, 1911; Robert M. Stevens, 1912; Fred Jason Cook, 1913; George A. Newman, 1913; John M. Shea, 1914; Nelson A. Foote, 1914; Harold R. Goewey, 1916; Edward T. Scully, 1917; Oscar De Witt, 1917; Cornelius Boothman, 1917; Frederick W. Bunnell, 1921; John I. Donna, 1921; William A. Heaphy, 1921; Lawrence F. Lyons, 1922; Charles W. Faulkner, 1922; Charles R. Albertie, 1922; John F. Noxon, Jr., 1924.

Stockbridge—Chester Averill, 1901.

Williamstown—Clarence M. Smith, 1884.

The Law Library—A Law Library Association was formed in this county in 1815 by the members of the Bar of Berkshire. The object was to obtain law books for use during court. By 1829 they had collected 310 volumes. As the years have passed by the Law Library has grown in volume and real value. In 1885 it contained 3,000 volumes, embracing the Reports of all the New England States, and New York and Pennsylvania, some of the English Reports and Decisions, United States Reports of the Supreme Courts, besides a goodly collection of standard text-books. At present (1925) there are in excess of fourteen thousand vol-

umes on the stacks of this library—all in first class condition and of vast value to the profession and the courts in general. In this connection it should be said that to no ten men of the county is due the credit of collecting books and making valuable indexes of the same that is due to one man—David L. Evans, present probation officer. He took personal charge of the library in 1882 and continued in charge to 1908. While the bar association annually elects their Law Librarian, as a matter of formality, the real work of furthering the interests and keeping in good condition this law library, had fallen to the lot of this one individual for twenty-six years.

The Librarians, since the retirement of Mr. Evans in 1908, have been the following: Miss Ruth Benjamin, about one year; Miss Ruth Griffin; Mrs. Woodbridge, a couple of years; and the present assistant librarian, Mrs. Edna Wentworth, who has been in charge since 1919.

The library is aided by the county annually by an appropriation of one thousand dollars, and the "over-fees" from the clerk of the courts office which makes usually a total of about $2,400, with which to purchase more books and pay the running expenses of the institution.

Capital Crimes of the County—Without going into the detail of numerous crimes committed in Berkshire county since its settlement by the white race, it would be less than a true account of the affairs of the people residing here, unless the following crimes are, at least briefly mentioned, as shown in the following paragraphs which, in a way, tend to show the advancement made in handling crimes and classifying the same since the earlier periods in the county's history:

There have been eight public executions by hanging in this county, of which two were for burglary, three for rape, and three for murder. The first was on December 6, 1787, when John Bly, an Englishman, and Charles Rose were hung for burglaries both committed in Lanesboro, under the pretense of obtaining supplies for the insurgents during Shays' rebellion. It may be stated in this connection that executions for burglary were quite common in those days.

The three executions for rape were those of Ephraim Wheeler, of Windsor, on December 6, 1806; that of Ezra Hutchinson, of Stockbridge, and that of a negro, of Sheffield. The last named was an awful crime wherein a woman was attacked and shockingly

assaulted in the presence of her two children. On the morning of the execution of this criminal he was taken from the jail to the meeting house where an appropriate sermon was preached by Rev. Bradford of Sheffield. Thence he was taken to the gallows, where a full confession was read, and he was executed in the presence of a large concourse of people.

The next case of execution in the county was that of Samuel P. Charles, an Oneida Indian, who for some time had resided in West Stockbridge, and who was hung November 26, 1826, for the murder of Joel Freeman, a colored man, by shooting, in a drunken fight at Richmond. He was ably defended by Thomas Robinson and George N. Briggs (afterward governor of the commonwealth) but was convicted, principally on the evidence of his own brother. And it appeared from subsequent facts that the brother who appeared against him, on his death bed, admitted that he had himself fired the fatal shot, and that Sam was innocent. An account of this dreadful affair a local newspaper at the time had an item containing these words: "Early in the morning the poor condemned criminal was taken from the jail to the old courthouse where appropriate religious services were performed by Rev. Dr. Shepard. Thence the prisoner was taken to the gallows guarded by a military corps of cavalry and light infantry; and we are told that not less than eight thousand persons were present to witness the painful scene . . ." He protested his innocence in incoherent words on the scaffold.

September 7, 1862, there was committed a most revolting crime in which a mother and two small children were brutally murdered, the victims being the wife and children of George A. Jones, who lived near Cold Spring, in Otis. He had gone to church while his wife and small children had gone to the woods to pick some blackberries, and there were attacked and assaulted. Four negroes were arrested but there was only evidence to convict one of their number, a mulatto named James Callender, and him only on the evidence of his father, who it was freely believed had been an equal participant in the hellish crime, but who could not be legally convicted.

The sentence was executed, Friday, November 6, 1863, in presence of two hundred and fifty citizens from different parts of Berkshire county. Several of the relations of the murdered woman, as well as the father of the criminal, who, at his son's request, were compelled to be present. On the scaffold Callender said: "I haint

got much to say, only the old man filled my head with rum, and led me into it with him to kill Mrs. Jones and the children, and now he has left me here to hang, that's all I've got to say."

The last to suffer the extreme penalty in this county was John L. Ten Eyck, a negro, for the murder of Mr. and Mrs. David Stillman, in Sheffield. Mr. Stillman was a carpenter and a farmer, eighty years old and his wife was seventy years of age. They were found dead on the morning of November 30, 1866, their skulls having been shattered by an axe that was found in the house. An attempt had been made to burn the house but it was not burned. Suspicion rested on Ten Eyck, who was only saved from lynching by the officers. No motive other than robbery was shown and also an enmity that he had had against Stillman for charging him with stealing fowls. He was tried, convicted and sentenced. A remarkable feature of his trial was the voluntary appearance of his brother to testify against him. He firmly asserted to the last, that he was innocent. His execution took place August 16, 1878.

The executions prior to 1863 were all at Lenox, then county seat of Berkshire county. Thousands flocked to witness the awful scenes connected with hanging. The first took place in what was then a large pasture, all after that were on what was long known as "Gallows Hill." This was then a beautiful elevation on which later William Emery Sedgwick erected a costly mansion.

At the time of the first execution the considerable space between the two points was traversed by a solemn procession, led by the high sheriff on horseback, bearing his official sword, and wearing his sash and other official dress. The condemned rode in a cart with the coffin. A military escort marched to the sound of fife and drum, which played a death-march on the way to the gallows, and the liveliest tunes on their return. The clergy usually attended in a body. In short, every effort was made to render the scene impressive, with what effect moralists may differ in their estimate.

Besides those who were executed and those who were sentenced for high treason and pardoned, there have been at least three sentences to death passed in this county. One of these was at New Ashford, one case wherein a worthless husband killed his wife with a bayonet and another case where a young man killed his faithless wife in a fit of jealousy, which was a North Adams case.

CHAPTER VII

THE MEDICAL FRATERNITY

In giving an account of the medical men who have practiced in Berkshire county since 1732 (or near that date) the reader should remember that the medical profession is unfortunate everywhere, in that it does not take special pains to record and advertise the work they have faithfully carried on in the community. Again, unlike the other professions the doctor is seldom engaged in any other calling while in active medical practice, hence his name is not found among those who have achieved honor and distinction as politicians, statesmen or journalists. They have been content to let the lawyers and bankers hold the public offices while they stand faithful guard against the ravages of epidemics and common diseases in the community in which they have cast their lot. Of course there are exceptions to this rule but usually a physician and surgeon is wedded to his profession and is not largely interested about other things than his profession and the success he may attain therein.

It should be understood, also, that the early-day physicians belonged to an entirely different school than do the doctors and surgeons of today. Since 1860 or thereabouts, the advancement in this profession has been indeed wonderful. All of the successful specifics for diseases, as now administered, have been discovered since the commencement of the Civil War. In fact up to 1846 the use of anaesthetics was practically unheard of. The inhalation of ether or chloroform was first used during the War with Mexico in 1846-48. But let no one underrate the pioneer family doctor and his saddle-bags, for he administered the best remedies then known and his treatment was careful and his attention sympathetic, while bills due him were not always promptly paid, even as today.

To give the biography of all doctors who have practiced in this county, would take volumes larger than this one, hence the writer will only undertake to briefly mention old-time physicians and introduce the reader, as it were, to the more modern school of medicine and the men who are practicing the improved methods, both in medicine and surgery.

The medical colleges, now so numerous, were scarce in an earlier

period in this country. The medical education was such as could be obtained while serving an apprenticeship to some noted practitioner, during which time serving he combined the duties of a student with many of the menial offices of a servant. One of the old-time physicians long since wrote of the doctor's apprentice as follows: "He ground the powders, mixed the pills, rode with the doctor on his rounds, held the basin when the patient was bled, helped to adjust plasters, to sew up wounds, and ran with a vial of medicine from one end of the town to another."

His apprenticeship ended, the half educated lad returned to his native town to resume practice. Sunshine and rain, daylight and darkness were alike to him. He would ride ten miles on the darkest night, over the worst roads, in a pelting storm, to administer a dose of calomel to an old woman, or to attend a child in a fit. He was present at the birth of most all the children who first saw the light of day in his community, and also attended every funeral; he sat with the minister at every death-bed and put his name with the lawyer to every will. The physician's saddle-bag was his drug store in many instances.

The commencement of medical practice in Berkshire county was at the first incorporated town in the county—Sheffield settled in 1732. It is beyond doubt that the first man to practice medicine here was Dr. Deodet Woodbridge of the North Parish of Sheffield, now known as Great Barrington. He was from Hartford, Connecticut, and in a deed was described as "a doctor of physic." It is not now known how long this pioneer doctor practiced in the county.

The earliest physician in Richmond was Dr. Jonathan Tarbell, who was here a few years and moved to Canaan, New York, where he died in 1775.

Short notices of some of the earliest physicians will here follow. It is well to state that the early medical history of this part of the State should be credited to Harvard College, as most of the pioneer physicians were from that institution.

Dr. John Crocker was from Barnstable, a graduate of Harvard College and early settled at Richmond. He lived to be ninety-five years of age.

A former history states that Dr. Bull located in Sheffield in 1755, which is questioned, but it is certain he was early in that field; also Dr. Nathaniel Downing of the same town.

Dr. Lemuel Barnard a native of Deerfield, graduated at Yale in

1759. It is known of him that he was one of the committee of five appointed at a Congress of deputies of the towns within this county, convened at Stockbridge, July 6th, 1774, to discuss the issue of paying tax to Great Britain for her manufactured articles.

Others very early in medical practice were Drs. Samuel Breck, who located at Great Barrington in 1752; Joseph Lee, of the same place, 1761; Samuel Lee located in Great Barrington in 1765, where he bought a house and lot which was later used for a county jail. He was also an early inn-keeper there.

Dr. John Budd, probably from New Bedford, came to Barrington in 1780. He is said to have been an active man and very popular in the community; he died in 1804, aged fifty-four.

Dr. Jeremiah Morrison was the pioneer doctor at Sandisfield, the date is doubtful. Drs. Hamilton, John Hawley, Amos Smith were here before 1773.

It is believed that the first white child born in Stockbridge, 1742, was he who later was so well known as Dr. Erastus Sergeant; he was a Princeton student for a number of years; he died in 1814 of consumption.

Prior to 1800 these physicians entered this county to practice: Drs. Eldad Lewis, Joseph Clark, Oliver Brewster, Jabez Cowdry, John Budd and Samuel Baldwin. The first to practice in Lee was Dr. Gideon Thompson; he moved to New York State in a few years.

Dr. Oliver Partridge, of Stockbridge, born 1751, studied medicine and in 1771 moved to Stockbridge. He resided in one house for seventy-two years and at death he had been practicing medicine seventy-five years. He was a many-sided man and held in high esteem in the county. His methods were hardly scientific but practical for his day and generation.

Among the quite noted physicians of those Revolutionary days was Dr. Timothy Childs, a leading patriot of Pittsfield. His father was Captain Childs who lead a company of minute men from Deerfield, when the news of the battle of Lexington was received, at the same time Dr. Timothy was marching with a similar corps from Pittsfield. He was born at Deerfield 1748, entered Harvard 1764, did not graduate; studied medicine in Deerfield with Dr. Thomas Williams and established in his profession in Pittsfield 1771. In the spring of 1774 he asked permission of the town to "set up inoculation in Pittsfield." This was denied but in 1775 it was granted with hesitancy and embarrassing conditions. This

doctor was not only a good medical man but a strong moral and loyal patriot all through the trying days of the country.

Dr. Asahel Wright, of Windsor was born in 1757; he married and reared five sons all physicians. He located in Windsor in 1781; practiced in Dalton, Peru, Hinsdale and other towns of this county. He died in 1834.

About that time were practicing Drs. John Wright and Benjamin Smith of Dalton and New Marlboro.

Unless a doctor would subscribe to the membership of the medical society, just then organized in this county, the other doctors were pledged to "give him the cold shoulder." The medical men who belonged to the society were to treat "the others who refused to join with entire neglect and disgust."

The first physician in Otis was Dr. Eliphalet Colt. He came from Connecticut in 1794 and located in London.

Dr. Hugo Burghardt, a native of Great Barrington, born 1771, graduated at Yale College, studied medicine in Stockbridge with Dr. Sergeant. He commenced practice at Richmond in 1795 and continued until 1820. He died poor on account of the aid he gave the country in time of war.

There are numerous names found of early physicians, but little of real personal history accompanying the names. These include Drs. Joseph Waldo, Richmond; Jonathan Lee, Pittsfield; Reuben Buckman, New Marlboro; Daniel Goodwin, Horatio Jones, Stockbridge; David Cushing of Adams; John Budd, Great Barrington; Samuel Carrington, Sandisfield; Liscomb Phillips, of Adams; Samuel Porter, Williamstown; William Towner, Williamstown; Samuel Smith, "who lost all his property in the Revolution," of Williamstown; Asa Burbank, a native of Williamstown, born 1773; graduated at Williams College, located first at Lanesboro; he was appointed in 1822 professor of obstetrics in the Berkshire Medical Institution.

The medical records of the county disclose the names and brief accounts of the following physicians, who in their day were well known, but, who like all of humanity had to pass out from life's shining circle and give place to others in the profession: Drs. W. H. Tyler, Robert C. Robinson, Snell Babbitt, Elihu S. Hawkes, George Charles Lawrence, a great favorite among his fellow doctors; Henry Halsey Childs, of Pittsfield; he was the originator of Berkshire Medical College in 1822.

Others who practiced the healing art in the fore part of the 18th century were Drs. Robert Worthington, Charles Worthing-

ton, Daniel Collins, John M. Brewster, Oliver E. Brewster, Oliver S. Root, Abel Kitridge, Robert Campbell, Royal Fowler, Selden Jennings, Clarkson T. Collins, Samuel Duncan, Henry Pratt, Ebenezer Emmons, John V. Newman, Thomas M. Sherman.

A little later in the county's history there were in practice men of newer schools of medicine who had the good will of the communities in which they practiced. Among such were, Nathaniel Leavitt, of West Stockbridge, who lost his life by over exertion in time of great sickness in this county; he died in 1854, aged fifty-seven. Elias Hollenback, graduated at Pittsfield in his twentieth year. Joseph M. Bassett, of Egremont; John P. Perkins, of Great Barrington; Dr. Vassal White, of Stockbridge; Dr. Simon Parker Dresser, of Savoy.

Now in view of what these men were as scholars, active in mind and body, eagerly seeking for opportunities to do good as physicians, with extensive practice, touching the mass of the people in the tenderest places of humanity with zeal according to knowledge, as citizens taking a large share in the matters of civil government, deeply interested in education, knowing that it was the vitality of the commonwealth, maintainers of the sanctity of the Sabbath and public worship, zealous for the Bible and readers of it, and in their lives exemplifying its teachings, what must their inevitable influence and power have been in the normal development of Berkshire county?

Physicians of Forty Years Ago—A directory of the county published in 1885 gives the following list of those in active medical practice in 1885 in Berkshire county:

First will be given the names of the "Regular" school—

Charles W. Burton	Henry G. Girard	Richard Beebe, Alford
Patrick Keefe	Thomas Riley, Adams	Leander Cole
Leander W. Combs, Becket	Henry S. Ballou	William P. Paddock
Henry T. Phillips	Daniel E. Thayer	Samuel Camp
Walter W. Scofield	Harry P. Atherton	Alfred Large
Amos Dowd	Theodore Giddings	Edgar C. Collins
William H. Parks	Francis Whittlesey	Edward L. Pratt
Mrs. Mary L. Dresser	Edward M. Frissell	Charles C. Holcomb
H. R. Van Rensselaer	Charles E. Heath	Richard C. Greenleaf
David M. Wilcox	Eliphalet Wright	James W. Robbins
Edward P. Hale	Seth K. Pease	Walter G. Carr
Orlando J. Brown	Homer D. Bushnell	Henry J. Millard
Charles J. Curran	J. H. A. Matte	William M. Pease
Albert J. Rice	Henry M. Stafford	George Bedard
	Edward L. Bailey	Henry H. Cadwell

J. F. Alleyne
John M. Brewster
Henry Colt, Jr.
Charles M. Frye
Frank K. Paddock
Christian Schilling
W. Edward Vermilye
Morgan L. Woodruff
J. Leland Miller
Henry H. Smith
Lewis Miller
Charles L. Hubbell
Stephen C. Burton
Henry W. Dewey
William B. Hall
Samuel M. Reynolds
Abner M. Smith
Walter H. Wentworth
Chas. R. Starkweather
Isaac R. Sanford
Frank J. Blodgett
William W. Leavitt
Edward E. Mather
Horace Holmes
George F. Foster
William M. Mercer
Oscar S. Roberts
Charles H. T. Treptow
James H. Wheeler
Charles E. Bushnell
F. L. Smith
E. Heath
Gorton H. Race
Andrew M. Smith

Homoepathic Physicians—George R. Spooner, Mrs. L. S. Millard, Charles Hubbard, Harlow A. Van Dusen, Charles W. Stratton, Thomas J. Putnam, George F. Simpson, Alonzo H. Dennett, Charles Barley, Lorenzo Waite, Thomas J. Warner, Joseph A. Jones.

Botanic Doctors—Ira N. Mason, Cheshire; S. D. Merriam, Sheffield.

Eclectic Doctors—Seth N. Briggs, John M. Clark, John W. Morse, Charles H. Marshall, Pittsfield.

Electric and Magnetic Doctors—Mrs. Mary A. Phillips, Pittsfield; Edward R. Reynolds, Richmond .

Indian Doctor—David Butterfield, Pittsfield.

Specialists—William Brown and Wallace E. Brown, North Adams; Elbridge S. Pixley, Pittsfield.

Thompsonian Doctor—Henry Porter, Williamstown.

Present Physicians of the County—(1925)—Adams—A. K. Boom, J. F. Crowley, H. B. Holmes, B. E. Howe, J. F. McLaughlin, W. W. Pascoe. Blackinton—William Galvin. Cheshire—H. N. Archibald, L. E. Mannis. Clarksburg—(None). Egremont—(None). Florida—(None). Great Barrington—C. S. Chapin, W. W. Jones, H. W. Luchsinger. Hinsdale—C. J. Maxwell. Lanesborough—L. D. Barnes. Housatonic—(Same as Great Barrington). Mount Washington—(None). New Marlborough—(None). North Adams—M. M. Brown, O. J. Brown, J. W. Bunce, R. J. Carpenter, J. W. Crawford, N. M. Crofts, A. M. Curran, G. L. Curran, W. L. Curran, M. A. Gangemi, J. R. Hobbie, J. H. A. Matte, F. J. O'Hara, J. H. Riley, F. D. Stafford, G. H. Thompson, E. M. Vrooman, C. W. Wright. Pittsfield—Garvey Adeson, O. L. Bartlet, J. J. Boland, Henry Colt, Modestino Criscitiello, Jr., W. H. Currier, I. S. F. Dodd, H. J. Downey, M. S. Eisner, A. C. England, Nathan Finkelstein, Thomas Flournoy, W. T. Frawley, L.

M. French, T. P. Hennelly, J. D. Howe, G. P. Hunt, W. P. Kelly, E. A. Kennedy, Z. L. Leonard, C. T. Leslie, Thomas Littlewood, F. E. Mayberry, H. G. Mellen, W. J. Mercer, A. P. Merrill, W. A. Millet, W. M. Monroe, T. H. Nelligan, T. J. Norton, B. W. Paddock, W. L. Paddock, C. H. Richardson, F. A. Roberts, J. C. Roe, H. P. Roney, Phillipe St. Marie, Solomon Schwager, G. N. Shipton, F. R. Smith, Bessie T. Strongman, J. A. Sullivan, E. H. Taylor, J. B. Thomas, W. L. Tracy, M. H. Walker, Jr., R. A. Woodruff. Richmond—(None). Sandisfield—(None). Sheffield—B. V. Tompkins, A. T. Wakefield. Stockbridge—F. C. Downing, A. W. Klein, L. K. Hunt, J. A. P. Millett, A. F. Riggs, H. E. Stockwell, W. B. Terhune. Tyringham—(None). Washington—(None). West Stockbridge—S. H. Parks. Windsor—(None).

Medical College and Medical Societies—The first effectual effort toward establishing a medical school in Western Massachusetts was in 1821, at a time when New England had seven medical schools of good repute. This was first mentioned by Oliver S. Root, on his return from a course of lectures in Vermont, and he brought word from Dr. J. Batchelder, a professor in the school at Castleton, Vermont, who was disgusted with the school of which he was then a member of the faculty, to Dr. H. H. Childs that the time was ripe for founding a medical school at Pittsfield. Dr. Childs took a lively interest in the scheme at once. He laid the plans very frankly before the then newly organized county medical society here and appointed Drs. Asa Burbank of Lanesboro and Daniel Collins of Lenox, together with himself a committee to petition the legislature for a charter and endowment for a Medical College to be located at Pittsfield. This was presented in June, 1822. The issue met with opposition by Harvard College and Boston who failed to understand, as yet, that the people of Western Massachusetts had intellects and rights to be counted upon. However, after much discussion the bill was passed and signed by Governor Brooks, January 4, 1823, but the people of Berkshire had to endow their own college. The act named as trustees: Rev. Heman Humphrey, Dr. J. P. Batchelder, Henry Hubbard, Samuel McKay, and Henry H. Childs. The trustees commenced their work with a fund of $3,000 mostly in unpaid subscriptions. Not until 1826 did the trustees come into full possession of the property. In 1823 the legislature appropriated $5,000 to the institution, payable annually for five years. Thus the school ran on a fund of about ten thousand dollars invested in buildings,

furniture and apparatus. From 1825 the salaries of instructors were derived from tuition fees of students. In 1843 the number of students had become large. In February, 1850, a fire destroyed the lecture room and the anatomical theatre. The legislature helped out with an appropriation of $10,000. The citizens of Berkshire county paid $5,000. A fine site was selected for the new building, on South street. After being used for thirty years the old dormitory and boarding-hall were discontinued in 1852. Debts finally became too great a burden to bear and the most of the property was transferred to the Athenaeum then being established in Pittsfield. The building was sold in 1871 to the town when it was converted into a grammar school, the price paid being $8,000. The springing up of so many endowed schools in the Western States after the Civil War, cut off much revenue from the West and South which had been a great aid in conducting this school of medicine. It was therefore decided to abandon the institution. Prior to 1830, Massachusetts had no laws against "body snatching" from graveyards, and that many graves were robbed in this and other countries in the State was common knowledge. This feature caused many to dislike to have a medical college in the place, but after proper legislation was had this matter was quieted down very much.

The first president of this college was Dr. Jonah Goodhue, of Hadley, one of the self-educated physicians of New England. At the first term of school there were eighty students. In 1829 Dr. Goodhue died and was succeeded by Dr. Zadoc Howe, who remained until 1837, when he resigned and Dr. H. H. Childs was elected to succeed him. He resigned at the age of eighty years, as a professor but still acted as president. He died in the spring of 1868 in Boston. The most prosperous period of the College was between 1844 to 1848 when the number of students was from 120 to 140 yearly. The last year only thirty-five students attended. In 1854 a clinic was established and flourished to the closing of the institution. The Berkshire Medical College existed from 1822 to the end of the forty-fourth year. Eleven hundred and eighty doctors of medicine graduated here and had attracted many men of rank during those years.

Medical Societies—The Massachusetts Medical Society was incorporated in 1781, it appointed in 1785, a committee in each county within the State, "for the purpose of encouraging the communication of all important cases that might occur in the practice of

medicine and art of healing, and for such purpose they were to meet and communicate with associations and physicians in their respective counties." The committee for Berkshire was Drs. Erastus Sergeant and Oliver Partridge. In June, 1787, such a county society was organized by fourteen physicians. The bitter feelings over Shays' Rebellion caused ill feelings in the medical society which caused it to go down. Dr. Whiting, president of the society, was imprisoned and had a heavy fine to pay for his participation in that strife. From 1794 to 1796 a second Medical Society existed in this county, but went the way of all the earth! February, 1818, the legislature granted a charter for the Berkshire District Medical Society, which was accepted by the members of the old State Society in 1820. Dr. Timothy Childs was its president; and Dr. Hugo Burghardt, secretary.

In 1871 Pittsfield Medical Society was formed, its object being the mutual intercourse, social and professional, and the promotion of scientific culture among physicians.

In August, 1876, six physicians met at the old Arnold House and organized a society for North Adams and immediate vicinity. The same month and year, the North Berkshire Medical Society was formed, its constitution and by-laws adopted and officers chosen. Their constitution provided for monthly meetings and that they were to be held alternately in the various parts of the district, at the vote of the members. Another provision was that if refreshments were had that they were to be "of the simplest kind," but history tells us that this rule soon became a dead letter. At these medical gatherings much good resulted. A friendly feeling was fostered in the profession and valuable, interesting papers were frequently read and discussed on matters concerning the medical science and practice. To insure a uniformity of charges the societies adopted a fee bill and to prevent imposture by "dead beats" a black list was prepared, bearing the names of those who were constantly running from one physician to another as their credit failed with each.

Of the present medical societies in which Berkshire is interested may be named the local county organization and the District organization in Western Massachusetts counties, and the Massachusetts State Medical Society. The 1924-25 officers of the Berkshire District are: Drs. J. A. Sullivan, president; Nathan Finkelstein, vice-president; A. P. Merrill, secretary; C. T. Leslie, treasurer, all residing in Pittsfield. There are 102 physicians holding a membership in this society—99 are in active practice.

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The farmer of today has little conception of what his ancestors experienced in raising their first crops from the virgin soil in Berkshire county, when the "farm" was yet to be made from out the great forests round about. The timber first had to be girdled in advance, then cut into windrows, dried and set fire to. Those were the days and nights when "logging" bees were common and full of interest to old and young. Whole neighborhoods usually joined in this work, as in union there was strength, then as well as now. After the burning of the timber thus treated, the many ashes had to be gathered up and removed from the "clearing" as the small patch was commonly called. Then with a huge wooden "A" harrow and an ox team the land had to be thoroughly dragged over and over many times and cross-harrowed that the soil might be fairly well pulverized, before the grain was sowed or the corn planted. The early plowing was accomplished by means of what was termed a "bull plow"—an uncouth implement with a wrought iron shear and a wooden moldboard. When the grain crop was ripened sufficiently it was cut by single handfuls with a sickle, such as are now seen for lawn trimming today. No other implement was as convenient to reap the grain among the stumps and stones of New England and New York as this sickle. But later when the stumps had rotted away and the large stones had been removed, then the grain cradle came into immediate use among the farmers. At first the grain was threshed by means of a wooden flail on the ground and separated from the chaff by pouring it from a height allowing the stiff-blowing wind to blow away the chaff while the wheat fell to the ground and later was run through a "corn-fan." The grain had to be thus handled until barns were erected and then the threshing-floor came into use and horses walking in a circle trod out the grain instead of the flail being employed. Hay was cut with an old-fashioned scythe, which obtained until long after the Western States had been using the mower. But when all stones and stumps had been removed and one generation had time to think what their fathers had endured, the farmer here discarded those old-time methods and primitive implements and became users of the more modern tools.

The most important and handy farm implement in use here in the earlier times was the ox-cart. By this vehicle the manure was hauled to the fields, the grain was hauled by it to the mill or market; it was available for going to meeting, or balls and weddings. The rough and stump highways almost precluded the use of a four wheeled vehicle. These primitive methods obtained until the close of the eighteenth century. With the advent of that period came the breeding of better stock. Before then sheep were about all the farmer paid attention to. Even with this animal it was found that the best wool could only come from the improved sheep, and fine wool so much needed in the factories here was soon being clipped from home-grown improved sheep. Later the farmer commenced to keep and breed higher grades of swine and horses, as well as cattle. While Berkshire was beginning at that time to see, in common with all New England, the necessity of having many factories in order to become truly independent of England, farming was still of great importance and the farmer awoke to the fact that he might advance more rapidly if he used better methods and took the advice of those who had greater experience than he had. Hence it was that the intelligent and far-seeing men, chief among them in this county being Elkanah Watson, were led to conceive the idea of establishing in Berkshire county a society for the promotion of agriculture and manufacturies. The date of this innovation was in 1807, when such societies were not numerous in any part of the world. It seemed to take centuries to bring man up to such a standard.

What was styled the "Improvers Society of Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland" was organized in 1723. In 1777 the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society was organized, and at once established the first cattle shows ever known to mankind. Similar societies were formed in France. In America the earliest society, probably, was in South Carolina, in 1784. Another was established in Philadelphia about one year later. The New York Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufacture and Arts was organized in 1791. The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture was incorporated in 1792 and through its publications—the "Agricultural Repository" and the "Massachusetts Journal of Agriculture" was of great benefit to the farming interests of the State and of this county.

Not until 1793 did the thought of having county societies obtain in the minds of the agriculturists. That year the New York

Society made such a departure and the first county society was established and known as the "Dutchess County Agricultural Society." The farmers up in Maine in 1801 organized the Kennebec Agricultural Society, so it will be observed that Berkshire was not the earliest in this work which has come to be of such vast importance from one coast to the other.

In 1885 the following was written concerning the model society which was credited to this county, and which has advanced to every State in the Union. "It remained for the Berkshire farmers under the leadership of a gentleman singularily qualified by nature and education, as well as social position, to work out a model which proved so well adapted to its purposes that it has been followed by all the county agricultural societies in America, and has exercised a controlling influence over the operations of the State organizations."

The Berkshire society was the model after which, in 1817, the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture established its plan of operations. New York and Kentucky soon called for the plans and were not slow in taking advantage of their merits.

The Berkshire society inaugurated a new era in organizations for the improvement of agriculture. In accomplishing this happy end, came the institution of the festival known as "The Cattle Show and Agricultural Fair." These occasions became to the farmer what the Commencement day is to the school graduate. This Fair was worked for, talked about and enjoyed fully as much as Fourth of July or Thanksgiving days, not alone by men, but by both sexes and by the youth of the county.

Mr. Watson, already mentioned, was the founder of this system of farm societies. He came from York State and bought the farm and old mansion-house of Henry Van Schaack, and removed to Pittsfield in 1807. He had been an extensive foreign traveler and commenced to do active agricultural work when he was fifty years of age.

It was announced in August, 1810, in the "Pittsfield Sun" that the following October "twenty-six respectable and intelligent gentlemen of the county proposed to exhibit bulls, oxen, steers, and other neat cattle; merino sheep and different grades, as well as improved breeds; hogs or swine of different breeds." This affair came off in the mellow autumn days as advertised and was of unusual interest. The exhibits included 383 sheep, seven bulls,

109 oxen, nine cows, three heifers, two calves and one boar. So much interest was manifest that the farmers in attendance procured a charter for incorporating a society, through the next legislature.

The act incorporating named the following, with others who might later be selected, as being charter members: Elkanah Watson, Ezekiel Bacon, John B. Root, and Thomas B. Strong, of Pittsfield; Caleb Hyde, of Lenox; John Chamberlain, of Walton, and Samuel H. Wheeler, of Lanesboro, the same to be associated together as "The Berkshire Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Manufactures." This charter was dated August 1, 1811. The first officers were: Elkanah Watson, president; William Walker and S. H. Wheeler, vice-presidents; Caleb Hyde, corresponding secretary; Thomas B. Strong, recording secretary; John B. Root, treasurer; Joseph Shearer, Ezekiel Bacon and Jonathan Allen, trustees. The first annual fair was held that fall. After Mr. Watson had addressed the people who had gathered for the exhibition, a procession was formed unique in its character. A team of *sixty yoke of oxen* drew a plow which was held by Charles Goodrich, Esq. The leading driver of the oxen was Nathaniel Fairfield. These were the two oldest farmers in Pittsfield. Both were veterans of the French and Indian wars. Next came a broad platform drawn by oxen, bearing a large broadcloth loom, with a flying shuttle, and a spinning jenny of forty spindles, all the machinery in actual operation. Then came a triumphal car drawn by horses, and bearing various specimens of Berkshire manufactures. Among them rolls of broadcloth, rolls of sail duck, handsome rose blankets, muskets, anchors, leather, etc. with the flags of the United States and the Commonwealth displayed above it.

The next cattle show was three months before the declaration of war against Great Britain. In 1812-13 premiums were offered to the ladies for articles they might produce. At first women refused to have an interest in this but time changed all things and the ladies ever since have taken their full share of interest and worked hard to make the annual fairs a success.

Plowing matches did not appear here until 1818, when premiums were offered.

As the Berkshire Agricultural Society took form it became the model for others, and Thomas Gold, the third president, was able, in 1822 to write of it: "The fame and influence have extended over

the entire surface of the United States; its example followed, its approbation courted by its extended offspring. It has been recognized, as well in Europe as in America, as an original, novel plan, and the most excellent organization ever conceived to promote the general interests under its patronage."

In 1816 a legislation appropriation of two hundred dollars annually for three years was made. This was followed in 1818, by an act granting aid on certain conditions, to all county agricultural societies. To realize the benefit of this aid the society, in 1819, established a fund which in 1825 amounted to two thousand four hundred dollars. The man Watson, who was the first president, removed to New York and died at the age of eighty-four years. The inscription on his monument is in part, "The founder and first president of the Berkshire Agricultural Society."

Not until 1855 was any provisions made for owning a fair ground. And not until 1860 was any admittance fee charged to view the annual exhibits. During the last year named a fraction over twenty-nine acres of land was purchased from William W. Goodman for $2,200. This property is a mile and one-half to the north of the park in Pittsfield, on the west side of Wahconah street. There many improvements, including buildings, stalls, booths and a racing track were constructed, the total outlay up to 1885 was about $10,000. In 1860 a dining hall forty feet square was erected. This society celebrated its semi-centennial anniversary on the second day of the annual fair in 1860.

As the years went by and the matter of manufacturing began to take place more and more, and farming was not so popular among the younger generation as it had been among the fathers and grandfathers of this generation, the societies began to go down for lack of interest. In the nineties the society of the County Agricultural Society became indebted for nearly ten thousand dollars and finally the directors were authorized to sell the property and pay out what they could, and so in January, 1902, this was brought about and that ended the history of the society and its cattle show of years ago, leaving nothing but the fond memory of its existence. The last officers were: Dr. H. P. Jaques, of Lenox, president; A. E. Malcolm, Pittsfield, treasurer; and J. Ward Lewis, of Pittsfield, secretary.

The Housatonic Agricultural Society—In brief the history of this society is as follows: In October, 1841, a meeting was held at the Berkshire House in Great Barrington village for the purpose

of forming an agricultural society in the southern part of this county. Major Samuel Rosseter, presided and a committee of three from each of the eleven towns in the south portion of the county was appointed. The result was that later in that year a society was organized with Major Rosseter as its president; Increase Sumner its secretary and Philip Barnes as treasurer. Plans were formulated to hold a cattle show and fair which took place in September, 1842, when the farmers from Otis to Mt. Washington, with all the other towns, drove their oxen into the village. The housewives brought their home-made goods, such as quilts, blankets, homespun cloth, and all was merry. It was voted on the spot to have another exhibition in 1843. During the fair in 1843 plowing matches seem to have taken the lead over all other features. Fairs were held every autumn until 1847 after about the same fashion. During the last named year the household manufactures were changed from Academy Hall to the old town hall, and the cattle were exhibited at different times on Rosseter street and in Robbin's grove, west of Great Barrington village. The members and wealth of the society grew until it was incorporated in 1848, under the name of "Housatonic Agricultural Society." In 1849 a premium of twenty dollars was awarded to the one having the best twenty yoke of oxen, which shows Berkshire in those times had plenty of oxen on hand. Major Samuel Rosseter walked proudly behind the plow, while before "at least a hundred stalwart oxen were aligned, while his Excellency, Governor George N. Briggs and magistrates marched behind."

The premiums paid in 1843 amounted to $162; while the exhibitions in 1884 drew forth premiums amounting in value to $2,800. The total expenses that year were $6,753.

In 1854 the society purchased the farm of Linus Manville, of Great Barrington, nineteen acres for $2,525. About that date they also bought other lands for $450 and again in 1855, bought of Mr. Manville land worth $3,000. They also purchased the "Cove" property adjoining the original tract held by them. In the eighties the society had a membership of 1,600 persons and from five to ten thousand persons attended the annual exhibits. "The Hall" was built in 1856 and a half mile track was made for the speeding of horses. Before 1856 only two days were devoted to the annual fair, but then it was increased to three.

The Hoosac Valley Agricultural Society was established in the fall of 1859 when the citizens of Adams and surrounding towns

met and selected officers as follows: Clement Harrison of North Adams, president; Stephen C. Millard, Stamford; Asabel Foote, Williamstown; N. Nelson Dean, South Adams; secretary, O. A. Archer, Blackinton; treasurer, Henry W. Kingsley. They also provided at that meeting for holding the first annual fair, the date being fixed as October 3, 4, 1859. The fair was held and was a fair success. The next year the society was incorporated. Clement Harrison, Edward R. Tinker and Rodman H. Wells were named in the act of incorporation. All through the succeeding years the annual exhibitions or fairs were held and good interest was manifested. The grounds and buildings were located at North Adams. Freshets damaged their race-track and other improvements at various times. Finally a new track had to be provided. In the eighties a good Hall for exhibition was built; also grand stand for judges, etc. In 1877 unfortunately the records of this society were burned. William W. Gallup, of North Adams, was secretary during the first nine years of the society's history and following him came H. Clay Bliss who was serving in 1885. Of recent years agricultural societies have not claimed the attention such societies should and the records of their meetings are not accessible to the writer.

CHAPTER IX

ROUTES OF TRAVEL—RAILROADS, ETC.

In the making of internal improvements in every country there have always been men with a far-sighted vision who have pioneered the preliminary ways which have finally ended in completed improvements so greatly needed in all communities where prosperity abounds today. In this section of Massachusetts such a one was Dr. Abner Phelps, a native of the state, and a graduate of Williams College, in 1806. While in college this man chanced to obtain the loan of a small book describing a horse railroad constructed in Wales, for carrying slate, and he at once became convinced of the feasibility of the system for general transportation. This young man's father, Colonel Phelps, was a prominent member in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1808. He wrote his son concerning the Legislature not acting favorably toward the construction of the proposed canal from Boston to Albany, whereupon the son wrote his father to try and get the law-makers interested in the building of a railroad between those two cities instead of a canal. For two decades thereafter, Colonel Phelps tried to induce the Legislature to support his theories for a railroad. But in 1826 when he was a member from Boston, he brought the question forward himself. But the general membership in the Legislature or General Assembly seemed in favor of the canal system above mentioned. Committees and engineers were set at work to ascertain what the cost would be of tunneling the mountain for a water-way system, etc. But Berkshire had strong railroad advocates and one was Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, of Stockbridge, who published long articles and circulated many booklets on the railroad proposition so dear to his mind. Articles appeared in the Berkshire "Star" and Pittsfield "Sun." The first town in the county to act directly, was Stockbridge, and they had a petition before the Assembly in 1826, signed by James Whiton, of Lee, and others, which was presented, asking for the incorporation of a railroad from Berkshire to Boston, taking the western terminus of the Housatonic Turnpike for its western beginning It was to pass through Stockbridge, Springfield, and Worcester. At the June session in 1826, on motion of Dr. Phelps, Messrs. Phelps, George W. Adams, of Boston, and Emory Washburn of Worces-

ter, were appointed to a committee on the part of the House (Senate not concurring) to sit during the recess, and consider the feasibility of constructing a railroad from Boston to the Hudson river. Matters went on in discussion and genuine thoughts by the strong men in various communities in the Commonwealth, until January 27, 1827 when a mass meeting was held at Canaan; another at Lee, both full of enthusiasm for the railroad. At the June session of the Assembly that year, upon the petition of James Watson, of Berkshire, and Josiah Quincy and others of Boston, commissions were appointed to secure civil engineers to survey out the route for a railroad from Boston to the West. The Assembly appropriated $10,000 for this purpose. Nahum Mitchell, Boston, Samuel M. McKay, Pittsfield, were appointed commissioners and James F. Baldwin, engineer. Various routes were explored out and estimates of cost made. But still the members of the Legislature were not agreed upon any proposition, but thwarted the best plans laid before them. So it was that in 1831 the Berkshire people concluded to let the Boston connection go and interest themselves in a steam railway which would give them rail connection with New York, instead of throwing their trade interest with that of Boston, in their own State. They secured a charter March 1832, for a line from New York to Albany, by the valleys of the Croton and the Housatonic. This is what is now known as the old Harlem route. It was then proposed to run this line through Sharon, Salisbury in Connecticut and Sheffield, Great Barrington and West Stockbridge in this State. The matter went on but no real activities toward building a road were seen. The charters ran out and in 1836 were renewed and the capital increased to $300,000.

What was known as the Hudson & Berkshire line from West Stockbridge was put under contract in the autumn of 1835 and opened for travel September 26, 1838. A line of five coaches drawn by horses was immediately put on to carry passengers from Pittsfield to connect with the cars at West Stockbridge, and continued to operate until the opening of the Western Railroad.

March 12, 1830, the Massachusetts Railroad was incorporated to extend from Boston to the Hudson river, but nothing was ever done and the company's charter expired by limitation.

Numerous surveys and many charters were granted for steam railways through parts of Berkshire and adjoining counties. But few of the many ever materialized. After many delays on April

23, 1840, those controlling the charter of the Albany & West Stockbridge Railroad, owning the Western Railroad were authorized to locate and operate that line to Albany. During this year a large part of the grading was done on the sixty-two and a half miles in this State west of the Connecticut river and the rails laid upon thirty-five miles of the line. In May, 1841, the road was open for business from the east to Chester and a locomotive with a single car belonging to the Hudson & Berkshire road reached the Pittsfield depot at one o'clock and thirty minutes, p. m. May 4th, 1841. August 9th trains were run to Washington Summit, and from Worcester to Hudson October 4 via the Hudson & Berkshire, and to Albany December 21, under a contract with the Hudson Company for the joint use of their road from the State line to Chatham.

Lemuel Pomeroy was the first Berkshire director, 1836-40, succeeded by Parker L. Hall, Thomas Plunkett, Robert Campbell, William H. Murray, and others, successively.

When the Western Railroad was completed in 1842, there was a strong desire upon the part of the people in the towns of Adams and Cheshire to have constructed a line connecting them with the main line at Pittsfield, and a charter was obtained in March, 1842 but it expired before it had accomplished anything and was renewed in 1845, and the road was built under direction of the Western Railroad Company, at an expense of $450,000. It was leased to the company for thirty-six years at six percent on its cost, and the lease was renewed in 1876 for ninety-nine years. The last rail was laid 11:00, October 6, 1846 and thirty minutes later came the locomotive "Graylock," with a passenger car with a party from Pittsfield and Cheshire, and entered North Adams.

The Berkshire Railroad Company's Operations—This company was incorporated April 13th, 1837, with a capital of $800,000, to construct a railroad from the southern line of the State near Ashley's Mills, in Sheffield, through said town and Great Barrington, to an intersection with the West Stockbridge Railroad in the village of West Stockbridge. The incorporators were Robert F. Barnard, Wilbur Curtis, and Increase Sumner. Its construction was mainly accomplished through the efforts of Mr. Bishop, then president of the Housatonic Railroad Company. This road was completed from the Connecticut line to Great Barrington, and the first train ran to the station on the morning of the 28th of September, 1842. From that time a regular passenger train was run

between Bridgeport and Great Barrington. The line was finished to West Stockbridge July 19, 1843. This line is operated under a perpetual lease by the Housatonic Railroad Company.

The Stockbridge and Pittsfield Railroad was incorporated March 20, 1847, with a capital of $550,000. to construct a road from Pittsfield through Lenox, Lee, and Stockbridge, to a junction with the Berkshire Railroad near Van Deusenville, in the town of Great Barrington; with incorporators Charles M. Owen, Charles C. Alger, and George W. Planter. Their first meeting was held July 3, 1848 when Charles M. Owen was chosen Chairman, Harrison Garfield, clerk, and fifty-six associates. It was after completion leased to the Housatonic Railroad Company. The road was opened January 1, 1850.

Pittsfield & New Haven Railroad—This line was chartered in 1848, to construct a railroad from the Connecticut line up the Farmington Valley, through Sandisfield, Otis, etc. It was granted to Henry Childs and others. April 12, 1866 the name was changed to the Lee & New Haven, and at that date it received State aid to the sum of $300,000. In 1871 the Lee & Hudson line was incorporated to extend from Lee through Stockbridge to West Stockbridge. Governor Washburn vetoed the bill calling for State aid of this road and it was abandoned.

Work on the Lee & Hudson road, a connecting link, was suspended at the same time the main line was, and many thousands of dollars were lost by the men who went into the enterprise in good faith.

The Troy & Greenfield Railroad was chartered to build a railroad from Greenfield up the Deerfield river; through the Hoosac Mountain and North Adams and Williamstown to the Vermont line. In 1849 the Troy & Boston was incorporated. During 1862 the State, through its commissioners, secured possession of the old Troy & Greenfield and the Southern Vermont Railroads by foreclosure and purchase. Between 1862 and January, 1869, the State assumed the work and expended $2,683,585 on the tunnel, extending the east heading into the mountains one mile, the enlargement to a double track a half mile of the west end, the heading of four-fifths of a mile, 931 feet had been arched and the central shaft sunk to a depth of 593 feet. Under the State's work the enterprise was rushed along at a quite rapid rate; February 9th, 1875, the first train of cars passed through the tunnel. The first freight train pulled through the tunnel on April 5, 1875.

This train was made up of twenty-three cars of grain from the west.

The Great Hoosac Tunnel—Reference to this tunnel under the giant mountain has several times been made incidentally. It may now be stated that the surveys and establishment of this wonderful tunnel were made in 1863 by Thomas Doane. So accurate was the work of the engineers that when the eastern section met the western part the only variation was about three inches in height and less than one inch sidewise. When one considers that this tunnel is 25,081 feet in length, or four and three-quarters miles, the accuracy is indeed an example of well planned civil engineering. This great work was completed in 1875. After much discussion the State of Massachusetts concluded to hold the tunnel and charge the roads running through it a toll instead of letting some one corporation of railway men own and have charge. The State appointed as the manager in control of the tunnel Jeremiah Prescott; Austin Bond, treasurer; Edward Hamilton, secretary; William P. Granger, chief engineer.

With the passage of more than a third of a century there have been numerous changes in the systems of steam roads through Berkshire county, but those already described are still the iron high-ways which the people use and appreciate daily. Too much praise cannot be given to the men who had to contest every inch of the ground in securing capital and rights of way for the operation and original construction of these lines now so full of freight and passenger trains.

Interurban and Electric Railroads—The first street railway in Berkshire county was constructed in 1886 to run from the Union depot in Pittsfield to Lake Pontoosuc. It had been projected by Boston capital in the fall of 1885. One-fifth or $10,000 of the stock subscribed was from Pittsfield men. The original directors were: Thaddeus Clapp, president; T. L. Allen, T. D. Peck, A. A. Mills, M. R. Pierson, G. H. Towle, of Boston, and F. W. Hardwood, of Natick. The Selectmen of Pittsfield granted a franchise in February, 1886; work commenced at once and the first street cars, run with horses, were operated July 3, the same season.

Electric drawn cars were first used in Pittsfield in 1891. The men of the old company and a younger set disagreed for a time and a new charter was obtained for what was styled "Pittsfield Electric Railway Company." Joseph Tucker was its president.

Cars began to run by means of "juice" July 9, 1891. Cars were operated from Park Square to Pontoosuc Lake. In 1892 a large part of the stock of the company was purchased by Patrick H. and Peter C. Dolan. Within eleven years from 1893 the line was extended to Dalton, and Hinsdale; south to the foot of South Mountain; west to West Pittsfield; northwest to Lake Avenue, and north to Cheshire.

The Berkshire Street Railroad Company promoted by Ralph D. Gillet, began operations in 1902 to operate a line north and south through the county which traversed the greater part of Pittsfield and connected it with the business center through East street. In 1915 there were twenty-five miles of trolley line within the city limits of Pittsfield. In 1910 the capital stock of the old corporation was sold to the holding company and the control of both roads passed to the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Companies.

Today the system operates all over the county and introduces the best and latest improvements when they are proven practical.

CHAPTER X

CELEBRATIONS AND SOCIETIES OF THE COUNTY

Very naturally, in a county as large and of as ancient settlement, as Berkshire, there would have been organized many societies—too numerous to here be enumerated. It will be the object of this brief sketch to mention the important facts concerning a few of these organizations.

The Berkshire Historic and Scientific Society—A meeting was held in January, 1878 at the Berkshire Athenaeum, attended among others by Hon. Ensign H. Kellogg, Henry W. Taft, Hon. William R. Plunkett, Hon. James M. Barker, James W. Hull, Thomas P. Pingree, J. A. E. Smith, Robert W. Adam, John P. Brown, J. F. A. Adams, M.D., and E. G. Hubbel, curator and Librarian of the Athenaeum. It was there resolved "to form a society for the purpose of increasing an interest in archaeological science and to rescue from oblivion such historical matter as might otherwise be lost, and to promote a knowledge of natural science."

February 22, the same year, another meeting was held and a constitution was adopted and regular officers elected as follows: Alexander Hyde, of Lee, President; Joseph White, Williamstown, and James M. Barker, Pittsfield, vice-presidents; E. G. Hubbel, Pittsfield, secretary; Henry W. Taft, William R. Plunkett, Pittsfield, and Charles J. Taylor, Great Barrington, executive committee. Thirty-two gentlemen became members at this meeting.

This society was in existence and held interesting meetings and published annual booklets, containing able papers on historic and scientific subjects, continuing to do so until 1913 when the last meetings were held. The public library has on file all that is of recorded interest concerning this historical society.

Berkshire County Bible Society—The original Bible Society in the world was established in England in 1804 and in 1816 delegates from this society visited New York City and aided in founding the American Bible Society and soon numerous branch Bible Societies were organized in this country. Among such branches the "Berkshire County Bible Society" was one of the very earliest. This was organized at the "Old Meeting House" in Pittsfield, July 17, 1817, when sixty-four prominent men became charter

members. This as all other American Bible Societies is an auxiliary of the parent society. Dr. Brigham, a native of this county, was secretary for thirty-six years and from 1840 to 1844 Berkshire county supplied all the officers of the American Bible Society. This society meets annually at Pittsfield.

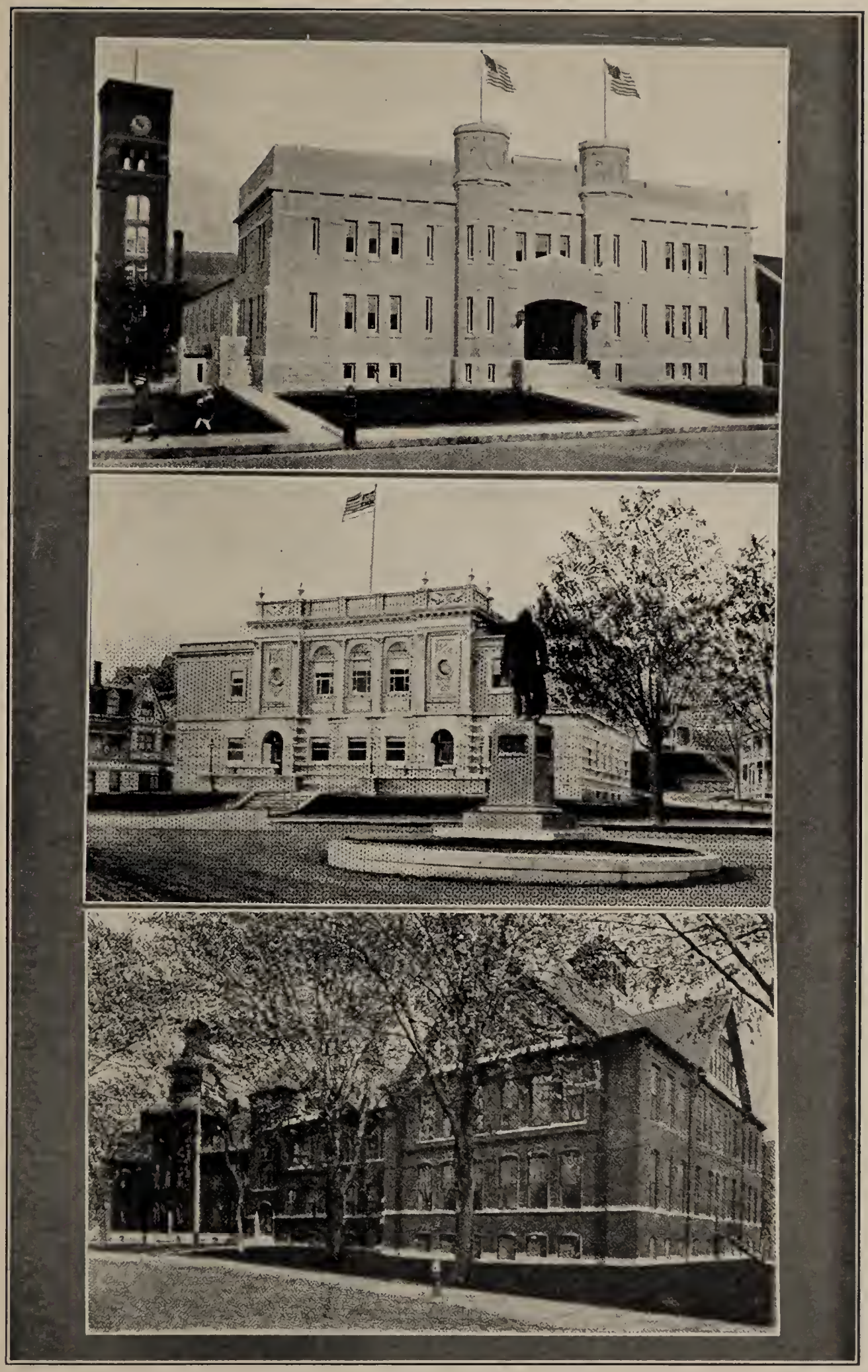
Berkshire and Columbia Missionary Society—This was among the very first missionary organizations in America. It was formed February 21, 1798, by twenty-three members, each member paying one dollar a year annually. As the country developed larger and national societies merged with this, hence it lost its identity. In the first two years of its existence they sent two missionaries to the Western field—Pennsylvania and Western New York. Many Bibles were distributed by this society. Among its first corporators were Jacob Catlin, Alvah Hyde, Samuel Shepard, Ebenezer Jennings, and Joseph Woodbridge.

Berkshire Branch of the Women's Board of Missions—This Board comprises the New England and Middle States, and is auxiliary to the American Board of Foreign Missions. The Berkshire Branch was organized in June, 1877. Its object was to promote a missionary spirit, to disseminate missionary intelligence, and to increase the collection of money for the missionary fund. The total membership in 1885, was about 1,700 in the thirty auxiliaries, included in twenty-three churches. During its first ten years history it donated $18,000 for missionary purposes. At present the interests of this society are merged with other missionary interests, but the work goes on in earnest.

Berkshire County Sunday School Union—This was organized in the chapel of the Congregational church in Pittsfield, April 11, 1872. Its aim was to promote by fraternal intercourse, the work of the Sunday Schools in Berkshire county. This union is undenominational in character and is operated in connection with the State Sunday School Association. Its early presidents included: Alexander Hyde, of Lee; Charles Pixley, Great Barrington; W. C. Plunkett, South Adams; James Francis, Pittsfield, and F. T. West, of Pittsfield. Throughout the years to the present its workings have been a potent factor in religious work in the county.

The Berkshire Jubilee—August 22 and 23, 1844 occurred one of the most highly interesting events ever staged for Berkshire county. It was a jubilee or reunion of those who had been reared

in this county, but who had for years been residents away from Berkshire, and many who had achieved success and fame in other parts of the great busy world. The program of public exercises was inclusive of "a sermon, a poem, an oration, and a dinner." Hon. Joshua A. Spencer, then of Utica, New York, delivered the befitting oration; a poem was read by Rev. William Allen; a sermon was rendered by Rev. Mark Hopkins, D.D., of Williams College, and odes by various authors. Governor Briggs was there and spoke at the dinner table. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was present and after a beautiful speech recited the poem he had written for the occasion. This literary gem commenced with the words: "Come back to your mother, ye children." Tables were spread for three thousand guests and all were filled at eating hour.



ADAMS

ARMORY

PUBLIC LIBRARY

LIBERTY STREET SCHOOL

CHAPTER XI

TOWNS OF ADAMS AND NORTH ADAMS

The old town of Adams which formerly comprised the villages of North and South Adams, occupied the summits of Hoosac and Saddle Mountains and the interjacent valley. In the latter part of 1737 through petition of Captain Thomas Wells, the Legislature was requested to divide this territory and throw it open for actual settlement. The act for incorporating the "Plantation called East Hoosuck in the county of Berkshire, into a town by the name of Adams," was passed October 15, 1778. The name of Adams was given to the town in honor of Samuel Adams, of Revolutionary fame, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and later governor of Massachusetts.

The principal settlement at the date of the Revolution was at the village of South Adams, known in records then as "South End." The lands in this town were much richer than in North Adams, and only for the greater water power in the last named, Adams would have outstripped North Adams for all time, but this natural power gave factory sites a wonderful opportunity to carry forward their numerous enterprises.

Some of the citizens of Adams took active part in the Battle of Bennington, as is seen by records where settlements were effected with persons who lost horses, etc., in that battle.

In 1795 the main landholders included in the village of North Adams were: Jeremiah Colegrove, Israel Jones, David Estes, David Darling, Benjamin Sibley, Oliver Parker, Reuben Smith, Richard Knight, Elias Jones, Marshall Jones, Calvin Carpenter,—all owning near present site of Main street. The site of the village of North Adams was originally a pine forest with some giant oaks. Hence the traffic was in lumber. This gave the place the name of "Slab City." The first blacksmith's shop was built by Jeremiah Colegrove near foot of Main street, about 1798. Prior to 1800 but few attempted manufacturing. No bank notes were yet in circulation in Adams—the first bank "Massachusetts" not being formed until 1785, and silver and gold were very scarce. The first bank in this county was the "Agricultural" in Pittsfield, established in 1818. About 1800 the above mentioned Colegrove built an oil mill on the west side of the river. The building was converted into a grist mill which burned in 1854. The first cloth dressing

was done in North Adams in 1799. The fulling-mill was furnished by pioneer Colegrove, in connection with his grist-mill. He also added a carding machine in 1801 and charged ten cents a pound for carding the wool. After fulling the cloth it had to be "sheared" which was then accomplished by hand-shears, four feet long and weighing at least fifty pounds. One hard-working man could shear from fifty to fifty-five yards per day of twelve hours.

In those days it was common for all men to drink in a social way. Spirituous liquors were then looked upon as we look upon tea and coffee. It was not uncommon in calling upon ministers to take a social glass with them; it was always expected. The old fashioned punch bowl was every where in evidence.

The first postoffice in this section was at South Adams and it retained its name "Adams" long before the setting off of North Adams. The office at North Adams was established in 1814, the first postmaster being Nathaniel Putnam, a son of General Israel Putnam.

About 1815 the hat factory business commenced to be well established in Adams community. These plants flourished well until improved machinery drove them from the field of American industry.

For the first half century after the settlement in Adams as an incorporated town, the growth was slow. The population in 1790 was 2,040; in 1800, 1,688; 1810, 1,763; 1820, 1,836; and in 1830, only 2,649; its present (1925) population is about 14,000.

It was one hundred years after the incorporation of the town of Adams before North Adams was set off into an independent civil sub-division of the county. The property of Adams town was then divided as follows: "All the real estate and fixtures in the town of Adams as after the division were awarded to the town of Adams, and all the real estate and fixtures in the limits of North Adams were awarded to that town. The town farm, located in North Adams town, was awarded to both towns," to be owned and operated jointly.

Adams is governed by a board of three Selectmen, one of whom is elected annually; the salary of the board is $1,000 per year. The Old New England Town Meeting (best in the world) is still in use in Adams. The industries are well stabilized. There are a number of extensive factories within Adams the total estimated value of which is over fifteen million dollars and in normal times these plants employ as high as four thousand persons. Including

BIRD'S EYE VIEW, NORTH ADAMS

POST OFFICE, NORTH ADAMS

SOLDIERS' MONUMENT AND BOULDER, NORTH ADAMS

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, NORTH ADAMS

THOMPSON MEMORIAL CHAPEL, WILLIAMS COLLEGE, WILLIAMSTOWN

the factories are those producing fine combed cottons, cotton dress goods, table cloth goods, cotton warps, lime products, ledger and bond papers, linen and tissue paper, silk and cotton goods, woolen dress goods, machine and factory brushes.

Adams enjoys an excellent water system, miles of cement walks, a public library, State Armory, public hospital, and many features that a modern town or city possesses.

The United States census reports for 1920 gave these figures on Adams: Number of establishments by individuals, 14; by corporations, 12; by all others, six; total number of wage earners, 3,974; value of products made in 1919, $15,076,858; fuel consumed, —hard coal, 7,835 tons; soft coal fuel, 55,400 tons; tons of coke used, 2,814.

CHAPTER XII

THE CITY OF NORTH ADAMS

In the northwestern corner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, nestling close to the foothills of the Northern Berkshires, is the sprightly city of North Adams whose tourists' slogan is "The Home of the Mohawk Trail." The Berkshire Hills are famed for their beauty, but perhaps at no point are they more beautiful than at this place. Of the charm nature spreads about the vicinity the pens of such men as Beecher, Bryant and Hawthorne have described in poetic manner, as being beauty spots painted in glowing colors by nature's brush.

North Adams offers a very wide range of opportunity in the field of industrial endeavor. The chief among the enterprises of the city are the textile, woolen, boot and shoe and machine manufacturing plants.

Although the soil in these parts was very poor, when first known to white men, the swift waters of the Hoosac river presented a wonderful water-power which was destined to be improved by the pioneers. Mr. Ephraim Williams was granted 190 acres surrounding Fort Massachusetts, in 1751 for which he was to build certain roads and construct a dam in the North Branch, for a grist-mill and saw-mill. Williams sold the tract to Moses Graves in 1754 and mentions the grist-mill as being built, but if so it must have been the site on the north branch afterwards used by the Parkers. After the town was incorporated suit was brought by the proprietors to regain the Fort grant on the ground that Williams had not built the mills which were exacted. The suit was not allowed, but it throws suspicion on their ever existing. However, in 1768 the proprietors deed to Elisha Jones, Jr., brother of Israel, Lot No. 24 and a part of 26 to confirm his title to the same, since they were first granted under the requirement of his building a dam and erecting a mill. The deed of 1768 mentions the "new mill which has been built." In 1783 this property was confiscated, as Jones was a Tory. It was sold to Jedidiah Hurd and after a few other quick transfers came to Jeremiah Colegrove.

In 1800 Marshall Jones built a house and store on the hill west of Main street bridge, in North Adams. Charles Brown also conducted a small store in a building on the site of the Adams

National Bank of today. Subsequently he moved to South Adams and became a trader and money-maker of the Yankee type. In 1803 there were only two stores in North Adams—the one by Marshall Jones and one by Dr. James Cummings, on Main street, directly opposite the North Adams Savings Bank. This Dr. Cummings was an influential member of the Baptist church which was organized in 1808.

It is of interest to note the prices at which goods sold for in those early times as compared to today. English calico, fifty to seventy-five cents per yard; cotton shirtings, twenty-five cents; molasses, sixty-five cents; cut nails (no machine nails for many years after), twelve to seventeen cents per pound; these were forged out by blacksmiths. Farm hands received from $80 to $100 per year; mechanics' wages including board, one dollar per day. Carpenters worked from as early in the morning as they could see their hammer head and as late at night as they could see the head of a nail! Corn and rye sold at forty-two to fifty cents per bushel; oats sold at twenty-four cents; pork, $3.50; beef at $2.50 to $4.00 per cwt. Prime cows sold at $15 to $20; and the best horses sold at eighty dollars.

About 1779 Dickinson & Brown erected a forge for making wrought iron from the native ore. This forge stood east of Eagle bridge, where later the Freeman Print Works were built. The ore came from Cheshire, South Adams and some from Stamford, Vermont. But the cost of transportation was too great to make a permanent business of it. About 1804 Mr. Brown mixed his iron with pig iron, from Connecticut, and turned out a fine specimen of wrought iron. This was known as refined iron. It sold readily for $140 per ton. The crude manner in which bar and rod iron were produced in those days would be very interesting for modern iron kings to view.

The first stage which passed through North Adams, carrying both mail and passengers, was established in 1814 by a Mr. Phelps, of Greenfield. Citizens subscribed freely to get this line of stages which ran once a week each way to Albany, via Williamstown, Hancock and Sand Lake. At first the "stage" was simply an uncovered two-horse wagon with the body suspended upon leather springs. When the four-horse coach made its appearance in North Adams, it attracted great attention. The driver always announced his arrival into the place by blowing an immense tin horn. The stage station was really at the Old Black Tavern on the corner of

Main and State streets, which was the pioneer hotel of the town. This hotel was opened as a public house in 1795 by David Darling. In 1808 the hotel, with forty acres of land, was sold to Richard Knight for $4,000. This forty-acre tract included the very heart of the business portion of the present day North Adams. The Old Black Tavern was the only hotel of the town until the erection of the Berkshire House in 1815.

Newspapers were scarce and highly prized in early times. In 1827 the people of the northern part of Berkshire county agitated the matter of securing a paper. Three towns were in the race—North Adams, South Adams and Williamstown. North Adams won out and the committeemen who went to Pittsfield for the "outfit" were Messrs. Brayton, Turner and Higginbotham, who brought back in one day, "the editor, the journeyman, the 'devil', presses, type, and fixtures, all being conveyed in one large sleigh." The first known of the enterprise in the county was when the editor, Asa Green, told the story editorially in the first number of the "Berkshire American," dated February 23, 1827. The terms were $2.00 and $2.50 per year. The quality of paper was indeed coarse, but the five column sheet, printed in large type, was filled with excellent items from a truly educated man who put so much time and expense into this paper that after he had built up a circulation of four hundred paying subscribers, and all of his money was gone he was forced to suspend. It was conducted just two years and was worthy of a longer existence. Several newspapers have flourished and gone down in North Adams, but of recent years the press of the city has been on a good foundation. The present papers are the North Adams "Transcript," independent, established in 1843 and the North Adams "Herald," an evening paper incorporated in 1893.

As to the population of the town in various dates it may be said that in 1830 the population was 2,649, of which 1,100 resided in North Adams, and the remainder lived in South Adams. The number of dwellings in North Adams, all told, was eighty-seven, occupied by a hundred and five families. The 1920 United States census gives North Adams 22,282, of whom 5,014 were foreign-born.

All that portion of the city to the east of Eagle street and north of Academy Hill, in 1860 contained 150 dwellings, 63 more than the entire village contained in 1829. In 1860 it had one large "print" works, two large woolen mills, one cotton factory, three

saw mills, one tannery, one brick yard, one marble quarry, one stone-sawing shop run by water power; two planing mills, and one box-making factory, three shoe-making shops and three school houses. River street including the Johnson Manufacturing Company's grounds was laid out in 1832. The first buildings were the stone factory and dwelling of Richmond & Hall. There were in 1860 fifty-six dwellings, one school house, two stores, two cotton mills, one grist mill, and one cotton warp factory, all located on this street. State street was laid out in 1833; Summer street in 1834; Quincy street was laid out in 1842 and in 1860 had fourteen dwellings on it. Holden street was laid out in 1844, on the Caleb B. Turner tract; in 1860 there were twenty-nine good dwellings and one millinery shop on this street. Chestnut street was laid out in 1849. Lots of one-fourth of an acre were sold at $200 to $300. In 1860 on Main street were forty-four dwellings, thirty-seven stores, the postoffice, hotel, two printing offices, two express offices, three lawyers, two churches, one bank, one cotton mill and three book stores.

Church street, from Eagle to the David Richmond place, had thirty-nine dwellings, and the Methodist Episcopal church, erected in 1844.

The village of North Adams, proper, without Union, Beaver, Greylock, or Blackinton, in 1860 contained 400 dwellings and somewhat over 4,000 population. In 1830 there were fifteen factories in the whole of the then town of Adams, twelve of them being cotton mills and three woolen mills. These mills manufactured annually 1,065,000 yards of sheetings and shirtings. Of woolen mills in 1830, there were three—Wells, Blackinton & White, had nine looms, and made 52,000 yards of satinets annually; David Estes & Son, with seven looms made 20,000 yards; Ingalls, Wells & Burke, with six looms, made 30,000 yards.

The first bank incorporated in North Adams was the "Adams Bank," later changed to the Adams National and still later to the North Adams National Bank. In 1832 its capital was $100,000, but in 1885 it had $500,000.

From the close of the Civil War for twenty years, North Adams had a remarkable growth. During that period it had more than quadrupled in manufacturing interests. In 1866 there were only one or two mixed trains a day, but in 1886 there were running into the place many full-fledged trains carrying freight and also several fast, well filled passenger trains.

The first police court in North Adams was established in April, 1854, with Joel Bacon as justice.

Water and gas were introduced into North Adams as follows: Beginning in 1844 by the operations of a company of men, water was conveyed to North Adams from the great spring in South Adams, the pipes being simply wooden logs bored through making a water pipe. The band of men in this company included W. C. Plunkett, E. Estes, R. H. Wells, Thomas Jenks, J. D. Burton, David Richmond, Samuel Miller, Jr., H. J. Bliss and J. A. Burton. By 1864 it was discovered that other water supply must be procured and a bill was passed the Legislature permitting a water company for North Adams. The next year more bills were passed and permission was granted to raise $60,000 and float water bonds for that sum for the purpose of constructing suitable waterworks. The bill had to be sanctioned by the Town and South Adams turned out and defeated the measure which left North Adams without ample water supply. However, under the bill of 1864, a home company was formed by S. Johnson, Harvey Arnold, Edwin Thayer, W. W. Freeman, and others, but misfortune followed them in various financial ways, so that not until the spring of 1866 was water supplied the village. By 1870 $110,000 had been expended. This water company lasted about two years when it passed to the hands of the North Adams Fire District. A new storage reservoir was built in 1877. In 1884 an artesian well discharging over a million gallons of pure water every twenty-four hours was obtained. The South Adams Fire District was organized in 1872, and was authorized to take water, water rights and land in Bassetts Brook, in Cheshire, to furnish water for domestic and public purposes. In 1873 a dam was built and pipes laid into the village. This water system cost $100,000 and bonds were sold for that sum by the town of Adams.

The Adams Gas Light Company was organized August 13, 1860 at South Adams, with a capital of $7,500 divided into shares of $25 each. William C. Plunkett was elected president, A. H. La Mont, treasurer. In 1864 a charter was granted to Amasa W. Richardson, Sylvander Johnson, and John B. Tyler, as the North Adams Gas Light Company and they installed gas during that year.

Monday October 4, 1869 North Adams was visited by one of the greatest floods that ever swept down the valley. The property destroyed amounted to more than $100,000.

The first of the present sewer system in North Adams was commenced in 1879-80, the selectmen having to borrow $5,000 with which to carry out their plans.

The corner-stone of the North Adams Hospital was laid in October, 1883. This hospital was built by reason of an awful railroad collision, September, 1882, in which three men were killed. From that date on hospital agitation went forward until one was provided. The building was completed in the summer of 1884.

The Public Library of North Adams was formed upon the base of the old Library Association which in January, 1866 voted to present to the North Adams Library their books, which was done with the provision that it should take charge and maintain the same thereafter. Not until 1883 did the North Adams Public Library exist. At that date it took over the old library and its effects. The present library building was originally, the residence of Sanford Blackinton, and given to the library by A. C. Houghton, as a memorial to his brother, A. J. Houghton, 1898.

The library was first opened in this building in 1897 and now has about forty-five thousand books on hand. The Beaver Branch has 2,209 books; Houghtonville Branch has 2,241 books and Blackinton Branch has 7,177. During 1924 there were given out 38,-180 children's books. The present librarian is Mabel Temple. A recent report gives the total books on stacks as being 44,595. There have only been the two librarians since the library was conducted under present organization—Augusta C. Dunton, 1884-99; Mabel Temple, 1899 and still serving with able assistants.

The first street railway for North Adams was built in 1886 and was of the old style horse-car system which was changed into an electric railway in 1889, by Clinton Q. Richmond. It was among the first lines using electric power in this part of the country. Its first electric car was operated October 5, 1889. In 1895 it was extended to Williamstown. This company, which has been merged with the Berkshire Street Railway Company now operates nearly one hundred miles of track in Berkshire county.

Chamber of Commerce—This organization is building up a community spirit which will eventually make for better and bigger things in the future. It now has a membership of more than five hundred and is alive to the best present and future interests of the industrial and social affairs of North Adams. Good citizenship is thoroughly impressed on the minds of the inhabitants of

FIRST QUAKER MEETING HOUSE, ADAMS

COMMUNITY CHURCH BUILT IN 1762, NORTH ADAMS

COVERED BRIDGE NEAR GREENFIELD

the community. The present (1925) officers of this Chamber of Commerce are as follows: J. P. Wall, president; G. C. Hadley, N. B. Flood, P. J. Cummings, and Joseph Bennett, vice-presidents; Shelley W. Potter, secretary; Fred H. Reagan, treasurer.

Educational—North Adams is fully up to the standard of Massachusetts school system. This is the seat of Drury High School from which students may enter any of the higher institutions of the State. This originally styled an Academy was founded by Nathan Drury in 1840. He bequeathed the sum of $3,000 for the establishment of this school. It became a free high school in 1866. In 1866 the town leased the building for school purposes. In 1867 a brick building was erected with eighteen class rooms. It is now a leading school in New England. The city now has seven modern grammar schools. Williams College of which further mention is made, is only five miles distant from North Adams. The State Normal School was established here in June, 1894 and is a splendid link in the great, far-reaching school system of Berkshire county. One of the recent features at Williams College, near this city, is the Institute of Politics, inaugurated in the summer of 1921 and attended by the leading statesmen of the world. Bliss Business College on Main street, graduates many students annually, who go out into the busy commercial world well fitted for their duties in their chosen professions.

Religious Element—North Adams is well supplied with religious denominations, having the following churches: Baptist, Christian Scientist, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, Universalist, several Catholic churches, two Jewish Synagogues, an African Methodist church, St. Andrew's Episcopal, St. John's Episcopal, and other societies.

The North Adams Young Men's Christian Association is among the largest and most thoroughly up-to-date organizations of its kind in the commonwealth. It was formed in 1887 and first met in the Baptist church, and its next home was in the Bliss Business College in 1889 and in 1894 it moved to its present site at the corner of Summer and Morris streets, where for a small consideration made possible by the liberal owner, they purchased a residence property which was used until the present massive structure of brick was erected, or rather completed in 1922, at a cost of $180,000. This organization was legally incorporated October 16, 1895. The present membership is 922 including 200 girls and

young women. The first president of the Y. M. C. A. here was Frank Darby. The first secretary was Mr. Bussey. The 1925 officers include these: H. P. Drysdale, president; J. D. Hunter, vice-president; C. H. Tumey, secretary since September, 1920; W. W. Smith, recording secretary.

The present excellent government postoffice building was built in 1911 and opened March 19th. Its cost was $115,000, besides the lot on which it stands, at Summers and Ashland streets, valued at $30,000. The present postmaster, James T. Potter, was commissioned August 1, 1923.

The banking interests are here represented by the Hoosac Savings Bank, North Adams National Bank, North Adams Savings Bank and the North Adams Trust Company.

Parks, Natural Scenery, Etc.—The natural landscape scenery in and surrounding North Adams is ever a feast to the eye. Just within the city's limits are two beauty spots—Kemp's Park and Windsor Lake. The park is high above the city proper, and overlooks the splendid valley. Only a short distance from this beautiful park is seen Windsor Lake, a fine sheet of crystal water affording fine boating and bathing. These spots are enjoyed by thousands of tourists annually.

To the west and south of the city lies a picturesque range of mountains, the loftiest peak in Massachusetts, Mount Greylock, standing at an altitude of 3,505 feet above sea level. An observatory there affords a wonderful view, even as far as the Hudson river, when the sky is clear. Since 1898 Greylock has been a State Reservation, and comprises 8,187 acres, more than all the land in the other State parks combined in Massachusetts.

America has but two famous Natural Bridges—one in Virginia and the other situated at the extreme northern part of the city of North Adams. The last named consists of a rocky ravine three hundred feet long and sixty feet wide, with a depth varying from ten to one hundred feet. It is spanned by a bridge of native rock, made likely by the action of the water. Hawthorne made this natural scene the subject of some of his prose and poetic writings.

About six miles northwest of the city there flows from what is called Sand Springs, four thousand gallons of water hourly; it has a temperature of seventy-six degrees the year round.

The Mohawk Trail is one of the finest scenic roads of modern construction in America. It follows in a general course the old Indian trail from North Adams over the Hoosac Mountains and

down through Deerfield Valley to Greenfield. It was built by State appropriation of over $300,000.

Old Fort Massachusetts—This fort which stood in what is now the western part of the city of North Adams, was constructed in 1745 and its capture and burning followed the ensuing year and formed one of the most interesting and romantic events in our local history. It was during the French and Indian War period and was accounted one of the four important posts built by the Massachusetts Bay Colony. It was attacked in 1746, by nine hundred French and Indians. The site of this fort which was rebuilt after it was burned in the last named war, was acquired in 1896 by the Fort Massachusetts Historical Society, largely through the influence of North Adams' women. It is being proposed to reproduce the old fort on the old site as a befitting landmark of the historic valley.

Incorporation of North Adams City, Etc.—North Adams was incorporated as a town in 1878 and as a city in 1896. The mayors who served for the period just named were: Hons. Albert C. Houghton, 1896-97; H. Terry Cady, 1898-99; Edward S. Wilkinson, 1900-1901-1902; Marshall R. Ford, 1905-06; Frank D. Stafford served 1903-04-07 and 1908; John H. Waterhouse, 1909.

The city officers at this time (1925) are: Mayor—William Johnson; City Clerk—William G. Carter; Treasurer and Collector—Humphrey J. Coughlin; City Solicitor—P. J. Ashe; Commissioner of Public Works—Eolus R. Doble; City Engineer—Charles E. Wells; Auditor of Accounts—John V. Sullivan.

The present assets and liabilities of the "indebtedness account" of North Adams are $776,735.03.

The Soldiers' Monument—North Adams is indebted to their Soldiers' Aid Society for the beautiful Civil War soldiers' monument, that stands as a sentinel on duty at the head of Main street in front of the churches. For a long time there was a project to have the town of Adams appropriate for this work but nothing was ever accomplished until about the date that North Adams was set off from Adams town, when the ladies of the Aid Society took the matter in hand and they used $1,200 they had on hand in their treasury and placed it in the hands of Charles Niles Pike, who with liberal subscriptions from Messrs. Sampson, Mowbray and Blackinton, completed the work which was dedicated on July 4, 1878. The statue surmounting this monument is that of

a typical American volunteer soldier wearing his infantry cap as did the "boys" who marched from 1861 to 1865. This was cut from a block of Sicilian marble, while the pedestal is brown free-stone and is eleven feet high.

Industrial Interests in 1925—Among the chief industries of the present-day city is the Arnold Print Works, with a yearly business of six million dollars. The works as a cotton plant, were started in 1861; the first piece of "print" (calico) was made at these mills in 1883. The founder was Harvey Arnold. It requires twenty thousand tons of coal for fuel to operate this plant a year. Over 200,000 yards of cloth are bleached and "printed" in a day at these works. Other large plants are the Mayflower Mills, established in 1893 and the Dean-Spencer Leather Company.

Without regard to alphabetical order or capacity, the following is a list of the present industries in North Adams: Blanket mills, boiler works, box factories, brick works, carriage and sleighs, cloth mills, woolen mills, worsted mills, Hoosac Cotton mills, Strong Hewat & Company, woolens clothing manufacturers; Cloth finishing machines, James Hunter Machine Company, Consolidated Textile Corporation, Windsor Print Works, cracker factory, directory and map publishers, fire escapes, foundries, North Adams Gas Light Company, marble dust quarries, rug factories, wire cloth factory and numerous lesser plants.

The lime products plants at this point have ever been very extensive and are still extremely important.

The United States census returns for 1920 gave the following concerning the industrial establishments in North Adams:

Total number of establishments,	65
Number of wage earners,	6,023
Value of products,	$10,922,575
Value of products by individual establishments,	$368,000
Value of products by corporations,	$9,400,346
Value of products by all others,	$1,154,436
Number tons fuel consumed, yearly,	95,000
Number tons of coke used,	125
Fuel in oils used,	(barrels) 9,715

CHAPTER XIII

THE CITY OF PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, the seat of justice for Berkshire county, is known as being located "In the Heart of the Berkshires." It is so called on account of its being in the exact center of the county. Its elevation is 1,030 feet above sea-level. Its present population is, in round numbers, 46,000. It is rich in historical associations, colonial and revolutionary and the city has a fine public library, thirty-six churches, one museum, three public parks, eight play-grounds, twenty-eight public and private schools, seven theatres, large modern hotels, many fine retail stores and a truly wonderful line of industrial establishments, the products of which support the populace for the most part.

This city is within the old Town of Pittsfield, which has an uneven surface, and is nearly surrounded by mountains, through which, by convenient passes, narrow but rich valleys extend to the extremities of the county. Within this town are wholly or in part, six small lakes. One of which is named Pontoosuc which since 1867 covers 575 acres. In 1824 the Pontoosuc Woolen Manufacturing Company purchased the water privileges, and thus came its name. Lake Onota, one mile west of the old village of Pittsfield, covers more than six hundred acres, and is the largest sheet of water in the town of Pittsfield. The streams which rise in and flow through this town afford ample water power, which had long since been utilized for milling and factory purposes. The village of Pittsfield in about the center of the town, was made the county seat of Berkshire county in 1868.

Public records contain the names of pioneer families including Colonels Jacob Wendell, of Boston, and John Stoddard, of Northampton. Both were prominent citizens, were members of the Provincial Council, and colonels of militia in their respective counties. Colonel Wendell was a member of the Wendell family at Albany, but later of Boston, where he was a wealthy merchant, and connected with one of the first banking houses in America. He was the father of Oliver Wendell, a Revolutionary leader, and the ancestor of Wendell Phillips and Oliver Wendell Holmes. Colonel Stoddard was a man of importance in his day. He had to do with nearly every public enterprise that was brought forth.

It was he who established the Indian Mission at Stockbridge. He was granted a tract of one thousand acres of land for military services rendered.

A commission was appointed by the legislature to supervise the settlement of the township, and in June, 1736, Col. Jacob Wendell, one of that commission, purchased at auction the rights of Boston in one of these townships. The survey was effected in September, 1737.

The first mention of schools in the settlement of Pittsfield was when an appropriation was made in 1762. Three years later there appears to have been erected three scehoolhouses, the town having been divided into East Center and West districts. These school buildings were to be "well shingled, doors made and hung, with floors and good chimneys, and glazed with four windows, and twelve squares to each window." The largest stood north of the eastern end of the park, in what is now the traveled street of Park Place.

The first work-house was appropriated for in the sum of ten pounds in 1764. Slavery existed in Pittsfield, as elsewhere in the Province. Citizens here owned their slaves and as late as the Revolution, advertisements of runaway slaves appeared in the Hartford papers, for people who owned slaves in and near Pittsfield.

Saw and grist-mills began to spring up early in the settlement. Joseph Keeler in 1762 built a saw mill and combined a grinding mill with it on an outlet of Lake Pontoosuc; and at the same date a mill was constructed at Coltsville. Within the first ten years from the first settlement in Pittsfield, the log cabins gave way to more perfectly fashioned residences in which native lumber was used.

The first call for men in the Revolutionary conflict, found Pittsfield ready. In the spring of 1778 this town had thirty-two men in the Continental service, and from time to time the number was increased, thirteen men going in 1781.

In the spring and summer of 1787 General Lincoln with a body of troops occupied Pittsfield, and the soldiers were quartered among the inhabitants in such manner as would cause the least inconvenience. The officers were assigned the better class of houses, and were usually very welcome guests. The same feeling obtained in the humbler quarters.

The act of incorporation for the town of Pittsfield was passed

SOLOMON DEMING'S HOUSE, PITTSFIELD. ERECTED 1752, RAZED 1911

SARAH DEMING'S MONUMENT—PITTSFIELD'S TRIBUTE

April 16, 1761, and it was approved in the same month by Governor Sir Francis Bernard. The newly formed town was excluded from presentation until 1763. The royal governor usually named the new town established and in this case he used the name of that good statesman, William Pitt, who was esteemed in New England by all parties—hence the popularity of the name "Pittsfield."

Almost as soon as the incorporation took place of this town, the county of Berkshire was erected and Pittsfield village was made one of its county seats. Here their several courts were held. The first town meeting was held May 11, 1761, at the house of Deacon Stephen Crofoot, which stood near the western end of Elm street.

It appears from records that Pittsfield and other towns within the Province, used for reformatory purposes, the pillory, the stocks, and the whipping post. These "agencies" were erected in Pittsfield in 1764 by James Easton and Josiah Wright, who were paid for their work nine shillings and six-pence.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century Pittsfield had numerous houses and homesteads of considerable dignity and value. Among the number are recalled in historic narratives that of Captain John Strong, Revolutionary patriot, who built on East street and there with a son of the same name, conducted a hotel. In 1800 it was purchased by Lemuel Pomeroy who added a third story to it.

On the corner of Park Square and East street, John Chandler Williams built or bought from Col. James Easton. It was later moved to the east to make room for the courthouse. Other good residences of that date were those of Ashbel Strong, John M. Brewster. Thomas Gold built the house in which Longfellow, wrote "The Old Clock on the Stairs," for it was the old clock standing on the broad stairway landing in that residence, when owned by Hon. Nathan Appleton, whose daughter married Longfellow, that gave him the inspiration. In 1781 Henry Van Schaack built his mansion on the south side of East street—then called the best in the village. The greater number, indeed nearly all, of the residences found here in 1800 have long since gone to decay. Other historical works have traced out their interesting histories, hence it need not here be attempted.

One of the advantages had by reason of the War of 1812 was the establishment of an army cantonment of the United States

troops, which was followed the next year by a depot for prisoners of war. This cantonment soon became the rendezvous for many troops, and a commissary station was established here. This military depot and army station furnished a cash market for almost every kind of surplus produce and really contributed much toward making Pittsfield a local trading center. Major Melville's advertisements in June, 1812 for "six or seven hundred yards of yard-wide tow-cloth," was followed by calls for every variety of cloth, for leather, iron, beef, pork, grain of all kinds, vegetables, hay, wood, wagons, horses, etc.

With the final close of the War of 1812-14 the people of Pittsfield rejoiced greatly. Domestic life here in early times, like that in all interior New England towns was simple and full of real economy. When the circumstances by which the early settlers were surrounded are considered it will be readily understood that this simplicity of life was imposed on them by their surroundings. They were not exempt from the common frailties of humanity, and within the limits of their ability, they were just as likely as the people of the present day to permit good taste to degenerate into vanity; but in the exercise of taste or the indulgence of vanity they were limited and directed by their environments as well as by their dictates of omnipotent fashion. In the language of a former-day writer:

> They raised their flax, and spun and wove their linen because cheaper substitutes for it were then unknown. They manufactured their own woolen clothes, because woolen mills were not then in existence here and only the wealthiest among them could afford the luxury of a "broadcloth." Their garments were made by tailors, tailoresses, and seamstresses in their houses; for circumstances had not then called into existence the merchant tailor, and the now ubiquitous Israelite, ... had not made his appearance, nor had sewing machines been invented. The old dye tub, the evening seat of the youngest children, had its place in every chimney corner, and the wool that had been colored in it was carded and spun in the house, and the yarn was knit into stockings for the family by the female members thereof, for the immense mills of the present day, with their thousands of knitting machines, that produce a cheap but comparatively inferior article, were not then regarded as possibilities.
>
> They made their own leather, or had it tanned "on shares," and hired their own and their children's shoes made either in their houses or at the shops of the shoemakers that came here with the first settlers; for the immense manufacturies and the shoe stores of the present day had not been thought of.
>
> The "blazing hearth" was then a reality, for their houses were warmed by the cheerful wood fires that are now seldom seen. The huge brick oven

used for baking the corn pones, pork and beans, pumpkin pies and such like of that time, was to be found at the side of every fireplace, for it was not then known, or even believed that baking could be done by any other means, except in some cases by the bake kettle. The fuel afforded by the primitive forest was then abundant, and that in the bowels of the earth had not yet been discovered. Necessity had not been called for the exercises of inventive genius in devising the convenient and economical furnaces, ranges and stoves of the present day, and the conservatism of the people led them to regard as useless innovations the improvement that changing circumstances afterward compelled them to adopt. Their house were lighted by tallow dips for oil lamps were unknown then. The use of gas had not yet been introduced even in larger cities, and petroleum was waiting discovery by the present generation. The wooden trenchers, pewter plates, clumsy earthenware, and expensive foreign China ware of early times had not begun to give place to the elegant and cheap products of American potteries, and ceramic art was not developed in Europe. The vulgarity of carrying food to the mouth on one's knife had not then been discovered, and many of the refinements or conventionalities of modern society had no existence. The old fashioned clock occupied its position on the shelf, or in its tall case, and ticked the seconds, struck the hours, and measured the time with all the accuracy and regularity of the modern smaller and more convenient time-keepers.

In the houses that succeeded the log cabins advances in ornamentation were made. The paneled wainscoating, the heavy quaint cornices, and the excessive ornamental work about the fireplaces were characteristic of the architecture of those times. The earliest carpets were made of rags, a household product that was introduced by Mrs. Van Schaack. The first woven carpet was brought into town by Mrs. Timothy Childs, and it covered a space of about nine feet square in the parlor of the house. The house of John Chandler William had the first full sized carpet, covering the entire floor of their parlor. Floors were usually sprinkled with sand. Painted floors came later, but the older members of society detested them on account of their being too slippery to walk on easily.

At no time in the history of Pittsfield was there more genial, merry times socially, than the period just after the last war with England. Social gatherings, private dancing parties, tea parties, hunting frolics, corn huskings, minister's "bees", etc. were frequent, as were evening suppers, when the choicest of New England luxuries—from turkey and goose to pumpkin pie, nut cake, apples, chestnuts, and cider—were served in turn at the houses of friends. Every event, from a Church Council to a military training was made the occasion of hospitality.

First Newspaper—The first newspaper published in Pittsfield was the "American Centinel," by E. Russell, the first number of which was issued December 1, 1787. At that date there were but two other newspapers in Massachusetts west of Worcester. The "Centinel" was at first only a twelve inch sheet in length by eight in width, but after thirty numbers it was increased to a paper ten by eighteen inches. The circulation of papers was a slow process, for there were few postoffices and the paper was scarce and high priced. The next paper here was the "Berkshire Chronicle," first appearing May 8, 1788, published by "Roger Storrs, near the meeting-house," the first meeting-house, which stood on East street there being no park then. As the years passed by numerous newspapers were founded and run for a greater or less period. Among these now recalled by older members of the community and the readers of early Pittsfield history, were these: "Berkshire Gazette," before 1800; "The Sun," established October, 1800; The "Argus," 1827; "Berkshire Journal," 1831; "Berkshire County Whig," 1840; "The Cataract," a temperance organ by T. D. Bonner, a reformer whose office was mobbed for the stand he took. In 1847 for six months the "Star" was published here. Another was the "Berkshire Agriculturist," commenced in 1847, later known as "Culturist and Gazette" which suspended in 1858. The "Berkshire Medical Journal" was established in 1861 and conducted a number of years. The "Evening Journal," the only daily paper in this county, made its first appearance September 27, 1880. It was conducted by its founder, Nathaniel C. Fowler, until August 1, 1881, when it was sold to the Journal Company and I. C. Smart became its editor. The later publications here are within the memory of this generation, but it should be added that Pittsfield has always had the best that newspaperdom afforded, both mechanically and editorially. The "Eagle" of today is a thoroughly modern, high-class journal, and is generally well appreciated and prized by the community, as is seen by its large, increasing circulation.

Pittsfield Postoffice—The first United States postoffice in Berkshire county was established at Stockbridge in 1792. The second postoffice in the county was at Pittsfield in 1794. Colonel Joshua Danforth was appointed postmaster by President George Washington. He was removed in 1798 and John Stoddard was appointed. In 1801 Colonel Danforth was restored and held the office until his death in 1836. Hon. Jonathan Allen was postmaster

BERKSHIRE COUNTY COURT HOUSE
UNITED STATES POST OFFICE, PITTSFIELD

from 1836 to the date of his death in 1845. Phineas Allen was appointed in 1845, and with the exception of two years, in which Henry G. Davis was postmaster, held the office until 1861. In that year he was succeeded by William F. Osborne. Thomas H. Learned, appointed in January, 1883, served until—; William J. Coogan, 1887-91; John G. Orr, 1891-95; William J. Coogan, 1895-98; John G. Orr, 1898-1916; Edward T. Scully, 1916-21; Clifford H. Dickson, September, 1921-September, 1922; James H. Butler, acting postmaster September, 1922, to September 22, 1922; James H. Butler, appointed postmaster September 22, 1922 and still serving.

The present postoffice, a Federal building, was erected in 1910 and first used January 1, 1911. Its cost was $115,538. It is built of Vermont marble—much too small for the business of Pittsfield. It is rated as among the smallest offices in the United States in matter of square feet per employee. This office now has 47 letter-carriers; 37 clerks; two rural free delivery routes of twenty-eight miles distance. The present assistant postmaster is Patrick H. O'Donnell.

Occupation of the People—Prior to the 18th century agriculture instead of commerce and manufacturing was the occupation of the residents of this town and village. The ministers, lawyers, doctors, merchants, clothiers, tanners, iron-masters nearly all owned and cultivated farms.

Within less than seven years after the close of the French wars the first fulling mill and the first iron forge were established in Pittsfield. Aaron Barker built a fulling mill at present Barkersville in 1768. It was sold to Valentine Rathbun in 1770. The iron works of Captain Charles Goodrich were established before 1767, where later stood the hamlet of Taconic, and where Pomeroy's musket factory stood. There were made two thousand stand of arms annually, under contract with the commonwealth and other parts of the country. In 1846 fire destroyed one section of this gun factory and the making of muskets was abandoned, but the trip-hammer work of the plant continued. At one time thirty expert gunsmiths found employment here. Mr. Pomeroy finally embarked in the woolen mill industry. Early days saw numerous iron forges in the neighborhood of Pittsfield, but later the ore gave out and the center of the industry was shifted to other localities.

Leather manufacture was profitable for many decades. Prob-

ably the first tannery in Pittsfield was built in 1795 by Captain Daniel Weller, on the north bank of the Wampenum Brook on the west side of South street. Small tanneries and single vats were scattered here and there where saddlers and shoemakers manufactured their own leather. Collecting bark to supply the tanneries and the burning of charcoal, as well as making potash from the burned timber of the forests cut down, gave much employment for many years. Grist and saw mills sprang up wherever there was a stream of sufficient force to run them.

The first to manufacture woolen goods in Pittsfield was Arthur Scofield, an Englishman, who came to this place in 1800. Here he found the clothier's business flourishing, was at once engaged in the business of fulling, finishing and dyeing goods. Carding, weaving and spinning were done in private houses in a most imperfect manner. Later Mr. Scofield commenced to spin and card and also weave cloth by an improved method. He sought to do here as was then being done in old England. He completed his first carding machine in 1801. The Pittsfield "Sun" made this announcement for him:

> Arthur Scofield respectfully informs the inhabitants of Pittsfield and the neighboring towns, that he has a carding machine half a mile west of the meeting-house, where they may have their wool carded into rolls for twelve and a half cents per pound; mixed, fifteen and a half cents per pound. If they find the grease, and pick and grease it, it will be ten cents per pound and twelve and a half cents mixed. They are requested to send their wool in sheets, as they will serve to bind the rolls when done. Also a small assortment of woolens for sale.
>
> Pittsfield, November 2d, 1801.

This machine was installed in a building erected on the dam, and dignified by the title of "The Pittsfield Factory." It may weli have been called the cradle of Pittsfield manufactures, as has been recorded by one writer. Here Mr. Scofield announced in 1802: "We carry under one roof by different firms, dyeing of wool of various colors, making of chairs of various kinds, cut and wrought nails, marble monuments, Rumford fireplaces, common stone for building, hauling and pearling of barley, etc., etc." It is not now known what the double etc., etc. referred to in this advertisement!. Sad to relate that for various reasons Mr. Scofield failed financially and went to work for others.

In 1852 a large satinet mill was built here, its size being 50 x 100 feet and three stories in height. When in full operation, these mills ran fourteen sets of machinery, and empoyed 275

hands, producing 6,000 yards of double width goods weekly. Both mills were heated by steam and lighted by gas.

The Pontoosuc Woolen Manufacturing Company was formed in 1827.

From 1827 to 1834 plain broadcloths and cassimeres were produced, and a year later or about 1835, carriage cloth was made until the demand ceased and in 1860 they turned their attention to the manufacture of ladies balmoral skirts. In 1865 they began producing carriage lap-blankets and soon they made one hundred and sixty patterns. In the eighties they were employing as high as 275 hands.

The W. E. Tillotson Manufacturing Co. whose products are now fancy worsteds and woolens, knit underwear and paper boxes, have a capital of $1,000,000. Goods are sold through their New York sales agency. This plant employs six hundred and twenty-five men. Its officers are: D. T. Noonan, president; H. E. Hayn, secretary; J. R. Savery, treasurer; the directors are the above and F. W. Barstow, A. B. Swallow, Louis Hollinworth, V. W. E. Terlins, George Close. Of the origin of this factory it may be said that in 1864 Otis T. and B. F. Baker bought the rights and property of the old Oscola Flouring Mills in West Pittsfield, then a woolen mill, which in 1873 was taken over by W. E. Tillotson and D. M. Collins, after the death of O. Tillotson. In 1907 Louis Hollingworth became a partner in the company, having bought an interest in the business. The Tillotson organization in 1901 had a capital stock of $350,000. In 1915 they manufactured from raw materials direct and made fine family worsteds for men's wear and in its Silver Lake plant, high grade woolen knit underwear. Its plant in Westfield has twelve sets of cards and 4,580 spindles, a dye house and finishing plant. In 1915 the officers were: Louis Hollingworth, president; I. C. Collier, vice-president; Charles W. Power, treasurer; John W. Robbins, secretary.

In 1901 the W. E. Tillotson Company's factory at Silver Lake, was merged by the W. E. Tillotson Manufacturing Company. This created the largest manufacturing plant in the city of Pittsfield, having very extensive buildings, with eighty looms and 6,000 spindles.

The Pittsfield Tack Company was organized in 1875, with a capital of $30,000. It ran under various heads until 1901 and closed.

The Terry Clock Company was organized in Pittsfield in 1880

and in the eighties had a capital of $75,000. This company made in 1885, more than one hundred and fifty kinds of clocks. Then 110 men were employed and there were made 2,000 clocks weekly.

The Paper Manufacturing Industry—The earlier work of Pittsfield's only paper industry was established in 1863 by Thomas Colt close to Dalton town line. After a long period of idleness, the mill was bought in 1876 by Chalmers Brothers and Dexter, a firm of five brothers and their brother-in-law. They utilized the plant in the making of paper for paper collars. Most of the help consisted of the firm's own members, except the girls employed. After a few years it ceased to pay and in 1879 the property was sold to Crane and Company of Dalton. It was transformed into a factory of the most aristocratic paper, from one point of view, in the country—the paper used by the national government for its national bank bills and the treasury notes. The building was burned in 1892 and immediately rebuilt as the "Government Mill." This plant is still in operation making the same product.

The other large paper-mills of the Crane Company are located at the village of Dalton and at Westfield. The year's output of this group of paper mills is three thousand tons; number of men employed, 500.

The General Electric Company—This is one of, if not the largest industrial plant ever organized in Pittsfield. The parent works were located at Schenectady, New York, and in 1903 they purchased the plant of the Stanley Electric Manufacturing Company, the history of which is far too lengthy to attempt to repeat in this connection. The "City" of Pittsfield began its course in January, 1901, and the following April the Stanley Company made its first shipment of machinery. Sixteen hands were then employed in the manufacture of electric transformers on Clapp avenue. Twenty years later Stanley employed over five thousand persons constantly, and its shops near Silver Lake and Morningside, covered fifty acres. Few cities in the world where civilized life obtained, possessed a manufactory of the same kind, between 1890 and 1895. With few exceptions the original incorporators and share-holders in the Stanley Company were Pittsfield men who in 1890 ventured into an unheard of enterprise. The active supervision of its finances was consigned to William W. Gamwell, who was president after the resignation of Charles Atwater in 1893.

PITTSFIELD—NORTH STREET IN 1861

ELM KNOLL
PITTSFIELD'S FAMOUS LITERARY SHRINE

Indeed fortunate is the city that has within its midst so extensive, far reaching a factory plant as the General Electric Company has in Pittsfield.

Public Libraries—From the earliest years of Pittsfield's history it has been noted for its many men and women of culture and literary tastes and real accomplishments. Many had fine libraries and they were not simply kept for style but were well read. Social libraries were established here as early as 1796. In 1800 the Pittsfield Library had only eighty volumes. The Pittsfield Library Association was founded in 1850. During the first year there were 800 volumes purchased for $500. In 1870 the Legislature changed the name of the Library Association to the Pittsfield Athenaeum, but without changing its constitution.

The foundation of the Athenaeum was laid in the autumn of 1874 and the structure was completed the next year. It still stands, hence no detailed description of its massive stone walls and general fine appearance need here be given. When it was first used for library purposes it had put upon its shelves 2,400 volumes; later the Medical Society's 1,000 books were utilized. With the passing years this library has grown until today (1925) it has 77,766 volumes on its "stacks," also 23,000 pamphlets. Here may be found all historical works in any way associated with Pittsfield and Berkshire county. It is well served by a competent, obliging librarian and his full corps of assistants, well trained for their every duty. The present (1925) Librarian is a pioneer officer there, Mr. Harlan H. Ballard. He is thoroughly qualified for the responsible place he has held so many years.

The Berkshire Athenaeum and Museum of Natural History and Art was incorporated and sanctioned by the Legislature in 1903. It was the priceless gift of Mr. Zenas Crane. The institution stands on South street just around the corner from the public library, or more specifically, on the east side of South street near Park Square. This was built by Mr. Crane and the deed handed to the officers of the corporation, March 31, 1903, conveying the new Museum and land on which it was situated. It was thrown open to the public April 1, 1903. In 1905 Mr. Crane generously built a large wing to the above structure and offered to provide for the future maintenance of the Museum. Again in 1909 he built and furnished a wing on the north of the main building, and then capped the building climax by completing the quadri-

lateral by the erection of a large addition connecting the two wings. This structure, together with the priceless pieces of art, etc., he donated the Museum, has made for him a permanent monument, and verily he lives in the hearts of the people.

The House of Mercy—As has been said in a former history of this city: "The charitable desire to establish a public hospital in Pittsfield was first made practically manifest in 1872, when Mrs. Thomas S. O'Sullivan placed one hundred dollars for such purpose in the hands of Rev. John Todd of the First church. The gift was an immediate response to a suggestion made by Dr. Todd in a Thanksgiving sermon, and it was followed by the offer of the same sum by William Durant."

Prior to that period the place was without a hospital but the persons needing care at such institutions were tenderly cared for by many men and women who tried, as best they could, to see that no one suffered in time of illness and distress. It was the thoughtful, unselfish women of Pittsfield who started the work of securing a hospital here. What was styled the "Grand Union Hospital Bazar" was opened September 14, 1874 in the lecture room of the First church and was continued five days. When all was over the books showed a balance of $6,000 for the hospital fund, then beginning to be so popular and near the hearts of all. This sum was from all classes and churches—Catholic and Protestant alike. A legal corporation was soon effected and in November, 1874, a charter was secured to fourteen women, for "the purpose of establishing and maintaining in Pittsfield, a House of Mercy, for the care of the sick and disabled, whether in indigent circumstances or not." The first officers of the corporation were: Mrs. John Todd, president; Mrs. C. H. Bigelow, Mrs. W. E. Vermilye, Mrs. T. F. Plunkett, and Miss Sarah D. Todd; Miss Sarah E. Sandys, clerk; Mrs. W. W. Root, treasurer.

A building site was purchased in 1876-7, a triangular lot at the intersection of North, Tyler and First streets, where the corner-stone was laid September 1, 1877, by the venerable and merciful hands of Mrs. Curtis T. Fenn. January, 1878, the hospital was ready for occupancy. It was a two story wooden structure and accommodated thirteen patients. The land and building cost $10,-000. In 1887 the Henry W. Bishop, 3rd, Memorial Training School for Nurses was added. In 1893 George H. Laflin erected and equipped a surgical building for a men's ward. The will of Solomon N. Russell made the corporation owner of a fine site on North

street, opposite its crowded lot, and in 1900, $55,000 more was raised and a new three story building had been built in 1901-02 and was sufficient for sixty patients. The old hospital was moved across the street and attached to the new structure. In all the new part cost $100,000. In 1915 the invested fund for all purposes was $345,000. It then had 150 beds. There had been endowed fifty-one beds; number of rooms furnished by churches, eighty-five. At present there are persons in charge who have long experience. The present officers are: President, Mrs. Edward A. Jones; vice-presidents, Mrs. William Pollock, Mrs. Zenas Crane, Mrs. E. T. Slocum, Mrs. F. C. Backus, Mrs. C. L. Hibbard; clerk, Mrs. C. W. Power.

St. Luke's Hospital—This is a Catholic institution and it was established and moved to its present building on East street, February 11, 1918. The premises was formerly the old Allen home, a residence. So far it has served the community as a maternity hospital having rooms for twenty-one patients. It is operated, as is also the Boyler surgical department in another section of the city, by the Sisters. At the present date (March, 1925), a large five story brick hospital building is being completed on the lots just to the east of the one now housing the institution. This is to be a splendid modern hospital and will be completed during the present season, and will accommodate hundreds of patients.

Anniversary Celebration—In 1911 Pittsfield celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth settlement anniversary. The town was born in 1761, just before the War for National Independence and her 150th anniversary occurred just prior to the great World War. The Board of Trade launched the enterprise and the mayor in February, 1911, designated a committee to consider the proposed anniversary of the founding of Pittsfield, and a Fourth of July celebration. The scope of this celebration is indicated by the titles of the sub-committees—ecclesiastical services, music historical, decorations, finance, entertainment, educational, parade, industrial, fire-works, commercial, illuminations, societies, invitations, organizations, printing, reception, aviation publicity, and transportation. John Nicholson was the chairman of a large executive committee. William F. Francis was the efficient secretary. Besides other funds the city appropriated to this celebration $4,000 and by private subscriptions the amount was increased to $8,200. The celebration commenced on Sunday, July 2, 1911. The Park

was elaborately arrayed, with pillars, shields, and bunting, as a "court of honor," in proper recognition of its being the historic center, hallowed by tradition, of Pittsfield life. Here the electrical display was noteworthy, for about forty thousand lamps were utilized. The mayor of the city at that date was Hon. Miller who presided at the first and other meetings during the celebration. The first day closed with a short speech by President William Howard Taft who chanced to be passing through the city at that time.

The second day (July third) was devoted chiefly to the dedicatory services of a stone and tablet, commemorative of the headquarters of some of the town's patriots. The tablet is at the northwest corner of the premises of the Museum and the marker and stone were provided by Berkshire Chapter Sons of the American Revolution.

The street parade on Monday was replete with interesting historical scenes. These included the following:

"An Indian Camp" (1600); "Early Frontiersmen" (1743); the "First Settlers" (1752); "The Block-house at Unkamet's Crossing" (1757); "The First Town Meeting" (1761); "Making Uniforms for Capt. Noble's Minute Men" (1774); "Parson Allen Leading Pittsfield Farmers to the Bennington Fight" (1777); "The Peace Party" (1783); "Lucretia Williams Saving the Old Elm" (1790); "Printing the First Pittsfield Sun" (1800); "Wheelock's Dragoons" (1812); "The Visit of Lafayette" (1825); "A District School" (1830); "A Volunteer Fire Company" (1832); "Life With the Shakers" (1836); "Building the Western Railroad" (1841); "The Berkshire Jubilee" (1844); "An Old Time Cattle Show" (1855); "The Maplewood 'bus" (1858); "Parthenia Fenn and Pittsfield Women Sewing for the Soldiers" (1861); "The Allen Guard Leaving Pittsfield for the Front" (1861); "The City of Pittsfield" (1911).

The Fourth of July celebration the next day concluded the anniversary. Fully fifty thousand men, women and children took part or viewed that day's program. The marshal was John Nicholson, high-sheriff of the county, with David J. Gimlich as chief-of-staff. Such affairs successfully carried out, bespeak much for the sentiment and intelligence of any community.

Churches—From 1753 numerous attempts to establish a church had been made but nothing was accomplished until a resolution was adopted June 15, 1761, "That four shillings be raised on each

VIEWS OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST—PITTSFIELD

lot, to pay for raising the meeting-house; and every man who comes early to have three shillings credit, per diem, till the house be raised, and the committee to take account of each man's labor —the other shilling to be paid for rum and sugar." It is said the men worked cheerfully till the building was finished! The town meeting was held in this building March, 1764. However, the building was not in reality completed, pews and all interior work until November, 1770. This was a Congregational church and its first settled pastor was Rev. Thomas Allen whose salary was fixed at what would now be $300 per year, to be increased $25 per year until it should reach $400 per year. This pioneer building stood immediately in front of the present First Congregational Church; was a plain building, forty feet long by thirty-five wide and had twenty feet posts. It was two stories high, covered with rough, unpainted clapboards, without spire or belfry—no ornamentation whatever.

Methodism was introduced about 1788, by the preaching of two itinerants, Revs. Lemuel Smith and Thomas Everett. The eloquent circuit-rider Lorenzo Dow, was among the early preachers of Pittsfield.

The Pittsfield Shakers formed a society here near the old Rathbun clothing works, at a very early date.

The Episcopal denomination built their first church here in 1790-92.

The first Baptist church was organized in Pittsfield in 1772 and dissolved in 1798. The next Baptist church here was formed in 1801.

The following denominations are represented in Pittsfield: Adventists, African Methodist Episcopal, Church of God (two churches), Baptist (three churches), Congregational (four churches), Christian Science First, French Evangelical, Community church, Italian Evangelical, Jewish Synagogues (three churches), Methodist Episcopal (two churches), Roman Catholic (nine churches), Episcopal (three churches), Unity church, Evangelical Lutheran.

Military Organizations—Pittsfield has among its military societies the following: Berkshire Post 197, Grand Army of the Republic; Berkshire Woman's Relief Corps; W. W. Rockwell Post, No. 125, Grand Army of the Republic; W. W. Rockwell Women's Relief Corps; Sons of Veterans—Gen. W. F. Bartlett, Camp No. 108; Spanish-American War Veterans—meets monthly; American Legion, Pittsfield Post, No. 68; American Legion Auxiliary;

United States Army and Navy Recruiting Station—Postoffice building.

The first Mass known to have been celebrated at Pittsfield was at the house of a Mr. Daley, on Williams street, in 1835. This was the beginning of the work of the Roman Catholic denomination here.

The Young Men's Christian Association—This society was formed April 23, 1885. The first president was Alexander Kennedy. October, 1885, headquarters were opened on the third floor of the block next north of the Berkshire Life Insurance Company. The society was incorporated in 1886, and a building fund started. Different buildings and locations were occupied by the Association until finally the city grew to such size that larger quarters became necessary. By bequests the Association had by 1905, acquired several valuable tracts of land in the suburbs of the city, including beautiful tracts along the lake and also in the near-by pine forests. In 1906 it was decided to rebuild a home. This time it was the present site, fronting on North street for one hundred feet. The Association paid $50,000 for the lots purchased at this point. In one week's time 2,000 people subscribed $44,000 for the new Y. M. C. A. building. The ladies' auxiliary raised $5,000 and a bequest came from Franklin W. Russell amounting to near $100,000, and a gift from the heirs of William E. Tillotson added $25,000 more. The corner stone of the present building was laid August 1, 1909, and the final opening of the building was September 15, 1910. The membership of the Association in 1910 was 730 and in 1915 had reached almost 1,500. Its present membership is between twenty-four and twenty-five hundred. It is a very large building and contains seventy-four single bed rooms to rent out. The present secretary is E. N. Huntress; associate secretary, G. W. Hannum; K. F. Witham, business secretary. These are the names of the executive staff; the president is Clifford Francis; the recording secretary, D. M. Cullen, Jr., George Shipton, treasurer.

Secret Societies—Mystic Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons, was constituted at the house of Samuel Bacon, in Lanesboro, on the afternoon of July 12, 1810. The charter members for this lodge came from old Franklin Lodge at Cheshire prior to 1795. The first Masonic work here in a regular lodge room was in Washington Hall. William H. Tyler, worshipful master of Mystic Lodge in 1812, was initiated in Franklin Lodge in 1808.

PITTSFIELD IN 1856, FROM DRAWING BY JAMES C. CLAPP

OLD STREET SCENES IN PITTSFIELD

Crescent Lodge, F. & A. M., Pittsfield, was organized September 12, 1873 by fourteen members from Mystic Lodge.

Berkshire Commandery, Knights Templar, was instituted December 22, 1865. At present all branches and degrees in Masonic fraternities are well represented in Pittsfield. These all find a fine home in Masonic Temple on North Street.

Odd Fellowship—Berkshire Lodge, No. 57, was organized January, 1845, but surrendered its charter in 1854. It was re-organized in 1874. Osceola Lodge, No. 125, was organized September 3, 1884. Greylock Encampment, No. 21, I. O. O. F., was instituted June, 1885.

Knights of Pythias Lodge, No. 8, was organized in Pittsfield, November 18, 1869. Its charter is dated May 1, 1870.

W. W. Rockwell Post, Grand Army of the Republic, was organized March 10, 1882 with twenty charter members. The Women's Relief Corps was organized April, 1884.

Besides these regular fraternal orders, there are many semi-secret lodges including the beneficiary lodges whose names are legion.

Public Schools—Pittsfield had fifteen school districts in 1844. In 1869 the district system was entirely abandoned and in 1874 a system of graded schools obtained in nearly all parts of the town. The first superintendent in the schools of Pittsfield was Lebbeus Scott, in 1868. The ordinary school system of Massachusetts prevailed in Pittsfield until 1869. In 1867 a two story high school was erected. In 1870 the old Medical College building was purchased for $8,500 and $7,500 added to it in way of improvements and extensions. It was burned in April, 1876 by incendiary fire and rebuilt at a cost of $16,000. There have been a majority here, as well as in nearly every place, who have believed in a high class of schools, while a minority have opposed every attempt to increase the capacity of school buildings and of the character of instruction. It is well the majority has ruled and given Pittsfield today a group of school buildings to be proud of. The scholars of today will become the citizens of tomorrow. The school buildings, are in 1925:

The William M. Mercer school, corner First and Orchard streets, 1905; Henry L. Dawes school, on Elm street, 1908; The William R. Plunkett school in 1909, at corner of Fenn and First streets; William Nugent school, at the Junction, 1909-10; William Francis

Bartlett school, 1912, on Onota street. The Crane school in 1913 was opened at Morningside, on Dartmouth street; the Pomeroy school, on West Housatonic street, completed in 1915; the two High schools, Briggs school, Pontoosuc school, Redfield, Rice, Russell, Stearns school, Tucker school, Pecks school, Coltsville school, Holmes Road school, Morewood, Osceola, West Part school and the last erected is the Hibbard school. The total number of pupils in 1924 was 8, 331.

Home For Aged Women—What was known as the Union for Home Work was organized in 1878 and ten years later, the sons of that great benefactor, Zenas Marshall Crane, of Dalton, provided a fine brick structure on South street, designed for the above named Union and also for the aged women. It was first occupied by the two societies in June, 1889. Since 1890 it has been known legally, as "Home For Aged Women."

The Girls' League—In February, 1914, an unnamed person purchased the ground and erected the brick building, on East street, and donated the property for the use, jointly, of the Girls' League, the Young Women's Home Association and the Business Women's Club. Excellent improvements have been made and it has come to be a very much prized and sought after retreat for women. To give such a bequest for the good of the womanhood of a community is indeed laudable and all the more so when the donor does not advertise his or her name.

Soldiers' Monument—Immediately after the close of the Civil War, Mrs. Curtis T. Fenn, who had been directress and manager of the Ladies Soldiers' Aid Society, devoted her energy toward securing a fund with which to erect a suitable monument in memory of the men who had served and finally fallen in the Union cause. By 1871 the fund had grown to $3,000. The town itself then appropriated $7,000 "for a suitable monument." Finally, the monument was erected and consists of a bronze statue of a color sergeant standing on a square granite pillar. The height of the pillar is fifteen feet and the figure, proper, six feet and three inches. It is very attractive and has an appropriate inscription on its base stones. September 24, 1872 it was unveiled and impressive ceremonies carried out on an ideal autumn day. The town appropriated over $2,000 for conducting the dedicatory services. Hon. George William Curtis was orator of the day. Special trains came in from surrounding places to unite in this unveiling.

ST. STEPHEN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
PITTSFIELD

Noted Visitors—Among the modern visitors of note in Pittsfield were the following: Twice did William McKinley visit the city, once in 1897 and again two years later. On September 2, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt arrived in Dalton, where he was the guest of United States Senator W. Murray Crane, then Governor of Massachusetts. In the morning of the following day the President came to Pittsfield and was received at the Park by a great multitude of admirers. After making a short speech from a platform at the Park, near the Soldiers' Monument, he set off for Lenox in a four-horse carriage, with Governor Crane and Secretary George L. Cortelyou. At the foot of the hill a mile from the Park here, a trolley car crowded with passengers, crashed against the President's carriage. The driver was severely injured and a secret service man sitting beside the driver, was instantly killed. No others were injured materially. In January, 1903, the courts affixed the legal responsibility for the fatal collision, and the motorman and conductor plead guilty to manslaughter. Roosevelt again visited Pittsfield in June, 1905. In July, 1911, President William Howard Taft was here long enough to make a short speech at the 150th Anniversary of the founding of Pittsfield.

The Banking and Insurance Business—The first attempt at banking in Pittsfield was when in 1806, Governor Strong signed the charter of the Berkshire Bank located in this place. The capital stock was $75,000 all to be paid in gold by October 6, 1806 and the bills in paper were not to exceed $150,000. The bank was organized in July, 1807 and its officers were Simon Larned, president; Ebenezer Center, cashier. Andrew Dexter of Boston was among the heavy stockholders, and through his interests and speculations elsewhere this bank failed. The property of all the Directors was seized and although the men were of high moral character, under the laws of those days, they were sent to jail, but it is related that they came out of jail bearing the respect of most of the community, realizing that these men were not calculated for such a business undertaking, and the blame rested more on Mr. Dexter than on the other members of the board. After operating the bank five years it went down never to resume business. The bank building erected for the bank just named was later used by the Agricultural Bank, and then by the Berkshire Mutual Fire Insurance Company. It was removed in 1874, to make place for the Berkshire Athenaeum.

The Agricultural Bank was incorporated in 1818 and the capital

was fixed at $100,000. The first board of directors were Thomas Gold, Nathan Willis, Josiah Bissell, Samuel D. Colt and Henry C. Brown. Mr. Gold was chosen president and Mr. Colt, cashier. The building formerly used by the Berkshire Bank was purchased and occupied as a banking house. In 1851 it was operating under a $200,000 capital. It became a National bank in 1865.

The Pittsfield Bank was chartered in 1853, with a capital of $150,000. David Carson was president and J. D. Adams, cashier. In 1857 the capital was increased to $500,000. It was re-organized as the Pittsfield National Bank in June, 1865.

The Berkshire County Savings Bank was incorporated in 1846, with Henry Shaw, president, and Thomas A. Gold as cashier.

The Third National Bank of Pittsfield was chartered in 1881, with a capital of $125,000. Henry W. Taft was chosen president and L. A. Stevens, cashier.

The Berkshire Loan and Trust Company was incorporated in 1895 and shared the banking room of the Berkshire Savings Bank.

The City Savings Bank was chartered in 1893, with F. W. Rockwell as president.

The present banks are as follows: Agricultural National, Berkshire County Savings Bank, Berkshire Loan and Trust Company, City Savings Bank, Pittsfield Co-operative Bank, Pittsfield National Bank, Third National Bank, Union Co-operative Bank, The Morris Plan of Banking.

The Berkshire Mutual Fire Insurance Company established in 1835, and occupied various buildings until the Agricultural Bank building was ready for occupancy, when the insurance business was removed there. As far back as 1875 this company had policies to the number of 4,150 and risks amounting to $5,332,863. In 1915 it had grown to have 16,724 policies and risks amounting to $20,396,527.

The first attempt at a fire insurance company here was in 1819, under the title of "The Pittsfield Mutual Fire Insurance Company." After less than three years trial the company went out of business.

The Western Massachusetts Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized at Pittsfield in 1851, and continued until 1866 and surrendered its charter.

The Berkshire Life Insurance Company was chartered May, 1851, with Hon. George N. Briggs, president. On the death of

Governor Briggs in 1861, Hon. Thomas F. Plunkett was made president. This has long been known as one of the solid concerns of this city and county.

Incorporated as a City—The first steps toward making the town of Pittsfield into an incorporated city was at the suggestion of Thomas F. Plunkett in a town meeting held in April, 1872. The question was agitated but nothing was accomplished until the April meeting in 1873, when a motion prevailed to this effect: "that the whole subject of the City Charter be recommitted to the committee to report at the next annual meeting." But matters dragged along until finally the General Court in April, 1875, granted a city charter. But just at that period the effects of the 1873 financial panic and the corrupt management in other cities of the country, caused the people to rest on their former kind of local government. The charter had been granted but it was up to the people to organize the new government. A revised plan and charter were submitted to a vote of the people February 11, 1890. The majority for the charter was 146, the total vote being 932 of which 786 opposed it. The city charter occasioned several perplexing questions of legal construction. Pittsfield's last Town meeting was held April 7, 1890, Joseph Tucker being the moderator. The board of Selectmen divided the township into seven wards; and in the latter part of that year Pittsfield proceeded to consider the personal composition of its first city government. For the office of mayor, the Republicans in caucus nominated Andrew J. Waterman, and the Democrats nominated Charles E. Hibbard—both lawyers. At the election held on December 2, 1890, the result was the choice of Mr. Hibbard as the first mayor of the city. The first Aldermen were: Peter P. Curtin, Andrew J. White, Jabez L. Peck, David A. Clary, Charles I. Lincoln, Edward Cain, and C. C. Wright. The Councilmen chosen were: John Churchill, David Rosenhein, John J. Bastion, D. C. MacInnes, John M. Lee, George W. Smith, Edward T. Slocum, Joseph Foote, George T. Denny, H. W. Chapman, E. B. Mead, John R. Feeley, E. B. Wilson, and E. T. Lawrence.

The public equipment handed over to the new city government was competent. The police and fire departments were efficient. The water-works were in good condition and financially so situated that their debts were not burdensome. Serviceable side walks had recently been made by the outgoing town government. The Town sustained a part of an excellent public library and public

schools were adequate for the times. The indebtedness of the town and fire district, which was assumed by the city, was $456,-128.25. The taxable valuation was $10,292,696. The great improvements since Pittsfield became a city have included an immense water system and an abundant supply of purest quality in the commonwealth. Also the paving of streets and construction of proper sewage. The old Town Building at the Park had to be remodeled and made suitable for the city offices. The original structure was erected in 1832.

The following have served as Mayors of Pittsfield since its incorporation in 1891: Charles E. Hibbard, 1891; Jabez L. Peck, 1892-93; John C. Crosby, 1894-95; Walter F. Hawkins, 1896-97; William W. Whiting, 1898-99; Hezekiah S. Russell, 1900-01; Daniel England, 1902; Harry D. Sisson, 1903-04; Allen H. Bagg, 1905-07; Wm. H. MacInnis, 1908-10; Kelton B. Miller, 1911-12; Patrick J. Moore, 1913-14; William C. Moulton, 1917-19; Louis A. Merchant, 1920; Michael W. Flynn, 1921-22; Charles W. Power, 1922-24; Fred T. Francis, 1924— still serving in April, 1925.

The 1925 officers of the city include these: Fred T. Francis, Mayor; Michael F. Quinn, City clerk; Fred M. Platt, City treasurer; Walter C. Kellogg, City solicitor; Lemuel G. Lloyd, collector of taxes; Chief-of-police, John L. Sullivan.

The City's company of militia, mustered into the Commonwealth as Company F, Second Infantry, M. V. M., June 6, 1901, was kept as a unit. Its headquarters were at the old Casino and in the Academy of Music, until they moved to the new Armory on Summer street. This company did duty on the Mexican border during the disturbance in 1916.

Electric Lighting in Pittsfield—The first electric light used in this city was by the "Pittsfield Electric Light Company," incorporated in 1883 under the laws of Maine. The officers were Alexander Kennedy, president and Charles E. Merrill, treasurer and general manager. In 1885 it was reincorporated under the Massachusetts laws. The Brush arc lamp was then the only system in local use, and the company supplied its current from the Merrill woodworking shops, on North street. In 1887 another concern known as the Pittsfield Illuminating Company, was formed under the presidency of William Stanley of Great Barrington. This company introduced the Edison system here, which was the incandescent lamp. These companies merged and in 1890 they were known as the Pittsfield Electric Company which was a new cor-

PITTSFIELD

MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

THOMAS ALLEN

BERKSHIRE ATHENEAUM

poration that bought out the old ones. The original power capacity of the company's plant was 500 horse-power, but by 1915 it had increased to 3,800 horse-power. It has since been made more powerful and every electric need of the city is now cared for.

The oldest fire company was organized in 1844 and known as the Housatonic Company. Since 1874 there has been a well supported and thoroughly equipped fire department in Pittsfield. With the passage of years all that is modern in way of fire-fighting appliances has been adopted.

Population—The population in 1905 was 25,001 and in 1910 it had increased to 32,121 and in 1915 it was 39,607; in 1920 it had reached 41,763; the very well planned population survey of 1925 made under the management of the "Daily Eagle," gives it 45,939. This shows an increase of ten per cent in five years last past or 4,176 more than in 1920. In 1875 there was one in every four foreign-born; in these there were 54 per cent Irish-born; in 1910, there were 6,744 foreign-born out of a total population of 32,121. The number of Irish was half as many in percentage as in 1875. Next came the Italians in 1890 with 1,158; French Canadian, 765; German, 623; Russians, 580.

The United States census reports for 1920 gives, (in round numbers). Number of males, 20,000; females, 21,100; persons over twenty-one years of age, 26,042; number dwellings, 7,690; number families, 9,499.

The United States census report for 1920 gives figures as follows on the industrial conditions of the city of Pittsfield:

Number of manufacturing establishments,	90
Total wage-earners of city in 1919,	8,570
Total wage-earners with individuals,	103
Total wage-earners with corporations,	7,730
Total wage-earners for all others,	737
Total value of manufactured products, 1919,	$41,613,356
Total products by individuals,	$710,000
Total products by corporations,	$34,440,549
Number tons of hard and soft coal used as fuel in 1919,	104,000
Number cubic feet of gas consumed in 1919,	44,500

Special Interest Items—Pittsfield was first settled in 1743; Height above sea-level, 1,037 feet; Incorporated as Town, 1761; Incorporated as city, 1891; Population, 1920, 41,751; Tax-rate, (1924), $29.20; Valuation, realty and personal property, $51,969,755.00. Area, 42.43 square miles; miles of street, 105; State road

worked, 11 miles; gravel streets and roads, 55 miles; concrete side-walks, 57.58 miles; gravel side-walks, 24.68 miles; number bridges, 56; flag sidewalks, 1,550 feet; curbing, 25.12 miles; number cross walks, 728 miles; House sewer system, 65.91 miles; water mains, 124.19 miles.

The latest printed reports of city finances are dated 1923 and contain these figures: Water debt, $989,000; Sewer debt, $455,000; School debt, $546,000; Paving debt, $594,000; Sidewalk debt, $13,-000; Public park debt, $9,400; Play-ground debt, $8,000; Municipal Yard debt, $10,000.

The Berkshire Street Railway system of 165 miles extends into four states, namely: North to Bennington, Vermont and Hoosick Falls, New York; south to Canaan, Connecticut; west to West Pittsfield; east to Dalton and Hinsdale.

The Pittsfield Chamber of Commerce was the outgrowth of the old Business Men's Association and of business clubs. Under its present organization it has accomplished much for the city's good. Its present officers are: Thomas F. Cosgriff, president; William A. Whittlesey, vice-president; Clark J. Harding, treasurer; S. Chester Lyon, secretary. This Chamber of Commerce is a member of the Chamber of Commerce of America.